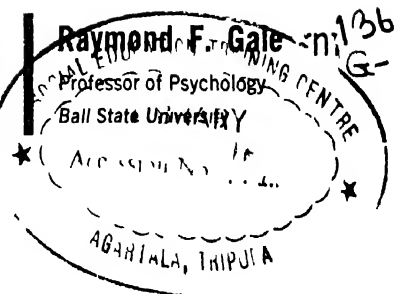


DEVELOPMENTAL

BEHAVIOR

A HUMANISTIC APPROACH

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Preface

Currently, psychological literature—particularly writings emphasizing some aspects of humanistic viewpoints, such as the contributions of Allport, Bonner, Bugental, Cantril, Combs and Snygg, Fromm, Jersild, Jourard, Kelley, Maslow, May, Moustakas, and Rogers—considers the concepts of self, being, becoming, perception, and experience significant in the developmental sequences of human behavior. Today numerous behavioral scientists recognize the advent of the humanistic approach as a “third force” in psychology in its attempt to provide an additional dimension for understanding the what, the why, and the how of man’s existence and development. The *ASCD 1962 Yearbook: Perceiving, Behaving, Becoming* was devoted entirely to the fully functioning and self-actualizing person as viewed by Combs, Kelley, Maslow, Rogers, and members of the Yearbook Committee. In contemporary behavioral-science literature, we frequently see such terms as *self structure, self-concept, self-image, self-understanding, self-acceptance, self-enhancement, self-realization, and self-actualization*.

Developmental Behavior: A Humanistic Approach focuses on the totality

of the unique human self in the process of constantly being and becoming. Utilizing a holistic approach, the book emphasizes both the internal developmental strivings and the external experiential influences related to the "emerging self" in a continual state of becoming. The discussions recognize that the individual must learn to solve the problems of the unique "developing self" and the situations confronting him as he constantly interacts in his own distinctive ways within the social-cultural milieu. Although many theories concerning human growth and development exist today, the attempt in this book is to present a comprehensive exploration of man's developing behavior from the viewpoint of phenomenology in an effort to assimilate the major thinking evolving from the "third force" in psychology. The book is designed for use in survey courses in human growth and development or educational psychology.

The significance of self theory and the specific attributes and perceptual experiences related to the totality of an individual's existence and his actualization as a human being will be stressed throughout the text. Basically, the book is designed to provide the reader with the framework of recognizing, understanding, and appreciating individuality and uniqueness within the human being as he strives to become an autonomous person of dignity and worth and a free, responsible, and social human being who has identified himself and his place within a society of multiple experiences and opportunities relevant to human growth.

Although the book is organized on a conceptual basis, the emphasis is on the interrelation of multiple aspects of the self within the totality of developmental processes. The division of the emerging person into the motivated, emotional, sociocultural, physical, psychosexual, intellectual, learning, attitudinal, and personalized self was an arbitrary approach designed to offer opportunities for the exploration of significant aspects of an individual's being and becoming. In general, the major focal points will be the emergent self in awareness, perceptions, and experiences, strivings for maintenance and enhancement; the self as a potential learner; the self and the learning processes; the phenomenal field of the self; and the quest for the identity, commitment, involvement, meaning, and becoming of the authentic self. In this context, there has been a concerted effort throughout the book to share with the reader the contemporary thinking and theories of leaders in humanistic psychology concerning the developmental aspects of man's behavior.

The chapters are organized to focus upon selected pertinent issues and concepts, which should direct the attention of the reader to some of the

major concerns in human growth and development, particularly from the humanistic-phenomenological-existentialistic approaches. Chapter 1 introduces the reader to psychology as a behavioral science with discussions concerning the nature of psychology, the humanistic approach in contemporary psychology, phenomenology and existentialism, and developmental psychology as a study of man's emerging self. Chapter 2 explores the nature of the self relevant to its historical development as a concept in psychology, summarizing psychoanalytical, neopsychanalytical, and phenomenological views of the self structure. Chapter 3 focuses on the emerging phenomenal self in relation to its origins, self-awareness, perception, and the formulation of a self-concept.

With the first three chapters as a basic frame of reference, the following sections explore in some detail the multiple aspects of an individual's development. Chapter 4 delineates viewpoints concerning motivation, the "why" of behavior, as self-strivings involved in meeting the maintenance and actualization needs of the individual while he moves toward his own realization as a human being. The emotional and feeling person is presented in Chapter 5 in a framework of the emotional heritage of the self, patterns of emotional expression, strivings toward emotional maturity, and a particular emphasis upon love as a creative human experience.

Chapter 6 acquaints the reader with the multitude of environmental influences involved in the development of the social-cultural self. Discussions concerning the nature of society, culture, communities, and social classes and their relation to the emerging social self are included. Chapter 7 explores the multiplicities of acquiring personal and social attitudes in the milieu of the family and other societal influences. The nature and maturity of the physical self and relevant developmental tasks and stages of growth are presented in Chapter 8. In Chapter 9, we view psychosexual development with discussions concerning sexual maturation, sexual behavior of adolescents, and self and sexual behavior. Chapter 10 examines intelligence as a phenomenon of man's being-in-becoming, stressing intellectual behavior as a fluid, open, and flexible attribute relevant to the quality of one's perceptions and experience. In this context, the current theories of intelligent behavior, as proposed by Bruner, Combs, Guilford, Piaget, and Hunt, are summarized along with a look at contemporary thinking concerning creativity. Chapter 11 focuses on the self as a learner as the individual continuously develops his potentialities for increased perceptions, conceptions, communication, thinking, and problem solving.

The complexities of the personalized self, as related to the dynamics of

personality from the humanistic approach, are explored in Chapter 12. Special emphases are given to the formulation and the development of the self-concept and the protective defenses of the self. Chapter 13 describes the developing person, striving toward his own actualization through the processes of identity validation and self-fulfillment, as he interacts within the social milieu of the peer groups in his quest for personal and social verification. Chapter 14, in an existentialistic vein, discusses the individual's search for personal meaning in his life as he struggles with the processes of awareness, identity, commitment, involvement, meaning, and becoming in his quest to find and to develop his own potentialities as a distinct and unique self.

Most students come into psychology classes with humanistic interests. They want to learn about people, including themselves; they want to understand the complexities of love, hate, hope, fear, joy, happiness, sex, and the meaning of living. In view of these interests, it is the sincere hope of the writer that the psychology student using this book will find opportunities to identify personally with some of the humanistic concepts presented. Through this identification, the student may be encouraged to do some productive self-searching as he pursues a realistic and necessary quest for meaningful and authentic knowledge of himself and his fellow human beings. He may gain some insight into self and make some progress in answering the following universal, perplexing, and perpetual questions: Who am I? Why am I? Where am I going? How do I understand and relate to *me* and to *others*, in the search for my own distinctive place in the world?

The author wishes to express a debt of appreciation for the many people who have helped in the writing of this book. He feels a very humble indebtedness to the leaders in the humanistic approach to psychology, especially those individuals named in the first paragraph of this preface and those authors and researchers mentioned frequently throughout the textbook. I would like also to acknowledge the support and encouragement of my colleagues in the Educational Psychology Department at Ball State University and the numerous contributions of my students, who patiently allowed me to try out my ideas on them and who then offered much valuable feedback. I am particularly indebted to Dr. Fay Clardy and Dr. Wyman Fischer, who read the entire manuscript and then designed the teacher's manual.

Certainly sincere appreciation is in order for the cooperative assistance of the personnel of Macmillan, including the provision of competent advisory, editorial, and professional reviewing services. A special appreciation is extended to Mrs. Mardelle Hall, who carefully deciphered my handwriting.

ing to type and then proofread the entire manuscript I am deeply grateful for the quiet patience, supportive counsel, and pertinent suggestions of my wife during periods of frustration and preoccupation when I tried to translate ideas into meaningful writing

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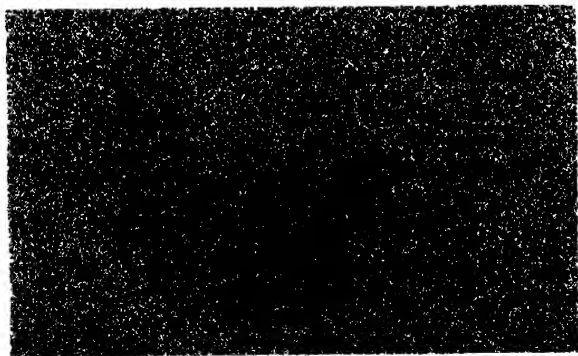
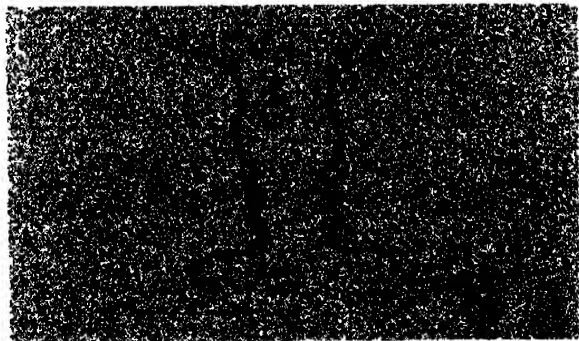
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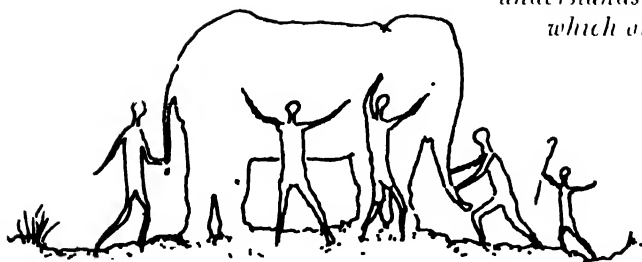
PART 1

ORIENTATION TO THE DEVELOPMENTAL SELF



Humanistic Psychology as a Behavioral Science

*But what then am I?
A thing which thinks?
It is a thing which doubts,
understands affirms wills refuses,
which also imagines and feels*
—Descartes



THE 'NATURE OF PSYCHOLOGY

Do people dream in technicolor or in black and white? Will people like—and buy—the new models of automobiles, clothes, and numerous gadgets and appliances produced for the consumer market? Why isn't Mary, an intelligent person, doing well in school? In our affluent society, why do so many people have personal, social, emotional, and economic problems? How will the crew of a nuclear submarine react to submersion for two months

at a time? Can students learn algebra from a machine? Will Bill make a successful engineer? How does an astronaut behave as he walks around the earth, traveling at a tremendous speed? Why does Johnny hate his father when he is expected to love him?

These questions are problems of human behavior, and behavior—both human and animal—is the subject matter of psychology. Psychologists seek to discover how people and animals behave mentally, that is, how they remember, think, feel, learn; how they behave physically, that is, how they see, hear, talk; and how they behave personally and socially, that is, how they perceive themselves and other people, relate to the world around them, and develop personal values and social attitudes. Specifically, psychology is the study of the behavior of both the human animals and the lower animals.

We recognize the contributions of experimental and comparative psychological research with lower animals to the totality of behavioral-science literature. However, the scope of this book will be restricted to the behavior of the human animal as a dynamic, complex, and special organism, as he constantly strives to become the human being that is characterized by uniqueness and individuality with the actualization of a self, which is not the same as any other animal or human being. As Kierkegaard wrote: "An existing individual is constantly in the process of becoming . . . to be the self which one truly is." This book will emphasize the point of view in psychology of man's total development in a continual state of arrival in reference to his maturation as an individual. Bonner,¹ with his proactive psychology, speaks of this process as being-in-becoming: "Man's being consists in his becoming . . . what a man does depends on what he is; yet, what he is depends on what he does."

PSYCHOLOGY AS A SCIENCE OF HUMAN BEHAVIOR

Man holds a unique and highly complicated place in the animal world because of his complex brain and central nervous system. His cognitive abilities of self-awareness, reason, and imagination have separated him from the rest of animal existence. He is a part of nature, subject to her physical laws and unable to change them, yet he transcends the rest of nature. Being aware of himself, he is never free from the dichotomy of his existence—using his mind to solve the problems created by his constant striving to meet his physiological, psychological, and social needs. Reason, man's blessing, may also become his enemy; it forces him to explore the nature of human living. Human existence is different in this respect from that of all other organisms; it is a state of constant and unavoidable disequilibrium. Man's life cannot "be lived" by repeating the pattern of his species; he must live it himself. Man is the only animal that can be bored, discontented, and has the freedom to make decisions and promises. Tillich wrote: "Man be-

comes truly human only at the moment of decision.' Man is the only animal for whom his own existence is a problem that he has to solve and from which he cannot escape. He cannot return to a prehuman state of harmony with nature; he must proceed to develop his reason, his capacities, and his potentialities until he becomes the master of nature and of himself or be destroyed by his own inadequacies. Sartre stated, "The freedom to choose is the only freedom man does not have the freedom to renounce."

THE HUMANISTIC APPROACH IN CONTEMPORARY PSYCHOLOGY

Today people in all walks of life are asking more urgently than ever before, *What sort of creature is man?* Has he the cognitive potential for continuous growth and development so that he may yet master the calamitous problems that he has created and that face him constantly: ideological schism, overpopulation, poverty, mental health, atomic disaster, social disintegration, and widespread disrespect of nation for nation and race for race? For a number of years American psychology, in an attempt to be "scientific," has been particularly behavioristic, concentrating on overt actions. Psychology should explore the end experiences as well as the intervening means to ends—the pragmatic, the useful, the purposive. What does man really live for? What makes living worthwhile? What human experiences in life justify the constant struggle of human existence? What can psychology tell us of the heights of living during significant experiences of creation, of insight, of delight, of love relationships, of aesthetic feelings?

Psychology should study the human being not just as a piece of inert clay to be helplessly molded by outside forces. Man is, or should be, an active, dynamic, autonomous, self-governing initiator, activator, and master of his own life. The stimulus response approach of behavioristic psychology has unintentionally created a "mechanical man"—passive, shaped, adjusting, conforming, learning the perpetuation of a culture which outlives its utility as today becomes history with yesterday. With him should be contrasted the free, responsible, creative, active man who invents, makes decisions, discovers self, relates self to others, accepts and rejects stimuli while utilizing man's freedom of choice, who in fact creates and internalizes his own stimuli for self-realization.

In American psychology of yesteryear the significant tenets of Gestalt psychology and organismic theory have not been fully integrated into the exploration of man's behavior. The human being is an irreducible unit; everything within him is related to everything else in some way, in some degree—man behaves as a total living, dynamic unity. This unity is a paramount consideration in understanding human behavior. In his own identity,

Orientation to the Developmental Self

no human being is comparable to any other. *Everyone is someone special.* Because of entirely different genetic origins and environmental experiences, there has never been a duplication of a human being in the past or present, nor can there be in the future. Everyone must discover his self-identity and commit himself to the privilege and to the responsibility of becoming the special, fully functioning person that he can be. As such, everyone's ideals, values, attitudes, style and path of growth and maturation and processes of self-realization must be of necessity unique to him only. An individual's goals, aspirations, feelings, and value system must arise out of his own nature and not be determined by comparison or competition with other human beings.

Currently, there is a new breakthrough in psychological thinking, adding a "third force" to the existing behavioristic and psychoanalytical theories of behavior that places man as the central concept of psychological study. This orientation, with roots in philosophy, known as the new humanistic movement in psychology, concedes that man is the process that supersedes the sum of his part functions, implying that a psychology of human beings is a psychology of noninterchangeable units. This approach to human behavior emphasizes the free, responsible, creative, and autonomous nature of man, who is constantly striving to discover himself and his relation to the world around him as he works toward becoming the fully functioning person with the self-actualization of his unique capacities and potentialities. Some of the leaders in this movement are Gordon Allport,² Hubert Bonner,³ Arthur Combs,⁴ Erich Fromm,⁵ Karen Horney,⁶ Arthur Jersild,⁷ Earl Kelley,⁸ Prescott Lecky,⁹ Henry C. Lindgren,¹⁰ Abraham Maslow,¹¹ Gardner Murphy,¹² Rollo May,¹³ Clark Moustakas,¹⁴ and Carl Rogers.¹⁵

The *Articles of Association* of the American Association for Humanistic Psychology define the role of humanistic psychology as a new orientation to psychology rather than as a new psychology as follows:

Humanistic psychology is primarily an orientation toward the whole of psychology rather than a distinct area or school. It stands for respect for the worth of persons, respect for differences of approach, open-mindedness as to acceptable methods, and interests in exploration of new aspects of human behavior. As a "third force" in contemporary psychology it is concerned with topics having little place in existing theories and systems: e.g., love, creativity, self, growth, organism, basic need-gratification, self-actualization, higher values, being, becoming, spontaneity, play, humor, affection, naturalness, warmth, ego-transcendence, objectivity, autonomy, responsibility, mean, fair-play, transcendental experience, peak experience, courage, and related concepts.*

* This approach will find expression in writings of those noted above as well as certain writings of Jung, Adler, and the psychoanalytic ego-psychologists and existential and phenomenological psychologists.

In his everyday life, man often operates upon the assumption that he is free to make decisions and to choose his own course of action, at least within certain limits. In the field of psychology, modern determinists have taken their lead from the seventeenth-century English philosopher John Locke, who concluded that the human mind at birth is a *tabula rasa*, upon which learning and experience write their script, giving the mind its content and structure. This view of man as an essentially passive, reactive organism is exemplified by the behaviorist school of psychology. In its most extreme form, behaviorism has regarded the individual as a sort of mental robot, the helpless pawn of past and current experiences. Thus the very concepts of self-determination and freedom of choice are illusory; consciousness itself is regarded as only a by-product of "real" events—neurological processes—and thus is assumed to have no power to influence behavior. Gordon Allport states the dichotomy succinctly by saying: "People, it seems, are busy leading their lives into the future whereas psychology, for the most part, is busy tracing them into the past."¹⁶ Gebattel concurs in stating that man's troubles arise from being nailed to the past. Although behaviorists today do not necessarily hold to a strict determinism, American psychologists have by and large favored the view of man as a reactive organism. The new humanistic orientation to psychology as a science of human behavior seems to provide a refreshing mixture of a behavioral frame of reference that integrates science and its practicality and utility for man's attempts to understand himself and the world around him. As Bonner has said, "It is a cause for sadness that modern psychology, in pursuit of the legitimate goal of scientific objectivity and analysis, should see fit to define human behavior in bland disregard of the human nature which is the sole reason for its existence."¹⁷

The humanistic approach to psychological thought sees man as a purposive and striving organism, continuously engaged in the meaningful activities of choosing, judging, selecting and organizing. Although acknowledging that human behavior is influenced by the individual's culture, this school of thought emphasizes that a personal factor also operates—that the subjective nature of culture is extremely significant. Thus the effect of external stimuli upon individual behavior is always partially determined by the way the individual perceives himself, by the way he views his socio-cultural influences, by his ability to accept some ideas and to reject others, by his tendency to behave in ways that are consistent with his concept of himself, and by his capacity to objectify his experience and to be critical of his own values—to have self-awareness and to strive for self-enhancement and for self-growth.

The preceding viewpoint, of course, is more congruous with our subjective experience of having freedom to evaluate and to choose than is the behavioristic or psychoanalytical views of man as a purely reactive

organism. The view of man as having a large potential for freedom also is compatible with the basic tenets of our political government—the democratic conviction that the free and responsible average citizen, given access to the “facts,” can evaluate public issues with some degree of objectivity and rationality, rather than as a robot conditioned to think and to behave in predetermined ways. If we assume that the freedom granted by democracy to an individual to exercise his right to choose and to make decisions is not just an illusion, then the crux of a science of human behavior would be a free and purposive man striving toward autonomous self-realization. This view of man as free and active is likewise basic to our philosophy of education, with its emphasis upon developing young people capable of rational problem solving, creativity, productivity, and critical evaluation, and with its premise that the more information the individual has at his disposal, the more likely he is to choose and to behave wisely.

Gordon Allport, an eminent American psychologist, makes a plea for psychology and other behavioral sciences to come to grips with the problem of man's apparent freedom for self-direction:

One may look through a hundred successive American books in psychology and find no mention of “will” or “freedom.” It is customary for the psychologist, as for other scientists, to proceed within the framework of strict determinism, and to build barriers between himself and common sense lest common sense infect psychology with its belief in freedom. For the same reason barriers are erected against theology. But to our discomfort recent events have raised the issue all over again: existentialism insists upon freedom; much of the psychotherapy now in vogue presupposes it; psychology's new concern with values is at bottom a concern with choices and therefore revives the problem of freedom.¹⁸

HUMANISTIC GUIDELINES FOR A PSYCHOLOGY OF MAN AS A FREE, PURPOSEFUL, AND CREATIVE ORGANISM

Although much of human behavior may be determined by social conditioning in that our opinions, values, and attitudes reflect the experiences we have had and thus emulate the culture in which we live, this approach does not tell the complete story of man's ways of behaving. Man is also creative, purposeful, and unique within his own nature. In maintaining that man is active as well as reactive, we are once again recognizing that man's inner nature tends to work under “normal” experiential conditions that allow the individual adequate freedom to develop and to use his inner potentialities. As Carl Rogers¹⁹ wrote: “Openness to experience is a characteristic mark of a healthy man.”

Fortunately, modern psychology, particularly those approaches with humanistic overtones, is gradually developing scientific tools for struggling

with the complex problems of values, "free will," and purpose. Thus today's psychology is gradually leading to the emergence of a more realistic picture of man as "endowed with a sufficient margin of reason, autonomy, and choice to profit from living in a free society." A. H. Maslow, one of the chief advocates of humanistic psychology, offers the following guidelines in meeting the need for a mature science of human nature applicable to utility by man in his daily living:

1. Psychology should be more humanistic, that is, more concerned with the problems of humanity and less with the problems of the guild. . . . In exchange for Freud, Adler, Jung, Fromm, and Horney, we are offered beautifully executed, precise elegant experiments which, in at least half the cases, have nothing to do with enduring human problems and which are written primarily for other members of the human race. They have obligations and responsibilities to everyone now living and to the future.

2. Psychology should turn more frequently to the study of philosophy, of science, of aesthetics, and especially of ethics and values. The fact that psychology has officially cut itself off from philosophy means no more than that it has given up good philosophy for bad ones. Every man has a philosophy, albeit uncriticized, unconscious, and uncorrected. If it is to be made more realistic, more useful and more fruitful, its possessor must work consciously to improve it.

3. American psychology should be bolder, more creative; it should try to discover, not only to be cautious and careful in avoiding mistakes.

4. Psychology ought to become more positive, and less negative. It should have higher ceilings, and not be afraid of the loftier possibilities of the human being.

5. Psychology ought to become more problem-centered, and less absorbed with means or methods.

6. Psychology should study the depths of human nature as well as the surface behavior, the unconscious as well as the conscious.

7. Therapy should be taken out of the office and spread to many other areas of life. Some of the more elementary psychotherapeutic techniques can be taught in simplified form to teachers, parents, ministers, doctors, and other layman. Support, reassurance, acceptance, love, respect—all of these are therapeutic.

8. American psychology is particularly behavioristic, concentrating on overt actions. . . . I should like to bring back introspection. . . . We are discovering more and more, as we study personality in the depths rather than on the surface, that the deeper we penetrate the more universality we find. At man's deepest levels they seem to be more alike than different. Therefore, if an individual can touch these depths within himself, he discovers not only himself, but also the whole human spirit.

9. Psychologists should study the end experiences as well as the means to ends—the pragmatic, the useful, and the purposive. . . . A healthy organism enjoys just being; our over-pragmatic psychology passes all this by.

10. Psychology should study the human being not just as passive clay, helplessly determined by outside forces. Man is or should be an active, autonomous, self-governing mover, chooser, and center of his own life

11. Intellectuals tend to become absorbed with abstractions, words, and concepts, and to forget the original real experience which is the beginning of all science. In psychology this is a particular danger. The remedy is twofold; first, to turn to the general-semanticists, who devote themselves specifically to this problem; and second, to look to the artists, whose particular task it is to experience freshly, to see and to help us see the world as it really is, not screened through a web of concepts, verbalism, abstractions, categories, and theories

12. The lessons of Gestalt psychology and of organismic theory should be more fully integrated into modern psychology. The human being should be viewed as an irreducible unit, not an organism with interchangeable parts.

13. Psychologists should devote more time to the intensive study of the single unique person, to balance their preoccupation with the generalized man and with generalized and abstracted capacities

14. Finally, as we begin to know more about legitimate wants and needs for personal growth and self-fulfillment, that is, for psychological health, we should set ourselves the task of creating the health-fostering culture. Such an enterprise, when begun, will be the proof that psychology has matured enough to be fruitful, not in individual terms alone, but in terms of social betterment as well *

PHENOMENOLOGY, PERSONALISM, AND EXISTENTIALISM AS CONCEPTS IN A HUMANISTIC PSYCHOLOGY

To leave a discussion of humanistic psychology without a quick consideration of phenomenology, personalism, and existentialism would be a gross omission, because many of the American and European phenomenologists, personalists, and existentialists have made contributions to the humanistic movement in psychology. Also the central theme of this book will continually emphasize the developmental aspects of the *human living*

* Reprinted by permission from A. H. Maslow, "A Philosophy of Psychology: The Need for a Mature Science of Human Nature," *Main Currents in Modern Thought*, 13:27-32, 1957.

experiences as they center upon the *existing person* as he is *emerging, becoming*. These concepts are basic to a description of phenomenology and existentialism.

WHAT IS PHENOMENOLOGY?

To avoid unnecessary complications a discussion of the metaphysical and the various methodological aspects of phenomenology will be omitted. In a more restricted descriptive sense phenomenology begins with the simple proposition that all human knowledge is based upon experience. This experience is not only of empirically centered objects but the psychologically more relevant lived experience. This experience has both a structure and a property. The structure can be communicated in 'technical' language with no special difficulty for it resembles similar experiences in others. The properties, the unique qualities, can be most satisfactorily conveyed only by means of immediate intuition. Although it may be "formalized" with more or less success, its feeling tone can best be apprehended by the "entering" of one person into the life of another. It is the process of feeling with, not feeling toward. Some psychologists have viewed this process as empathic rapport.

Phenomenology deals not only with objective facts like other sciences, but unlike them it has a special interest in objects as possibilities—objects in the process of becoming. Accordingly it is not only a study of empirical facts, but a science of possibility of emergence of the coming-into-being. Unlike behaviorism and the whole mechanistic positivistic movement, which have explicitly denied the validity of the phenomenological view, descriptive phenomenology recognizes the world of subjective experience. In its most extreme sense phenomenology proclaims that truth for each of us has meaning, that is, is relevant to us, when it has been lived by us. As Kierkegaard noted: "Truth exists for the individual only as he himself produces it in action."

By means of the phenomenological strategy the 'objectively' true, the truth of the natural science, is integrated with the 'subjectively' true, the truth of human experience. The truth of experience is the kind that facts may challenge but cannot destroy, for it is the truth of human cognition and feeling. Basically, phenomenology aims to bring into the light of reason the phenomena of life as they are experienced, in their primary sources—the meaningful activities of human beings. Thus no significant experience is ever finished but continues to contribute to the being-in-becoming of human development. This approach supports the essence of Proust's observation that "the subjective impression, however inferior the material may seem to be and however improbable the outline, is a criterion of truth."²⁰ Phenomenology is then the endeavor to see the phenomena as

experienced by human beings with an openness and readiness for acceptance, implying that these experiences represent reality for the behaving organism. Arthur Combs,²¹ an American pioneer in the area of phenomenology, explores the organism's perceptual frame of reference in considerable detail in delineating his approach to individual behavior as he describes the phenomenal self operating within a perceptual or phenomenal field representing reality for the behavior. Combs' concepts will be developed in context during subsequent chapters of this book as they apply to the developmental self.

WHAT IS PERSONALISM?

Personalism is a point of view that emphasizes the fact that every psychological activity or function is the act of a person or is imbedded in a personal life and deprecates treating these functions in abstraction from the person. There are several versions of personalistic thought.† All the approaches agree that the individual person as a patterned entity must serve as the center of gravity for psychology. The intent of personalism is to rewrite the science of behavior entirely around this focus. Gordon Allport summarizes the basic tenets of personalism in his book *Pattern and Growth in Personality*.²²

Without the coordinating concept of *person* (or some equivalent such as *self* or *ego*), it is impossible to account for the interaction of psychological processes. Memory affects perception, desire influences meaning, meaning determines action, action shapes memory, and so on indefinitely. This constant interpenetration takes place within some boundary, and the boundary is the person. The flow of psychological processes occurs for some purpose and the purpose can be stated only in terms of service to the person.

The organization of thought or behavior can have no significance unless viewed as taking place within a definite framework. Psychological states do not organize themselves nor lead independent existences. Their arrangement merely constitutes part of a larger arrangement—the personal life. Such concepts as function, adaptation, use have no significance without reference to the person. If an adjustment takes place it must be an adjustment of something to something for something. Again, the person is central.

All the evidence—introspective and otherwise—that forces psychology to take account of the self is relevant here. The very elusiveness of the self is significant. James says that to grasp self fully in consciousness is like trying to step on one's own shadow; he views the self as the ground of all experi-

† The most detailed system is found in the writings of the German psychologist William Stern.

ence. Although seldom salient itself, the self provides the platform for all other experience. A creative person is presupposed in the creeds he creates.

Such are some of the philosophical arguments whereby personalistic psychologists (and self psychologists) state their case for the reconstruction of psychology. They gladly consign to the impersonal (natural and biological) sciences the task of exploring a certain range of problems. But they insist that psychology, whose task it is to tie in the whole of behavior, cannot meet its commitments without relating the states and processes it studies to the person who is their originator, carrier, and regulator. There can be no adjustment without someone to adjust, no organization without an organizer, no perception without a perceiver, no memory without self continuity, no learning without a change in a person, no valuing without someone possessed of desires and capacity to evaluate.

To sum up, the personalistic point of view is based partly on philosophical argument and partly on appeal to immediate experience (phenomenology). In essence it is a rebellion against positivist science that tends to regard the individual impersonally and as somewhat insignificant and bothersome. Different approaches of personalism would answer somewhat differently the question *What sort of a creature is man?* But they all agree that the final answer will disclose a creative unity, a purposive growing individual—not a dismembered reactor as pictured by deterministic positivism. The secret of man will not be found in a reductive analysis of his *being* but only by tracing coherently the developmental course of his *becoming*.

WHAT IS EXISTENTIALISM?

Existentialism means centering upon the *existing* person, it is the emphasis upon the human being as he is *emerging, becoming*. Existentialism, like personalism, has no single answer to the question concerning the nature of developmental man. In fact, within this movement, we can find answers that in some respects are diametrically opposed to one another. Some existentialists see man as "a useless passion" while others view man as "a being who exists in relation to God." Thus existentialism may be theistic and atheistic, despairing and hopeful, empirical and mystical—all depending upon the devotee.

Certain features are common to existentialism. One is the conviction that positive science alone cannot discover the nature of man as a being in the world. Each special science is too narrow, and none is synoptic. The methods of positive science tend to rule out the most appropriate tool of research: man's own experience—phenomenology. It is not enough to know how man reacts, we must know how he feels, how he sees himself and his world, what time and space are to *him*, why he lives, what he fears, for what he

would willingly die. Such questions of existence must be put to man directly, not to an outside observer.

All forms of existentialism probably hope to establish a new kind of psychology—a psychology of mankind. The pivot of such a psychology will lie in the perennial themes and crises of human life. Mere stimulus-response sequences, drives, habits, and repetitions tend to miss the catastrophic coloring of life. Psychology, as viewed by the existentialists, should be more urgently human than it is or has been.

What are some of the perennial themes and crises? A person is born in a condition of dependency, he is ordinarily nurtured in love and develops a measure of basic trust. Gradually there comes a poignant sense of selfhood and solitariness which he can never lose, he relates himself to life through his interests and capacities, and seeks always to enhance the value experiences he has as he becomes, he falls in love, mates, nurtures his offspring, he suffers basic anxieties (fear of death, feelings of guilt and a horror of meaninglessness), he seeks always the 'why' of existence, he dies alone. Because psychology as a science has not oriented itself to these central themes, the existentialists claim that it has not yet dealt fully with man's existence—the basic matter of psychology.

There are too many varieties of existentialism to be considered author by author. Many writers—Kierkegaard, Heidegger, Jaspers, Sartre, Berdyaev, Marcel, Binswanger, Frankl, Tillich, and others—have made significant contributions. Two basic questions that are relevant to the movement as a whole will be discussed here.

Is Existentialism Idiographic or Nomothetic?

Each person is busy building his own significant constellation of ego-world relationships. His motives are his own, taking always the form of "personal projects." His inheritance is unique, his experienced environment is unique, all his self-world relationships are unique. Existence ultimately resides nowhere except in the individual's point of view. Thus the foundational framework of the existentialist approach to man's behavior is urgently idiographic.²¹ As yet, however, it offers no special methods for representing the unique structure of persons other than phenomenology. Hence the movement has not evolved genuinely novel methods for the representation of individuality.

What Is Man's Principal Goal?

All existentialist writers agree that existence is essentially a *restlessness*. But is it a blind, disconnected, and useless restlessness? Only a few proponents would say that it is, most writers find a more stable project at the

core of life. Formulations differ, but all agree that there is an anxious out-reaching, a compelling hunger in existence that supersedes animal drives and sheer reactivity. These activities comprise a striving for *self-actualization*. Perhaps the most common terms utilized by existentialists are *anxiety*, *dread*, and *alienation*. Man finds himself "thrown" into an incomprehensible world. He can scarcely avoid an undercurrent of fear with eddies of sharp panic. He lives in a whirlpool of instability, aloneness, and suffering, and is haunted by the ultimate specter of death and nothingness. He would like to escape from the burden of anxiety, but he would also like to know its meaning. Meaninglessness is more of a torture than is anxiety, for if there is a clear purpose in life, then anxiety and dread can be borne. Nietzsche wrote: "He who has a why to live surmounts almost any how."

Man, then, is not just a homeostatic creature. He does not seek only equilibrium within himself and within the environment. His restlessness is systemic and too deep-rooted to be drugged by temporary satisfactions. He seeks a more solid formula for living, something that will enable him to surmount alienation and suffering. Fortunately, we have the capacity to make commitments and to take risks. We can, if we wish, gamble our life on the value of some "personal project," even though we cannot prove its worth nor be assured of its success. To be able to make a life-wager is man's crowning ability. Members of the French or Norwegian underground resistance movement in Hitler's Europe felt that they had little chance of success. But the goal was something worth living for and worth dying for. Suffering and dread are surmounted if we have an ideal of this magnitude.

Thus one's answer to the question concerning the nature of the human person is that he is a creature capable of enhancing the value-attributes of his experience. Every day each of us is building many self-world relationships. Some of these become more and more meaningful, more appropriate, more urgent. They are what make life worthwhile—the truth of living. An essential core of existentialistic thinking implies that *there is no such thing as truth or reality for a living human being except as he participates in it, is conscious of it, has some relationship to it.*

In summary, there is a tendency among existentialist writers to seek one basic intentional theme in human life. A fairly wide range of proposals is the result; yet the various proposals seem to be complementary and concordant, not in actual opposition. Man is inherently restless and anxious, desiring both security and freedom. He strives to counter his condition of alienation by seeking a meaning for existence that will cover the tragic trio of suffering, guilt, and death. By making commitments, he finds that life can become worth living. As man becomes, he enhances his own value experiences. If necessary, he will sacrifice his life in order that some primary values can continue to be served. He is capable of taking responsibility, of answering by his deeds the questions life puts to him. In this way man rises

above his own organic and spiritual urgencies and achieves true self-transcendence.

DEVELOPMENTAL PSYCHOLOGY AS A HUMANISTIC STUDY OF MAN'S EMERGING SELF

Every person born into this world represents something new, something that never existed before, something original and unique. It is the right and privilege of every person to know that there never has been nor will be anyone like him in the world, for if there had been someone like him, there would have been no need for him to be in the world. Every single person is called upon to fulfill his particularity in this world.

In this framework the emphasis turns to man's responsibilities and commitments to self. It is not sufficient for man to question life concerning its meaning and purpose. More important are the questions life puts to each man: What creative behavior will you perform? What responsibility will you assume for your existence now that you have it? Which of the world's needs (not your needs) will you fulfill? This aspect of existentialist thinking goes beyond the goal of "self-actualization," for it asks in effect which of your many potentialities you will choose to actualize. One must transcend himself, take an outside look at his abilities and desires within a context of meaning that is objective, even cosmic. From this viewpoint the capacity for self-transcendence and responsibility becomes the truly significant core of human developmental behavior. As Erich Fromm wrote, "Man must accept the responsibility for himself and the fact that only by using his own powers can he give meaning to life."

WHAT IS DEVELOPMENTAL PSYCHOLOGY?

By technical definition, developmental psychology is the branch of psychology that studies how individuals and classes of individual organisms develop psychologically. It deals with the characteristic behaviors found at various ages or stages of development and with the general principles that describe the course of development, including the interaction of various developmental functions. The scope of developmental psychology includes man's behavior from before birth (prenatal) to death and includes the psychologies of infancy, childhood, adolescence, maturity, and old age (gerontology).²⁴

The approach to developmental psychology in this book will be humanistic in theory and conceptual in nature. Man, as a total self of irreducible units superseding the sum of his part-functions, will be the focal point of developmental behavior. This approach to developing human behavior will emphasize the free, responsible, creative, and autonomous man who is con-

stantly striving to discover himself and his relation to the world around him, as he works toward becoming the fully functioning person aware of his existence and self-actualizing his unique capacities and potentialities as he identifies and solves his problems in the complex process of living-in-becoming. Of necessity the conceptual components of man's behavior, although they are a total and inseparable part of man's functioning entity, will be identified and studied in isolation throughout subsequent chapters. However, we should keep in mind that the separation is unrealistic and has been arbitrarily contrived for purposes of study.

Before considering the multiple aspects of behavior, we shall explore some basic assumptions that will permeate the humanistic-holistic approach to developmental psychology presented in subsequent discussions

RELIGIOUS, PHILOSOPHICAL, AND ETHICAL ASSUMPTIONS

1. *Every human being is valuable, regardless of his sex, age, race, creed, cultural background, social status, capacities, knowledge, or state of emotional adjustment. An individual's value, dignity, and worth inhere in the fact that he is a living human being with potentialities to be realized.*
2. *Every human being has the right and the privilege to be considered as a thoroughly unique individual and to strive for those conditions of living, learning, and behaving, for those relationships with other human beings, and for those experiences that are necessary and appropriate to the achievement of his optimum development as a person and to his optimum usefulness within society.*
3. *Whatever promotes wholesome self-actualization is moral, whatever blocks or prevents optimum self development is evil.*
4. *Every human being has the right to be treated at all times in ways that show respect for his dignity and worth and permit him to retain respect for himself as a person. This is an essential condition to optimum development of self.*
5. *The Golden Rule is the soundest ethical principle against which to evaluate the behavior of individuals, the programs of social institutions, and the policies of cultures and nations. As Hawthorne said: "We have committed the Golden Rule to memory. Now let us commit it to life." To love and to respect other human beings as one does oneself, and to treat others as one would wish to be treated under similar circumstances ought to be fundamental goals constantly sought by teachers, parents and other "significant people" in the developmental lives of youth.*

SOCIAL ASSUMPTIONS

The social assumptions and values upon which the humanistic approach to the developmental study of behavior rests are derived from the philosophical and ethical assumptions just stated and from the traditions of our democratic American society. They are

1. *Every child, inevitably and properly, internalizes the culture of the family, the social groups, the community, and the nation into which he is born. Society thus gives each individual a large portion of his interpretation of reality. The school's task is to facilitate, to correct, and to supplement the internalizations that the child is acquiring outside the school. At the same time, the school must accept, respect, and value every individual, even when circumstances have caused him to internalize inappropriate ideas, attitudes, or action patterns.*
2. *Every individual has certain rights, which, by the Constitution and common law, may not be abridged. Every individual should be made aware of these rights and should be taught to value and to defend them—for himself and for others.*
3. *The democratic process is the best procedure yet devised for promoting the decision making that is a part of all social living and at the same time safeguarding and guaranteeing to each individual the conditions necessary to self-realization. The democratic process is defined as that process in which each individual affected actually participates in making the decisions that determine his conditions of life: work, play, and self-development.*
4. *Each individual must be reared in such a manner that he is capable and desirous of assuming responsibilities and making commitments that are a necessary function of the freedom to make basic choices about the conduct of his own life and to participate in decisions about the conduct of the government under which he lives. Only responsible citizens can maintain and develop so complex a society as the American democratic republic. Only free individuals can achieve optimum self-realization within this context of social responsibility.*
5. *Man is a socially sensitive creature whose social relationships involve social interactions. Man is the one creature who learns to govern his behavior by what difference it*

makes to his fellow humans. He *cares* what other persons think of his actions, what they think of him. Then beliefs, purposes, values, and fears make a real difference to what his will be. Many of his decisions are related to the fact that he shares his life with other people. The behavior of an individual, as he is involved with one or more other persons, derives from the individual's needs and purposes on the one hand and the particular demands of the social circumstances on the other.

SCIENTIFIC ASSUMPTIONS

Throughout the psychological literature, certain axioms concerning human behavior seemingly are viewed as fundamental to an understanding of the development of children and youth. These statements will be developed more elaborately in subsequent discussion of the various components within the phenomenal self.

1. *Behavior is caused and is meaningful.* Behavior is the result of tensions set up by a series of forces operating within and upon the individual. The behavior that emerges usually makes sense when viewed through the eyes of the behaviorer.
2. *The causes that underlie behavior are always multiple.* Some of them are physical—within the body or acting upon the body. Some are relationships of love or hatred, of friendship or antagonism with other individuals. Some are sociocultural, depending upon ideas, habits, and attitudes assimilated from the family and the community or pressed upon the individual by the operation of various social institutions. Some grow out of participation in group activities with peers. Still others grow out of the individual's own interpretations of his accumulating experiences, as he defines values, strives toward goals, and works out defenses against frustrations and limiting circumstances.
3. *Each individual is an indivisible, irreducible unit.* The forces that shape him do not merely accumulate to produce a human being—rather, they interact. Consequently, in reality, one cannot take the individual apart and deal with only one aspect of his dynamic behavior at a time. The whole person will participate and be influenced by all educative experiences.
4. *The human individual develops and continuity characterizes his behavior.* Behavior does not simply appear at some moment; it develops continuously over a period of time.

No child or youth was born as he is, nor was he necessarily destined to become what he is. As the person matures, new capacities for experiencing, for learning, and for action emerge. As experiences accumulate, more and more meanings and feelings are differentiated. Thus the developing human being must reintegrate himself periodically at successively higher levels of complexity both of structure and of meaning.

5. *Every human individual is a dynamic energy system, not just a machine acted upon from without.* The living entity that is a human being develops self-awareness, concepts of and about himself, and a dynamic need to become, to realize his potentialities. This self-conscious person becomes able to distinguish the direction of his own human emergence, to envisage goals of his own, to discern and to create beauty, to discriminate between right and wrong and to choose the right, to find meaning and hope not only for his own life but also for that of mankind. *This dynamic organization of energy that is a human being is potentially a self-actualizing unity.* This emerges from the interaction of the organism with world and society. But it always has the potentiality of going on from where it is to participate in shaping its own further destiny, together with that of the society of which it is a part.

6. *Dynamic self-actualization of the individual is implemented by the existence of an organizing core of value meanings at the center of the self.* These meanings facilitate the interaction between the individual and the succession of situations in which he finds himself. They influence what he perceives each situation to be and to imply for him. They determine what he feels in each situation. They evoke criteria (desired goals and permitted means) against which various behavioral alternatives must be measured. Consequently, they regulate the individual's flow of behavior from situation to situation. This organizing core of value meanings is built up gradually by experience and is modifiable at any time during life when the individual reintegrates himself.

Each individual is unique and is different from every other. Although similar basic forces and processes, available for self-realization, operate to activate all human beings, they vary both qualitatively and quantitatively. Consequently, an individual can understand and appreciate self and move toward self-actualization only if he has very explicit infor-



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mation about himself. Thus, growth involves much self-searching concerning the circumstances and experiences in life and the value meanings and accompanying feelings that these experiences have engendered in him. In the words of Socrates: "The unexamined life is not worth living."

In summary, the five religiophilosophical and ethical assumptions presented affirm the value and dignity of all human life and the nurturing respect and love that all human beings should receive, regardless of the background and the circumstances in which these lives are found. The five social assumptions and values affirm that society is made for and by man, to assist his actualization; man is not made to enhance society at the expense of his own self-development. Because all members of society are interdependent, the welfare of all must be protected and the participation of all must be guaranteed, whether in meeting responsibilities or in reaching decisions. The seven scientific axioms illustrate that although man is shaped by the world with which he interacts, he also becomes dynamic and builds his own destiny and, to some extent, that of society and the world.

Together these three sets of assumptions constitute a psychosocial philosophy of developmental behavior, human relations, and education. In this philosophy man is not only the apex of the emerging process, but a creature with special value and significance in the universe. He is not an operating machine but a creative being-in-becoming person. Man appears to be, at one and the same time, the partial fulfillment of a great creative dynamic in the universe and an autonomous participant in the creative process. The following words may capture this actualizing function:

The Dynamics of Self-actualization: A Phenomenological Approach

I do not choose to be common man. It is my right to be uncommon if I can. I seek opportunity, not security. I do not wish to be a kept citizen, humbled, dulled, by having the state look after me.

I want to take the calculated risk, to dream and to build, to fail or succeed. I refuse to barter incentive for a dole. I prefer the challenge of life to the guaranteed existence, the thrill of fulfillment to the stale calm of Utopia.

I will not trade freedom for beneficence, nor my dignity for a handout. I will never cower before any master nor bend to any threat. It is my heritage to stand erect, proud and unafraid, to think and act for myself, enjoy the benefits of my creation, and to face the world boldly and say: This I have done.

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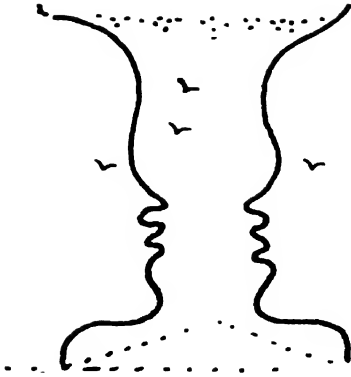
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2

The Nature of the Self



As an hen, even though he were hen to the treasure of all the world, nevertheless does not possess his property before he has come of age, so even the richest personality is nothing before he has chosen himself, and on the other hand even what one might call the poorest personality is everything when he has chosen himself, for the great thing is not to be this or that but to be oneself.

—Kierkegaard

Currently, psychological literature—particularly writings emphasizing the humanistic, phenomenological, or existentialistic viewpoints—frequently considers the concept of self significant in the developmental patterns of human behavior. The Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development devoted their 1962 Yearbook¹ to a discussion of the fully functioning self and the self-actualizing person as seen by Combs, Kelley, Maslow, Rogers, and members of the Yearbook Committee. This chapter will present an overview of the

concept of self as discussed in contemporary psychological literature. Subsequent chapters will be concerned with the self in relevance to origins of the self, perception, self-awareness, human needs and motives, feelings and emotions, sociocultural bases of behavior, physical growth and development, mental development, personality dynamics, learning processes, and the search for personal meaning.

HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE CONCEPT OF SELF IN PSYCHOLOGY

In psychological discussions the word *self* has been used in a variety of ways, as we shall see. Two general connotations have emerged, however: the self as a subject or agent, and the self as the individual who is known to himself.² The term *self-concept* has been commonly used in the literature to denote the second meaning, and this discussion will refer to the self-concept in this sense.

Early in the history of American psychology, there was considerable interest in the self. James, as early as 1890, accorded this topic an important place in his psychological thinking, and to a limited degree the study of the self was pursued by the introspectionists. During the next three decades constructs concerning the self received little consideration from the behaviorist and functionalist psychologies, which were dominating the American scene. As Hilgard³ points out, the introspectionists (functionalism) were unable to handle the self, and a "mentalistic" construct such as the self-concept was not acceptable to behaviorists.

Meanwhile the psychodynamic postulates that were being developed by Freudians and neo-Freudians necessarily implied a self-referent in order to make them plausible and understandable. For at least two reasons these theories did not immediately bring constructs concerning the self to the forefront of American psychology. First of all, Freud himself, in his early theorizing, strongly emphasized the role of the *id*, and he did not explicitly formalize a self-construct or assign the closely related ego functions much importance, relatively. Second, his theory was being denied or ignored by many American general psychologists, who found it lacking in rigor, in susceptibility of empirical testing, and in compatibility with the theoretical models then in favor.

Recently, however, there has been a marked proliferation of self theories, traceable to a number of influences. In his later writings Freud himself assigned greater importance to ego development and functioning, and of course the neo-Freudians stressed the importance of the self-picture and the ego-ideal. At the same time, American psychologists who were beginning to work in clinical settings found behavioristic approaches apparently too limited to account for the phenomena they were observing, and they were

ready to entertain psychoanalytic ideas, particularly of the modified variety. Because their interests were somewhat different from those of the students in the general experimental psychology of cognition and motivation, the clinicians may have felt less need for neat, philosophically sophisticated, operationally circumscribed theorizing. They may have been less distressed to depart from such theorizing in their search for conceptual schema to account for their observations.

During this same period, the functionalists continued their introspective methods, devised to elicit the subjects' own view of their behavior, and the Gestalt psychologists injected their phenomenological methods and theories into the stream of general psychology. Meanwhile, the possibility of an operational behaviorism involving complex cognitive and motivational intervening variables was being explored. All of these processes implied the possibility of fusing general psychological theories of cognition and motivation with the psychoanalytic or psychodynamic theories originating in the clinics. Thus all of the theories of personality that have been proposed within the last two decades assign significance to a phenomenal (conscious) and/or nonphenomenal (unconscious) self-concept with cognitive and motivational attributes. Although Wylie, in her book *The Self-Concept*,⁴ offers a detailed review of recent research literature in self theories, the current discussion will be restricted to a brief examination of the contributions to "self psychology" from psychoanalytic approaches, neops psychoanalytical positions, and phenomenological theories.

PSYCHOANALYTIC CONTRIBUTIONS TO SELF THEORIES

Freud

Freud structured the total personality around three major systems, the *id*, the *ego*, and the *superego*. Freud felt that the self, or in his terms, ego, was that which modifies the psychic energy of the id. The ego determines modes of expression and facilitates reaction. In Freud's theory, the id, the ego, and the superego in a mentally healthy individual form a unified and harmonious organization. Working together cooperatively, they enable the individual to carry on effective transactions with his environment. If the three systems are incompatible with one another, the person is considered maladjusted.

The id functions on the pleasure principle to reduce or free the person from tension. An individual's impulsive behavior and actions are associated with the strong id.

The ego is governed by the reality principle, the aim of which is to postpone the release of energy until the object that will satisfy the need

has been discovered or produced. Eventually the reality principle leads to pleasure, although a person may have to endure some discomfort while he searches for reality.

The superego is the moral branch, representing the ideal rather than the real, and it strives for perfection instead of reality or pleasure. Freud felt that effective disciplining of the child occurs not through instruction, but through the child's unconscious incorporation of the parent image, which became the superego. The superego is made up of two subsystems, the ego ideal and the conscience. Ego ideal corresponds to the child's conception of what his parents consider to be right. The parents convey their standards to the child when they reward him for conduct that conforms to their standards. The superego is the representative in the personality of the traditional values and ideals of society as they are handed down from adults to children. The child's superego is considered a reflection not of parents' conduct, but rather of the parents' superego. The developing child has many models for the superego in the significant adults in his life whom he admires or considers authority figures.

Thus the id may be regarded as the product of one's biological endowment, the ego as the result of interaction with objective reality in the higher mental processes, and the superego as the product of socialization and the vehicle of cultural tradition. The term in Freudian psychology, then, that is closest to the self concept, is the construct of the ego.

Adler

The Adlerian term covering the same area as that of ego psychology or self-concept is the *life style*. The child is born into a total community where he is confronted with carrying out the tasks of life and learning effective methods of coping with them. The child first learns to interact with the people in his family, where the first views of life are formulated. As the child relates to parents and siblings, he concludes how to live effectively within the family atmosphere, which fosters attitudes and values that develop the life style. Adlerians believe that all of a child's behavior is a result of this life style, which is based upon an evaluation of self and society.

The child's evaluation of self and his position gives unity to his personality. Hence, all of his actions and attitudes become expressions of this life style. From the early formative years the style of life works through experiences that eventually develop into a characteristic pattern of reactions and evaluations. The subjective interpretation of his experiences eventually form the guidelines for all of his psychological activity. The self-consistent unity, which Adlerians have also denoted as *biased apperception* or *private logic*, then serves as a measuring stick for all the decisions of life.

The life style, then, does not evolve from any specific experience, but in-

stead is formed from the continual repetition of approaches used to cope with the tasks of living. Each child adopts certain means that facilitate his life plan, as his experiences confirm his anticipations, the style of life becomes set. Thus, when people appear to be behaving inappropriately, then behavior is always consistent with their style of life, which grew from their own experiences.

The Adlerians recognize that behavior is a result of more than hereditary or environmental factors and that the self and the individual's creative power to evaluate his experiences are crucial in understanding the "why" of behavior. The person's perception determines his behavior more than the so-called reality of the situation. Each child's style of life guides all his actions and accords with his goals and purposes. The child is asking, "Who am I?" and "How can I achieve my goals?" A knowledge of an individual's life style provides insight into his behavioral themes. The continual interaction between the child and his environment and his evaluation of it produces the style of life.

Adlerians prefer to refer to the self area as the style of life. The unity in the individual's thinking, feeling, and expressions of personality is the life style. What Freud called the ego, Adler termed the life style of the individual.

Jung

Jung stressed the uniqueness of human motives and the striving toward individuation. He postulated a broad "collective unconscious" consisting of inherited "archetypes," which are collections of primordial universal motives and human images. Jung's approach to the self included a second structural element, the "personal unconscious," which contains forgotten and repressed material. The "conscious" is the external awareness level concerned with problems of everyday living, whereas the "persona" is a type of mask hiding the deeper personality characteristics from others. Jung considered the persona an important and healthy element of personality except when it tended to dominate the "real" personality or to blind the person to what Jung labeled his "shadow." The shadow part of the personal unconscious is considered to be impulsive and generally not consciously or socially acceptable.

In addition to the persona and shadow, other archetypes such as "animus" (masculine aspect of women), "anima" (feminine element in men), and the "self" (the achievement of oneness and unity) were included in Jung's system of personality dynamics. Jung emphasized that the psychotherapist must help the client replace his neuroses with more positive values as he worked toward "building" an individual self. Hence he placed a high value upon religion and its integration with psychology.

NEOPSYCHOANALYTICAL CONTRIBUTIONS TO SELF THEORIES

Sullivan

Harry Stack Sullivan contributed a theory of interpersonal relationships, including the interaction between personality development and culture. According to the "interpersonal theory," the individual appears quite different, both to himself and to others, depending upon the particular personalities with whom he is interacting at the moment. Sullivan postulates two basic goals of human behavior—physical satisfactions (food, drink, rest, sex) and security (defined as a state of pleasantness or euphoria resulting from fulfilled social expectations). The child, in the process of acculturation, finds himself in frequent conflict between need satisfaction and security, which develops increased muscle tension. He excludes from his consciousness selected phases of his experience that have proven anxiety provoking.

If the child can obtain both satisfaction and security, he gains a sense of mastery or power, hence, he begins to experience a higher evaluation of himself. This self-regarding attitude is determined by the attitude of others toward him (including parents) in the process of acculturation. Self attitudes, in addition, seem to facilitate the attitudes which he has toward others. Thus Sullivan emphasized the importance of the child's way of perceiving the world and adapting to it. He believed that the infant learned to make differentiations based upon anxiety, and that these differentiations later became the self concept. For Sullivan, then, the self concept developed from the reflected appraisals of significant others in the child's life.

Horney

Karen Horney, a so-called neo-Freudian, differs from earlier psychoanalysts in that she too stresses the cultural determinants of behavior and emphasizes that maladaptive behaviors arise largely from disturbances in human relationships. Horney feels that the totality of early childhood experiences and conflicts form a unique character structure that predisposes the person to behave in certain ways. She stresses the competing and contradictory demands of our culture upon the person as one source of tensions. The conflicts in the culture are often internalized into "the self" and express themselves in various forms of aggressiveness and yielding, personal power and helplessness, self aggrandizement and self sacrifice, trust of people and fear of them.

Basically, Horney saw child development as a maturational process that

leads to the full realization of the individual's capabilities. She postulates a force toward growth that leads to an unfolding of the individual's potentialities. For Horney, the interference that causes the most anxiety is a lack of love. Under this anxiety and pressure the child reacts either by moving toward people, withdrawing from people, or perhaps acting against them.⁵

Fromm

Erich Fromm, as are Sullivan and Horney, is concerned with the social influences upon behavior. He too stresses the individuality of man, his goal directedness, and creative and productive possibilities. Fromm was one of the first to use the term *self-realization* in a therapeutic context, viewing growth as an unfolding process of man's psychological powers. He places the responsibility for many personal conflicts upon the economic structure and upon guilt formation.

More broadly, Fromm conceives that the main problems of modern man revolve around ethical conflicts and relatedness, particularly in regard to loving and being loved. The relatedness of man to himself and man to his world, particularly to people, is an unending human problem as viewed by Fromm. The higher goal of man is to lead a creative, productive life and relate to his human world. Fromm sees a mature love, including self love, as the unifying 'glue' in the development of self and human relationships.

PHENOMENOLOGICAL VIEWS OF SELF

The developing human being in the process of constant self-actualization perceives and conceptualizes. He has within himself the creative force that enables him to give meaning and to interpret. Past experiences and his value system assist him to evaluate all of his experiences continually.

The self is one's inner world. This self evolves from evaluational interaction, becoming the consistent personal, individual, and unique perception of 'I' and 'me'. The person's perception of the reflected attitudes and judgments of those who make up his world serves as the foundation for the formulation of self. The self concept, as such, really is the individual's anticipation of his general acceptance or rejection in a given situation. As the self concept is formulated, it tends to shape new experiences to conform to established patterns. Behavior then becomes an attempt to maintain the consistency of the self concept and to promote the self-actualization of the individualistic, unique self that a person can be in terms of his potentialities as a human being.

As used in the phenomenological sense, *the self* will mean, among other things, a system of ideas, attitudes, appraisals, concepts, value judgments, and commitments pertaining to one's own person. Conceptions of self are

not cold, hard facts. They are deep personal meanings, beliefs, values, attitudes, and feelings about oneself. It takes values and purposes that encompass the dynamics of interaction, on a self-to-self basis, a person-to-person basis, and a person-to-group basis, to produce the kinds of vital experiences that noticeably change self-perception. The person experiences these phenomena as distinctly belonging to him, and all of them together constitute the person's composite awareness of his individual existence and his conception of who, what, and why he is.

The self has been considered as both a perceiver and an organism perceived—factors that generally contribute to multidimensional selves. Reality to a person is normally as he perceives self and the world around him. The self consists, in part at least, of the accumulated experiential background of each person and as such contributes to the differential uniqueness of each individual. Although the self is distinctive to each individual, it is built almost entirely by continuous social interchange with other organisms. The self is not given; it must be accumulated through longitudinal interchange with other human beings. As such, the concept of self and others is not a duality, but a necessary composite for self-development.

The real challenge for psychology comes in the attempt to predict individual behavior, to understand an individual beyond the normative sense, to know not only how he is like others, but also in which ways he is unique and why. The self-concept and life style, then, are the keys to the unique personalities of human beings. As it were, then, *the pattern of life of every individual is a living-out of his self-image; it is his road map for living.* Raimy, who first defined self-concept in 1913, said of it:

The self-concept is the more or less organized perceptual object resulting from present and past self observation . . . [it is] what a person believes about himself. The self-concept is the map which each person consults in order to understand himself, especially during moments of crisis or choice.⁶

Raimy showed how the self-concept serves as an executive in that it represents for the individual a way to make a variety of decisions with some consistency. Margaret Mead⁷ considers the self as a social structure deriving from a social experience. For her, the individual child experiences himself from the reflected views of the group. Ausubel⁸ indicates that development of the ego comes from the continual interaction of social experience and the already existent personality structure, mediated by perceptual responses.

The self-concept serves to integrate and to differentiate a variety of learning experiences. Much of the individual's behavior is an attempt to maintain the consistency of his self-concept. The self, then, is developed through the child's interaction with people and his total environment. To a great extent, it is shaped during infancy and early childhood. As the child experi-

ences life situations, his continual evaluation facilitates adjustment. The self permits the child to act, to adjust, to do more than merely respond to a specific stimulus. Strong within every person is the urge for self-actualization—to give expression to what he believes are his strengths, to make actual that which he senses within himself as potentially significant assets. Fromm, in his *Man for Himself*, declares: "Man's main task in life is to give birth to himself, to become what he potentially is."⁹ The self, then, permits the person to make decisions and to personalize his reactions. Jersild has explained the self as follows: "It is a composite of a person's thoughts and feelings, strivings and hopes, fears and fantasies, his views of what he is, what he has been, what he might become, and his attitudes pertaining to his worth."¹⁰

In summary, the self is essentially a learned social product arising out of the experiences with people—parents, siblings, relatives, peers, and the general community within the settings of sociocultural milieu. Self-awareness does not happen all at once, but is a dynamic, ongoing developmental process that begins during infancy and early childhood and continues until death. As all the sensations are interpreted by the child, the process of selfhood begins. He views his daily experiences in the light of his self-image, and reality is for him his self-perceptions. In the light of these self-perceptions, he behaves in the best way he knows how to behave at any given time and circumstance. If his self-perceptions change, he may behave differently.

Combs' Phenomenal Self

Arthur W. Combs and Donald Snygg, in their classic book *Individual Behavior: A Perceptual Approach to Behavior*,¹¹ refer to the multidimensional aspects of self. They indicate that the ways in which the self may be described are practically limitless. Each person possesses a large number of ways of describing and distinguishing himself among other people. These are descriptions of the self that the individual shares with others. People also have many ways of seeing themselves that are of little importance to other people, but may be quite significant to the individual himself. Concepts of the self may be held in common by the individual and by outsiders, or they may be the peculiar perceptions of the individual's own private world of experience.

The perceptions people have of themselves are not limited to description alone, but include perceptions related to feelings, attitudes, values, and personal traits. Whatever his way of describing himself, each individual has developed a large number of such perceptions. Combs sees these perceptions as concepts of self, which the individual regards as part, or characteristic of his being. These would include all perceptions the individual has differentiated as descriptive of the self he calls *I* or *me*. These myriad self-per-

ceptions do not exist in a person's perceptual field as a mere enumeration of ways of seeing oneself. In effect, the concepts of self that each individual possesses is an organization that is the individual's own private conception of himself in all his complexity. The organization of all the ways an individual has of seeing himself Combs and Snygg refer to as the *perceived self* or *phenomenal self*. They define it as follows:

By the phenomenal self is meant the individual's own unique organization of ways of regarding self; it is the Gestalt of his concepts of self. Whereas the concepts of self about which we have been speaking describe isolated aspects of the person, the phenomenal self is the organization or pattern of all those which the individual refers to as "I" or "me." It is himself from his own point of view. The phenomenal self is not a mere conglomeration or addition of isolated concepts of self, but a patterned interrelationship or Gestalt of all these. It is the individual as he seems from his own vantage point. . . . We call this organization the self concept. In this way he may extract from the phenomenal field those particular concepts of self which are such fundamental aspects of his phenomenal self that they seem to the individual to be "he" in all times and at all places. This is the very essence of "me" whose loss is regarded as personal destruction.¹²

Perceptual psychologists consider, as a basic axiom, that all behavior is a product of the perceptual field of the behavior at the moment of action. Thus, how any person behaves will be a direct outgrowth of the way things seem to him at the moment of behaving. Combs has identified three basic characteristics of the phenomenal self that are relevant to this view of perceptual behavior. These are (1) clarity and centrality of self-perceptions, (2) consistency of the phenomenal self, and (3) the stability of the phenomenal self.¹³

In relevance to clarity and centrality, the phenomenal self, like all other perceptions, has the feeling of reality to the individual. That is, his perceived self seems to him to be truly himself. It probably is not possible, however, for the individual ever to perceive the total organization of his self-perceptions clearly at any one moment. More likely, he perceives those aspects of concepts of self that emerge into his awareness from time to time as he goes about the daily business of satisfying his fundamental need of self-fulfillment.

In explaining the consistency of the perceived self, Combs and Snygg see it as including numerous concepts of self, which are not a mere collection of unrelated self-perceptions, but, quite the contrary, the concepts comprising the perceived self have a very definite organizational relationship to each other. They state: "The fact that the phenomenal field is organized requires a high degree of consistency in the perceived aspects of self."¹⁴

This characteristic of consistency of the self seemed so important to Prescott Lecky that he postulated a need for self-consistency as the basic need of the organism. Lecky states: "The goal for which the individual strives is the maintenance of a unified organization—self-consistency."¹⁵ Combs and Snygg concur with Lecky in seeing the fundamental need of the organism as the search for adequacy. To achieve the adequate self, they maintain, will require that the individual develop a high degree of consistency within his phenomenal self—an organized self must necessarily be a self-consistent and authentic one.

In reference to the third characteristic, Combs and Snygg believe that once established in a given personality, the perceived self has a high degree of stability. They believe that the phenomenal self with the self-concept as its core represents our fundamental frame of reference, our anchor to reality, and even an unsatisfactory self-organization is likely to prove highly stable and resistant to change. As such, a rapidly changing self would not provide the kind of stable frame of reference the individual needs in order to deal effectively and efficiently with life. To be able to deal with life at all, a person needs a firm basis from which to operate, and the maintenance of his phenomenal self is essential. The very operation of his fundamental need—adequacy—leads to a high degree of stability in the perceived self.

Although the origins and development of the self will be discussed in detail later, a quick look at Combs and Snygg's developmental view seems to be necessary here. They see the self as essentially a social product arising out of the experience with people. Although some of the individual's experience of self may be achieved in isolation from other people, by far the greater portion of his self arises out of his relations with others. Combs and Snygg state:

Human personality is primarily a product of social interaction. We learn the most significant and fundamental facts about ourselves from what Sullivan called "reflected appraisals," inferences about ourselves made as a consequence of the ways we perceive others behaving toward us. We learn who we are and what we are from the way we are treated by those who surround us; in our earliest years by our families and in later years by all those people with whom we come in contact. People are continually discovering and rediscovering themselves from birth to death.¹⁶

Kelley's Fully Functioning Self

Earl C. Kelley¹⁷ sees the self as unique to each individual, being built from his own biological structure in interaction with his social environment through the accumulation of his experiential background. This self is built almost entirely in relationship to others through continuous social inter-

change. The self has to be achieved, not given. Because the self is achieved through social contact, it has to be understood in terms of others. According to Kelley, the self consists of an organization of accumulated experience over a whole lifetime within a becoming, but never arriving, world. He sees the fully functioning self as always "aspiring-becoming" with certain distinctive characteristics facilitated by selective perception of the individual who chooses that upon which the self feeds.

For the development of a fully functioning self, a person needs to have opportunities to live the good life. This life (his world) needs to be populated by people whom he can view as facilitating. Life is almost entirely a matter of people, not things. The perceptive process is the only avenue by which the self can be fed. The growth of the self depends upon perceptive choices by the individual. Confidence opens the barriers so that enhancing self-experiences can be assimilated. A positive and accepting view of self and others is the natural outcome. The fully functioning self is motivated "to become" by the value of facilitating self and others. The self "looks out" upon the surrounding scene, largely in terms of its own enhancement or defense. When a fearful person withdraws within his psychological shell, the self becomes less adequate and the whole person loses his ability to do, to venture, to create.

Kelley maintains that since life is ever-moving and ever-becoming, the fully functioning self is cast in a creative role. He sees that creation is not something of the past that is finished, but that life is going on now and that he is very much a part of it. The fearful person withdraws from human living and communication is shut off. The self then is denied that upon which it feeds—ideas and experiences with other people. Without these social opportunities, the self becomes less adequate, and the whole person loses his ability to function as an enhancing self. The individual comes to see himself as impoverished, but seemingly not able to do much about it by himself.

The fully functioning person thinks well of himself and others; hence, he sees his personal commitments and opportunities to identify with people in meaningful ways. Thus life is seen as a cooperative venture. When a person is a social being, built in relationship to others through identification and involvement, he becomes motivated and responsible. He comes to see other people as opportunities not for exploitation, but for the building of self. The better the life, the better the values accumulated. The one who sees human beings as essential to his own enhancement develops values related to the welfare of people. This person knows no other way to live except in keeping with his values. He has no need to shift continuously his behavior during relations with various people; he has what it takes to live as life really exists without conflicting social ambiguities. In short, the fully functioning person sees himself as an ongoing part of a somewhat

consistent, harmonious world in movement—in the enhancing process of becoming while being.

Maslow's Actualizing Self

Abraham H. Maslow¹⁸ views man's ultimate need as adequacy—his driving force for the desire to enhance himself within his phenomenal field, which he calls *self-actualization*. He has developed a theory of motivated behavior based upon needs, with a hierarchy of human needs ranging from physiological needs to self-actualization. Maslow believes that every person has an essential inner core, the self, that is intrinsic, given, and "natural" and consists of many biological and psychological factors. He assumes that this raw material very quickly starts growing into a self as it meets the world outside and begins to have transactions with it. Each person's inner nature has some characteristics that all other selves have (species-wide), such as the need for love, and some that are unique to the person (idiosyncratic).

The self grows into adulthood only partly by (objective or subjective) discovery, uncovering and accepting what is the inner nature of that person. Partly it is also the creation of the person himself. According to Maslow, life is a continual series of choices for the individual in which a main determinant of choice is the person as he already is, including his many goals, feelings, and perceptions. The person, insofar as he is a real person, is his own main determinant. Thus every person is, in part, "his own project" and makes himself.

Maslow maintains that psychological health is not possible unless this essential core of the person is fundamentally accepted, loved, and respected by others and by himself. He defines healthy psychological growth as "growth toward self-actualization." Common definitions of self-actualization seem to accept or imply (a) acceptance and expression of the inner core or self, that is, actualization of these latent capacities and potentialities, "full functioning," availability of the human and personal essence; and (b) minimal presence of ill health, neurosis, psychosis, of loss or diminution of the basic human and personal capacities. If the essential core of the person is frustrated, denied, or suppressed, the basic opportunities for growth toward self-actualization are retarded, and psychological inadequacies and illnesses in multiple forms may result.

Maslow sees the general illness of the personality as anything that seriously interferes with self-actualization—the ultimate development of self in terms of capacities and potentials. According to him, one of the main sources of psychological illness is the lack of gratification or the frustration of the basic needs, of idiosyncratic potentials, of expression of the self, and of the tendency of the person to grow in his own style, especially in the

early years of life. In short, Maslow sees the self as being basically "good" rather than "evil," which, if basic needs are gratified consistently in a facilitating sociocultural climate, gravitates positively toward self-actualization as an integrated total organism. The discussion here has been restricted to Maslow's basic ideas concerning the nature of the actualized self. Many of his theories concerning basic needs, stress, motivated behavior, and the development of self will be considered in subsequent chapters.

Rogers' Congruent Self

Carl G. Rogers,¹⁹ eminent psychotherapist and originator of "client-centered therapy," is generally recognized for having collected the most systematic set of principles and constructs on self-theory from clinical evidence, as well as for applying the theory to counseling and psychotherapy. Congruence is a significant term used by phenomenological theorists, particularly Rogers. Much of Rogers' thinking concerning the concept of self and the implications for psychotherapy is related to the concept of congruence; hence the reference in this section to Rogers' congruent self. Congruence, according to Rogers, is the human state in which self-experiences are accurately symbolized in the self-concept—integrated, whole, genuine—which necessitates a close matching of personal awareness and experience. The nature of the self and Rogers' assumptions concerning the nature of man may help to delineate his view of the "congruent self."

The self is a construct rooted in Gestalt and phenomenological psychology; it is typically defined as "the individual's dynamic organization of concepts, values, goals, and ideas which determine the ways in which he should behave."²⁰ In the concept of self is the individual's consistent picture of himself as he sees himself from personal evaluations of direct experience, as related to his own awareness and those individuals with whom he interacts.

Rogers, in his various writings, sees self as the organized, consistent, conceptual Gestalt composed of perceptions of the characteristics of the "I" or "me" to others and the various aspects of life, together with the values attached to these perceptions. As with all theoretical constructs of this kind, there is danger in considering self as a "man within a man" having personal qualities and to use the concept as an universal explanation for motivation and behavior. Rogers used the concept of self in the sense of awareness of being or functioning, not as a synonym for a physical and mental organism. Thus, the self takes on various subjective attributes in the process of being and becoming in the form of "I am" (his nature), "I can" (his capacities), "I should or should not" (his values), and "I want to be" (his aspirations). When the individual perceives himself as behaving in

a manner consistent with his own picture of himself, he is a congruent self who generally experiences feelings of adequacy, security, and worth.

Rogers' thinking concerning the general nature of man and of the individual has contributed much to his formulation of the congruent self. Generally, a common concept of man is that he is by nature irrational, unsocialized, and destructive of himself and others. Rogers' client-centered point of view sees man, on the contrary, as basically rational, socialized, forward-moving, and realistic. Although antisocial emotions exist and are manifested in therapy, these are not spontaneous, uncontrollable impulses, but are reactions—the frustration of the more basic needs of love, belonging, security, and so on. Rogers views man as basically cooperative, constructive, and trustworthy; when he is free from defensive behavior his reactions are positive, forward-moving, and constructive. Hence, there is no need to be concerned about controlling his hostile, aggressive, antisocial tendencies, because he will become autonomous, balancing his needs against each other.

Individually, man possesses the unique capacity to experience, through self-awareness, the factors in his psychological maladjustment and to correct them through self-regulatory discipline and to work toward the state of a congruent psychological self through a therapeutic relationship. This tendency toward adjustment is the inherent need of man for the self-actualization of the fully functioning person. Psychotherapy offers the opportunity for liberating an existing capacity within the individual. Philosophically, then, man has the capacity to guide, to regulate, and to control himself, provided that conditions exist to release this capacity. It is necessary to provide external control and regulation of the individual only in the absence of conditions of maximum growth. When a person is provided with reasonable conditions for human development, he will actualize his capacities and potentialities and become the individual that he could be. The following quotation from Rogers may best summarize his beliefs about the congruent self or a fully functioning person:

I find such a person to be a human being in flow, in process, rather than having achieved some state. Fluid change is central in the picture. I find such a person to be sensitively open to all of his experience—sensitive to what is going on in his environment, sensitive to other individuals with whom he is in relationship, and sensitive perhaps most of all to the feelings, reactions, and emergent meanings which he discovers in himself. The fear of some aspects of his own experience continues to diminish, so that more and more of his life is available to him. Such a person experiences in the present, with immediacy. He is able to live in his feelings and reactions of the moment. He is not bound by the structure of his past learnings. . . . He lives freely, subjectively, in an existential confrontation of this moment of life.

Such a person is trustingly able to permit his total organism to func-

tion freely in all its complexity in selecting . . . that behavior which in this moment of time will be most generally and genuinely satisfying . . . recognizing that his total organism may be, and often is, wiser than his awareness. Such a person is a creative person. With his sensitive openness to his world, and his trust of his own ability to form new relationships with his environment, he is the type of person from whom creative products and creative living emerge. Finally, such a person lives a life which involves a wider range, a greater richness, than the constricted living in which most of us find ourselves . . . This process of healthy living . . . involves the stretching and growing of becoming more and more of one's potentialities. *It involves the courage to be.* It means launching oneself fully into the stream of life. Yet the deeply exciting thing about human beings is that when the individual is inwardly free, he chooses this process of becoming [a congruent self].²¹

Jersild's "Inner World" Self

Arthur T. Jersild,²² a distinguished developmental psychologist who writes in the areas of childhood²³ and adolescence,²⁴ views the self as a composite of thoughts and feelings that constitute a person's awareness of his individual existence, his conception of who and what he is, including among other things a system of ideas, attitudes, values, and commitments. He sees the self as a person's total subjective environment—a distinctive "center of experience and significance." As such, the self constitutes a person's "inner world," as distinguished from the "outer world" consisting of all other people and things. Jersild describes the "inner world" self as follows:

The self is what might be called the child's inmost subjective and private personality, for it includes his awareness of his existence as a separate creature in his own right. It is all that a person calls "I"; it is all that he calls "mine." It is his world as experienced by him . . . and may be something quite different from the world as it appears to others. As the child develops, the self which we call his includes a system of ideas and attitudes. As he becomes able to formulate his thoughts and to crystallize his attitudes, the self includes a system of memories, beliefs, values, hopes, and expectations.

The self is subjective . . . ; it is seen from within and known only to the person himself. It differs from the external and objective as seen by another. . . . The self can be regarded as objective in the sense that a person can to some extent look at him as he might look at an object. But the main point . . . here is that the inner and subjective dimensions of experience may be distinguished from, and may in some ways be quite different from, the outer and objective dimensions that meets the naked eye.²⁵

In discussing the structure of the self,²⁶ Jersild mentions that the self comes into being as the child, with all that is inherent in his make up, comes to grips with the experiences of life. As it finally evolves, the self is made up of all that constitutes a person's experiences of his individual existence—his private "inner world." This unique personal world is a composite of an individual's thoughts and feelings, strivings and hopes, fears and fantasies, his view of what he is, what he has been, what he might become, and his attitudes pertaining to his worth.

Jersild believes that the self includes, among other things, three basic components: *perceptual*, *conceptual*, and *attitudinal* attributes. The perceptual component refers to the way a person perceives himself—the image he has of the appearance of his body, the picture he has of the impressions he makes upon others. The conceptual component includes his conceptions of his distinctive characteristics, his abilities, and limitations, his conceptions of his background and origins, and his ideas and aspirations concerning his future. The attitudinal component of the self represents the feelings a person has about himself, his attitudes concerning his present status and future prospects, his tendency to view himself with pride or shame, his convictions concerning his worthiness or unworthiness, and his attitudes of self-esteem and self-reproach. Thus, as a person works toward maturity, these attitudes relating to self include also the beliefs, convictions, ideas, values, aspirations, and commitments that make up a person's philosophy of life.

Although Jersild regards the self as a subjective phenomenon, he believes that it is possible for a person to regard aspects of himself both as subjects and as objects. For example, when a person indicates, "This is what I think and how I feel," he expresses a state of being that only he experiences directly. However, he can also view himself objectively by examining (to a degree) his feelings and asking why he feels as he does. This person can also view his thoughts and examine his beliefs as though they were objects; he can review and question them. Thus, according to Jersild, a person's self—the sum total of all that he can call his within his private inner world of perceptual, conceptual, and attitudinal experiences—is both a knower and something known, a perceiver and something perceived.

Bugental's Existentialistic,* Authentic Self

James F. T. Bugental,²⁷ a highly respected psychotherapist, viewing the self from an existential-analytic humanistic approach, sees man in a

* Although Bugental has been selected here to represent the existentialistic position, other eminent psychotherapists such as Erich Fromm, Victor Frankl, Rollo May, and Clark Moustakas, have contributed much to our knowledge of the existentialistic self.

constant search for authenticity. To him the major goals in psychotherapy are to discard the distortions of awareness that arise to forestall existential anxiety and to accept the responsibilities and opportunities of authentic being in the world. Authenticity is the primary value of the existential view of seeing man and working with him. According to Bugental a person is authentic in that degree to which his being in the world is unqualifiedly in accord with the givenness of his own nature and of the world. He uses the term *authenticity* to characterize both a hypothesized ultimate state of at-oneness with the cosmos and the immense continuum leading toward that ultimate ideal. Thus the authentic self would be a way of being in the world in which that self is in harmony with the being of the world itself as a person strives toward becoming the individual that he can become.

Bugental's existential-analytic theses of describing the nature of man in the world is based upon the following definite humanistic postulates: (1) Man, as man, supersedes the sum of his parts (2) Man has his being in a human context. (3) Man is aware. (4) Man has choice (5) Man demonstrates his intent in his choices. Through awareness the self can estimate its relation to the world. Bugental sees this relationship as having four characteristics: (1) We are limited in our awareness of ourselves and our world (2) We can act in ways that affect our awareness of ourselves and our world. (3) We have choice about which actions to take and not to take (4) Although each of us is in one sense alone, in another we are all related²⁵ Thus the existential position recognizes the primary significance of awareness through the phenomenological world of grounding existential thought in real human experience. Besides awareness, other significant considerations within Bugental's existentialistic, authentic self are contingency, existential anxiety, choice, freedom, responsibility, courage, actualization, existence, being, non-being, death, meaninglessness, creativity, aloneness, loneliness, and encounter.*

Having presented the basic existential orientation on the nature of man, we shall now take a quick look at Bugental's existential-analytic self. In discussing the concept of a person he differentiates as follows:

A basic—and in my view, erroneous—assumption is that the words “I,” “me,” “self,” and “person” all point to the same psychological entity. Instead, we find much to be gained by differentiating among these terms. . . . The *I*, I will hold, is pure subject and a unity. The *Me* is

* These concepts will not be defined or discussed here. They are presented to orient the reader to their inclusion in Bugental's thinking, a discussion of them is beyond the scope of this writing. See J. I. Bugental, *The Search for Authenticity*, New York. Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, Inc., 1965, pp. 21–29.

pure object and really only an adjective applied to certain perceptual experiences. The *Self* may be nearly synonymous with the *Me*; although often it is used in a sense that is more accurately named the *Self-Concept*: that is, as the common element in otherwise diverse perceptions involving one's own person. Person is a term to designate any single individual and as such indicates the composite of his *I*, *Me*, *Self*, or *Self-Concept* loosely grouped together. . . . These clarifications are essential to movement toward authentic living in ontologic freedom.²⁹

Bugental distinguishes sharply between the *Self-as-doer* and the *Self-as-object*. The *Self-as-doer* is, according to him, by its very nature, unobservable. He recognizes that the true *Self-as-doer*, the *I*, is a radically different process from the object of perception, the *Self-as-object*, or the *Me*. Thus, as Bugental uses the term *Self*, it properly relates to the *Me*, never to the *I*. The *Self* is an object in the awareness of the *I-process*. He does not see the *Self* as synonymous with the *I-process* but as the *Me* of which there may be multiple *Selves*. Basically, in Bugental's thinking the *I* or *I-process* is that feelingful awareness which discloses other aspects of our being: we are finite; we have the potential to take action; we can choose from among actions and nonactions that which we will make actual, and we are separate from, but related to, other men. He sees the *I-process* chiefly as combined awareness and choice making, with other attributes subsumed under this composite function. The *I-process* is the total livingness, not just biological livingness.

In discussing the functioning of the self, Bugental takes his clues from Raimy's original definition of the self-concept—"the map which each person consults in order to understand himself, especially during moments of crisis or choice."³⁰ Hence the *Self* or *Self-concept* is created from experience, is consulted like a map, an inanimate object, and is not the acting agent. Bugental sees the *Self* as a useful, even essential, tool to see the awareness for more creative choice, serving as a quick reference for handling countless minor decisions and action situations. He points out the difficulty when we mistake the *Self* for the whole of our being and thus lose true choice. In doing so, we are prone to be influenced by cultural emphases on one's "image," on other-directedness, on mechanomorphic views of human nature, and on values placed on consistency. From an existential viewpoint, he recognizes that consistency is not a value in itself, inasmuch as certain inconsistencies and conflicts within the *Self* need not interfere with authentic living. In fact he believes rigid consistency may prevent choice-level action and the full responsibility of the *I-process*. In essence, Bugental sees authenticity (defined in early discussion) as the key value for the functioning of the *I-process* within emergent, self-actualizing man as he develops an existential-analytic self.

Common Assumptions of Phenomenological Theorists

The phenomenological approach believes that people select, even as children, what they perceive. Self theorists, espousing the principle of self-selection, believe that a person, when given a truly free choice, most of the time chooses what is good for growth. He would do so because it feels right and gives him pleasure; it appears to be authentic and good. From a child's experiences with significant others, he begins to understand human relationships. Phenomenological thinking implies that self-understanding and acceptance are reflections of understanding and acceptance by "significant people" in the environment and lead the individual to accept, to face up to, and to move toward, rather than away from, life.

The freedom and responsibility for this self-actualizing process is based upon the following inherent assumptions: (1) that each person is worthy of respect; (2) that a human being grows continuously from birth to death, at all times merging the past and future into the *now*; (3) that each of us is a product of an inner core, developed and modified by experience; (4) that when the phenomenal field (environment) is basically unthreatening, the individual's own behavior toward elements in the environment is basically open, self-and-others trusting, interactive, empathetic, and constructive; (5) that in this environment dignity, worth, freedom, responsibility, and integrity emerge as characteristics of people; and (6) that interaction with people is the strongest environmental determinant in the self-concept. A basic value in the phenomenological approach to self-development is the tremendous faith that the fully functioning person is a maturely responsible person, is uninhibited by rigidity or falseness, identifies broadly and deeply, is free-flowing in his contacts with life, and experiences in highly, sometimes sharply perceptive, integrative, and creative ways. Distinctive marks of these adequate individuals are great dignity and integrity of person and a tremendous trust in one's own authentic being.

A Summary View of the Fully Functioning Person

Phenomenological theorists discuss personality in terms of the fully functioning person, who thinks well of himself and of others, who is open to his experiences, and who sees himself as part of the world and involved in and committed to the process of becoming. Hence each individual possesses an inherent tendency toward actualizing his organism. He has the capacity and tendency to symbolize his experiences accurately in awareness. For psychological growth, a person has fundamental needs to be loved, respected, and accepted by himself and by others. When these needs are met, his tendencies toward actualizing his organism and accurately symbolizing his ex-

periences are most fully realized. If these conditions are met to a maximum degree, the individual will be a fully functioning person who is open to his experience, with no defensiveness, and with all experiences available to awareness and symbolized as accurately as the experiential data will permit. His self-structure will be congruent with his experience and will constitute a fluid Gestalt, changing flexibly in the process of assimilation of new experiences. Basically, the fully functioning person is synonymous with optimal psychological adjustment, optimum psychological maturity, complete congruence, complete openness to experience, and complete extensionality.

The unrestrained, unforced, confident bearing of the fully functioning person seems to reflect an internal synthesis of favorable feelings the individual has about himself—feelings of adequacy, competency, and self-trust. The adequate person seems to approach any situation openly, becoming part of it, exploring and assessing it, sensitive for familiar and new meanings in order to embrace them in his conceptual and perceptual fields; that is, he moves into the situation feeling competent to deal with it. This concept of himself as a trustworthy vehicle to carry out his purposes gives him an increasing autonomy and self-unity that show themselves in a consistency of feeling and action that is all of a piece, indicating that the possessor is basically an integrated being, that within him forces are operating harmoniously.

Because of the basic integrity of his being, the fully functioning person is able to deal effectively with disharmony, dichotomies, and unsolved problems, being able to resolve, accept, and, when necessary, take non-conforming attitudes and actions. He reaches out to be of use to other people expanding himself to identify broadly with others. This individual "will live with others in the maximum possible harmony, because of the rewarding character of reciprocal positive regard."⁴¹ This person has peak moments of sharp, insightful experience in which he moves midway between a "spiritual world" and the known world. In these moments perceptions deepen, dichotomies and disunities disappear, and he is one with the universe. These moments give zest to living, making life meaningful and rich.

Thoughts on Self-actualization

As you think, as you travel, and as you love, you attract. You are today where your thoughts have brought you; you will be tomorrow where your thoughts take you. You cannot escape the result of your thoughts, but you can endure and learn, can accept and be glad. You will realize the vision (not the idle wish), of your heart, be it base or beautiful, or a mixture of both; for you will always gravitate toward that which you secretly most love. Into your hands will be placed the exact result of your thoughts; you will receive that which you earn, no more, no less.

Whatever your present environment may be, you will fall, remain, or rise with your thoughts, your vision, your ideal. You will become as small as your controlling desire, as great as your dominant aspiration.

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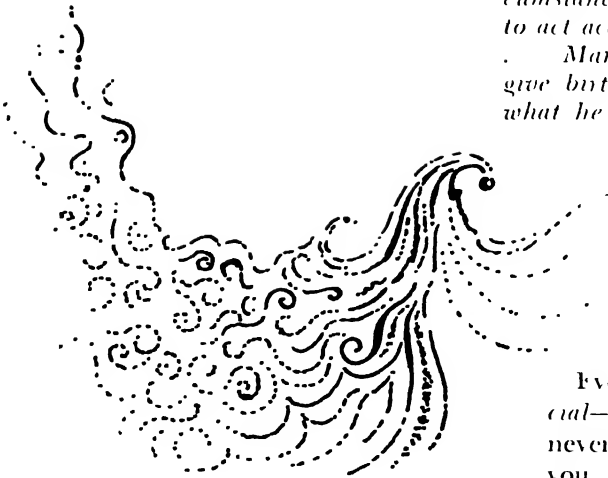
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The Emerging Phenomenal Self, Self- Perception, and Self- Awareness

Man has a unique capacity that differentiates him from all other living beings: the capacity to be aware of himself and of his circumstances and hence to plan and to act according to his awareness.

Man's main task in life is to give birth to himself, to become what he potentially is.

—Erich Fromm



ORIGINS OF THE SELF

Everyone is *someone special—someone unique*. There never has been a person like you, there is not now, nor will there ever be. The self emerges from the dynamic interaction of one's genetic origins and his phenomenal field (environment) as he gives human birth to himself through perceiving his continuing experiences in his

"private world" of self-awareness and the world of people and things around him. In this interaction there is a threefold influence: first, the environment can enhance or impair development; second, his inherited qualities and perceptions of self influence his responses to his environment; and third, his inborn tendencies and self-perceptions influence the way others respond to him and thus influence his environment. No one asked to be born or had anything to say about that stage in their life history. All inherited qualities, assets or liabilities, were determined at conception. The person at birth must then assume the responsibility for his becoming the individual that he can become. As Bonner has said, "Man's being consists in his becoming . . . what a man does depends on what he is; what he is depends on what he does."¹

There are three distinct steps in the process through which a person comes into being. The first step is conception. A person's life as a distinctive organism begins when he is conceived. At the moment he is conceived, much of what he might become is decided by the nature of his inheritance—skin color, physical build and features, ruggedness of his constitution, tendencies of temperament, and intellectual aptitudes and limitations. His heredity is handed to him. He did not ask for it, nor could he ask to be conceived, or request that he might or might not be born. This is an obviously simple fact, yet it is profoundly significant for understanding a child. The nature of the genetic equipment a child will work with in shaping his existence and becoming a self is, to a large degree, determined in advance.

The second step of personal becoming is the process of being born. At this point a person begins his life as an individual set aside physically from others. Although he cannot change his inherited equipment, there is a tremendous developmental process and a never-ending struggle of striving to be a distinct and unique self. As described by Kierkegaard, "An existing individual is constantly in the process of becoming . . . To be that self which one truly is."

The third step of human emergence is the phase during which a person comes into being as a separate self, aware of his existence and his identity, and having knowledge of a continuity of experiences that are distinctly his and his alone. This phase begins after birth when signs of self-awareness appear during the first year or two of life—behavior showing self-consciousness, aggression, hostility, attention-seeking, pride, shame, self-satisfaction, and so on. Manifestations that others see as the beginning signs of self-awareness appear during the first year of life, normally earlier than the web of experience a person himself can remember in later years. This process of becoming a distinct self and finding oneself, discovering what one can do, and who and what one is or might be is an important feature in the behavior of the young child, but it is not limited to childhood. This phase

of development--the finding of oneself--continues or should continue as long as a person lives.

The baby who in time will actively strive and plan to claim his birthright and to take the affairs of his life into his own hands was passive during the first two phases we have discussed. However, the third phase, in which the child comes into being as a person with an awareness of himself, does not have the finality of heredity or birth. This phase involves the person's existence as known and planned by himself and as realized through his direct personal experiences. The activity of this phase includes the processes through which a person discovers his resources and properties, his strengths and his limits, and seeks to shape his own life in being-in-becoming.

This phase is not fixed in point of time, for although the emphasis is on the present, there is reference to the future and incorporation of the past. Even the past is not thoroughly rigid and unchangeable, for the impact of what has been in the past may be modified by what is now and what is yet to be. A person's past asserts itself in the present, for example, when something he faces is perceived as pleasant, unpleasant, or frightening because of an earlier experience with it; but this effect, reaching out of the past, can be modified or adapted to current behavior. Thus in the phase of developing selfhood there is no chance to be unborn, but there is, according to the experiences of the person himself, at least possibilities of being re-born. From the perceptual viewpoint of his own thoughts and feelings a person in this phase has the freedom to change and to choose, and he has the many opportunities to become aware that much that is unexplored and untried in reference to his life still lies ahead. In this phase of becoming there is, then, an additional and very significant dimension: the story of what is *probable* already has ended, but the miraculous chronicle of what seems *possible* has just begun. As George Kneller has said "Man is always what he is yet to be; and the true human is the one whose face is toward the future, whose life is yet to be made."

Early Development of the Phenomenal Self

To understand the person in the being-in-becoming process, we need to study the child, not simply to know about him, but to understand the older person he in time becomes. To a detached observer the succeeding moments of early life arrived, occurred, and were finished. So to speak, the hand of history wrote, and having writ, moved on; however, no significant experience is ever finished. From the point of view of the individual, moments of the past and conditions laid down in the past live in the present. To understand children and to understand himself, a person must try to understand the child who still resides in him. As such, "the child is the father of the man."

At the time when the child has little power to decide and to choose for himself or to defend himself, experiences occur that bend him toward future ways of doing, thinking, and feeling. Long before the time when a person begins to have a record in his own mind of his development as a person, he has perceptual experiences that influence his attitudes toward others and toward himself—attitudes of trust or distrust, attitudes of healthy pride or morbid shame, confidence or lack of confidence in himself.

Such experiences, to the extent that they have occurred, are part of the record of one's life, and nothing can unwrite them. A person cannot be a healthy and emotionally mature person unless he is able, or at least willing, to try to accept and to integrate his past with his present existence in terms of all that he is, without blinding himself or harshly blaming himself.

Unless an older person can, in a sense, be a child, and seek to comprehend what it is to be a child, or what it might mean to have been a child, one cannot be comfortable in one's understanding of children, nor can one comfortably accept oneself. This is implied in the admonition, "Know thyself." Thus, if we are to understand children, the process of interpreting what an experience might represent from the child's point of view is essential. When by the process of interpretation we try to understand what a child's experience might mean from *his* point of view, we must do so through the medium of *our own* experiences. Thus, knowledge of oneself determines to a large degree what one can perceive in others, and knowledge gained from being with others contributes to the clarity of one's perception of oneself. The preceding phenomena of human behavior were noted with the hope that the following discussions of the early development of self would be, through personal identification with common human processes, more meaningful to you, the reader.

In the world of people and things surrounding a newborn child there is much that is obvious, but there is also much that cannot be observed. Although his physical body lying in the cradle is visible, there is also the invisible phenomenal field (environment) consisting of the thoughts and feelings, the attitudes, desires, hopes, and expectations of the members of his family. This environment may be hospitable or hostile. For one cause or another, the child may be wanted or unwanted, loved or unloved by one or both parents. He may come as a happy surprise or an unwelcome hardship into either a harmonious or a troubled home. He may come as an unexpected intruder in the relations between his father and mother or in the relations between his parents and the other children in the family. If this is so, the dynamic impact of such unfriendly or conflicting emotions will soon be felt in his own life.

The prevailing attitudes of his elders will be translated into human relationships because these elders will tend to behave as they feel, possibly oblivious of the impact of this behavior upon the child. These attitudes

and feelings may determine whether they come to him when he frets and cries or leave him to "work it out" for long periods at a time; whether they are hurried and abrupt in their human relations with him or take time to enjoy him as a person and to let him enjoy himself; whether they see him as a human being with dignity and worth and the potential to become, or as an awkward, troublesome, disturbing creature. In their child-care behavior will they impose a rigid schematic schedule or try to adapt their care to his own tempo and pace and to the unfolding pattern of his own emerging self?

In addition to the complications as to whether the child's birth is welcome or viewed with misgivings, there will be tremendous variations between family situations as feelings and motives come into play. The child may be accepted for what he is, for his own sake, or he may serve as gratifying parental ambition, providing a means of continuing the family name or fulfilling a sense of duty.

Naturally, there will be wide differences even between mothers. In the practical details of everyday care of the child, one mother may be motherly and self-assured, whereas another may be anxious and uncertain of her own skills and judgment. The human environment for the newborn child may again be quite different if the parents have nurtured a glorified image of a baby-to-be and then find that the real baby is quite somebody else; if they fear the responsibilities of parenthood, or if they are somewhat mechanical, unaffectionate, and detached people who tend to avoid or reject him not just because he is fragile, small, and mysterious but because they have never really learned to come into a close emotional relation with another human being. If a mother is a detached person emotionally, she may shrink from the intimacy of the physical and psychological care the child needs and demands. If this is the case, the only mother (in a psychological sense) to such a child may be the father who, when he has time, plays a motherly role, or perhaps the "mother" will be a hired maid or older sister.

The preceding discussions may help the reader visualize the multiplicity of environmental factors that are in dynamic interplay within the child's emerging life as he begins to adapt, to adjust to, and to create the world around him in the gradual process of differentiating a self.

The development of the phenomenal self involves, among other things, a process of differentiation—from the general to the specific. The child begins life as though he were part of his mother's body. For some time after birth, he continues to be somewhat passive, helpless, and dependent. Very soon, however, he is active in trying out his capacities. He cries, and people come; he smiles and gurgles, and people play with him. He turns in different directions to have a new look at people and his world in varying dimensions. In time, he explores and interprets the boundaries of his own

person and his phenomenal field (environment). He tests the limits of his reach with the world as he sees it.

For the newborn child only the most intense stimuli elicit response. With the passage of time, more precise differentiations become possible, and in the first few hours after birth the amount of stimulation necessary to bring forth a response may be observed to decrease rapidly. Behavior becomes increasingly well defined with sharper differentiation within the phenomenal field. It is a fascinating experience to watch a young child throughout the months after birth as little by little he organizes and orders his movements with greater and greater accuracy and precision. Research in child development, whether investigating sucking, locomotion, or language development, illustrates the trend from generalized behavior to precise functioning. As Combs aptly stated, "Once his equipment for sensing, smell, sight, and hearing begin to function at birth, vast new potentialities for differentiation become available and the child launches upon a voyage of exploration destined never to cease throughout his entire life span."²

One of the most outstanding characteristics of child behavior is this process of exploration and differentiation of himself and the world around him. Young children are notoriously "into everything." Everything in the vast world surrounding them must be investigated, examined, felt, seen, and tasted with little or no regard for adult standards of safety, comfort, or hygiene. Harassed and frustrated adults, attempting to keep up with or ahead of the young child as he goes about this important business, develop a keen and sometimes awesome respect for the seemingly unlimited and increasing energy characteristic of this exploring process. Even when the child appears to be most quiet and subdued, he may be deeply engrossed in some new and intriguing discovery, which, although not always approved of by adults, is probably fascinating, exciting, and compelling to the young explorer. As seen from the child's viewpoint, nothing is exempt or sacred from the continuous process of experiencing, differentiating, testing, and perceiving.

Among the earliest differentiations made by the infant are those concerned with the discovery of self. This process is not an easy or simple one, but a long and involved matter of exploration and discovery, which probably begins with the differentiations of the distinctions between "me" and "not me." Likely, the earliest differentiations of self from the rest of the world are of a tactual, kinesthetic type made as the child explores his physical being and its relation to his surroundings. From these explorations, he would discover such things as the following: these fingers and feet are "me," but these toys are not; all this that lies within my skin is "me," but what is outside my skin is "not me." Thus bit by bit as experience increases, the self becomes more and more clearly differentiated from the remainder of

the phenomenal field. Restrict or deny a child the opportunities to experience and to explore himself and his world, and you deny him his birthright of self-discovery.

Although these differentiations are at first made slowly and with much difficulty, the process of self-differentiation is vastly accelerated with the development of language. The development of language and the ability to communicate and to explore by means of words opens new frontiers of experience. Language makes it possible to experience vicariously, through communicative enculturation, what would otherwise have to be experienced slowly and painfully, making possible some experiences one could never otherwise have. Language provides the "shorthand" of human behavior by which experience can be symbolized, manipulated, and understood with tremendous efficiency. Thus, the possession of language as a symbolic communicating vehicle vastly facilitates the meaning of experiences in the child's differentiation of self and his world.

At first, the child naturally does not have a clear and meaningful perception of self or the world. However, the child assimilates a growing awareness of self as he begins his interaction with the significant persons in his environment. The early roots of the self begin as the child first distinguishes between his sensations and the factors contributing to them. Self-awareness emerges as the child begins to manipulate his body and develop a "body image." Consequently this exploration of self and differentiation of self from environment form the initial but significant step in the development of self. Eventually, the child is able to differentiate things of special meaning to him: he can differentiate mother's face from other women; he realizes that father relates to him differently than mother does. Some of the increasing differential development can be seen, for example, in the "negativistic" stage, which frequently occurs around the age of two, when the child appears to be testing his self-assertion in opposition to others—a significant experience in later relations with peers and adults in his societal milieu.³

Self-discovery is a continuing process, not appearing at any one specific time, but prevailing throughout all developmental phases and stages. In the development of a child's emerging view of himself as he grows older, all of his capacities are mobilized for the process of ongoing self-actualization: his senses; his ability to perceive and to think; his ability to learn; his ability to imagine and to spice the happenings of his life with the glamour or the menace of a dream; his bodily appetites; his desires and aspirations, which often conflict; his striving; his capacity for joy; his capacity for fear and rage, which at first is freely expressed and then likely driven underground; his need for affection and his capacity for giving and receiving love; his ability to choose; and, in time, his experience of being

free to make choices—in short, his capacity for becoming an actualizing human being. For as Paul Tillich said, “Man becomes truly human only at the moment of decision.”

THE DYNAMIC PROCESS OF SELF-AWARENESS

When does the child become aware of himself as a distinct individual? What do we mean by awareness? How does the awareness of self become differentiated as a person develops? These and other pertinent questions will be discussed in this section. Many conjectures have been made about the beginning of awareness, and one estimate is that sometime during the first year the infant “discovers himself” and finds a place in, yet apart from, the “outside world.” In relevance to the dynamic nature of awareness, Bugental offers the following description:

The window of our awareness is our point of being in the world. It is not the same as our vision or any one or all of our senses, but it is mediated by our senses. It may or may not be simply the subjective aspect of sensation. . . . The usual state of awareness in most people seems to be one in which there is a moderate field of perceptions that range from sharply defined to vague and amorphous, that are in constant flux, and that show within the field at any time many contradictory tendencies. . . . Repeatedly in this book I will insist that recognition needs to be given to the manifest reality that feelingful awareness is the basic process of being.⁴

The development of self-awareness does not occur in an all-or-none fashion that would enable us to assume that up to a certain point the child does not possess it but beyond this point he does. More likely, the child will perceive different aspects of what he eventually considers himself with varying degrees of clarity at different times—hence, the vacillating, dynamic nature of awareness.⁵ His awareness of his distinctiveness from other beings seems to develop at a time when he still has not gone very far in his perception and conception of many of the characteristics that eventually will compose what he calls himself. In effect, the process of self-discovery is actively going on at least as long as the child is developing or discovering new potentialities; ideally, in a psychologically healthy person, the discovery of self continues as long as he lives.

Among the early signs of self-awareness are those appearing when the child begins actively to control things in his environment. In his many explorations, the child notices and manipulates things and people that are apart from him. At first he seems almost to proceed by chance, but later he does so by design. At first when objects are placed in his hand, he is able to grasp them but not able, at will, to release them, throw them, or

move them about. Soon, however, he will be able by his own power to grasp and to release, to reach for things and to place them. When he uses this ability, he probably has a dim awareness of himself as one who can produce effects by his own actions. Preyer gives an account of a five-month-old child to illustrate this point. The youngster seemed to discover, while tearing a page from a magazine, that it was he who produced the sound and the severing. He then patiently proceeded to tear page after page, as though gaining great satisfaction from being a cause of change and from seeing "that the remarkable alteration of an entire journal into little scraps was due to his own activity." ⁶

Body Image and Awareness

An important feature of a child's eventual view of himself is an awareness of the body—his "body image." The "body image" represents the picture he has of the physical properties of his body—his appearance, including (as he perceives the situation) the figure that he cuts in the eyes of others.

This "body image" is not just a photographic impression; but like all other aspects of viewing self, it is likely to be colored by feelings and attitudes. When we speculate how a child at first perceives his body, we have to depend upon conjecture. There are good reasons to believe that sensations play a significant role in defining the boundaries of a child's image of his body. Also, it appears that the child does not at first have anything approaching a clear perception of his body as a whole, or even a clearly defined awareness of the parts of his body—for example, when he fingers his hand in play or inspects his hand, gazing upon it as he might gaze upon another detached object. Some babies at first seem to treat their bodily parts almost as though they were separate objects. Illustratively, it can happen that a baby bites his fingers and cries, without seeming to realize that he is biting himself.

One approach to the study of self-awareness is to study the way infants respond to a mirror image of themselves. Researchers have observed that children recognize others (such as the mother) in the mirror and in pictures before they recognize themselves. Dixon,⁷ studying five children who were subjects in a research project concerning the development of "self-recognition," found distinct changes with age in response to the mirror, and that the order of these changes was remarkably similar in all five infants. At first the infants regarded their reflections "briefly and soberly," but showed no sustained interest, even though, at this level of development, they readily recognized their mother's reflection in the mirror. At a later phase, the children became more sociable with their own images, smiling, talking, and trying to make contact with the image in the mirror. Dixon refers to this as the "playmate stage"—the child reacts to the mirror image in much

the same way as he reacts when placed before another infant. Next came what Dixon calls the "Who dat?" stage, in which the child seemingly connects the mirror image with himself. Keeping his eyes fixed on the changing image, the child repeats certain acts (such as opening and closing his mouth, raising his arm, and moving his fingers) as though he were trying to "master and work his new-found puzzling discovery."

At this latter stage "an apparent attempt at conversation-testing, as though expecting an echo" was observed a few times but soon died out, as did pointing at the image while asking portentous questions such as "Dah?" According to Dixon, sometimes the children between the age of twelve and eighteen months entered a "coy" state. When confronted with his mirror image, the child now "instead of basking in reflected vanity" might turn his head away, cry, smile, coyly, or kiss the image after refusing for some time to approach it. Thus, we see that self-discovery and awareness is deeply rooted in the ongoing and complex process of differentiating a "body image" in preparation for visualizing the significance of that body in the social and emotional world of people.

Emotional Implications of Self-discovery

Although there will be a detailed consideration of the emotional self in a subsequent chapter, it is pertinent here to explore briefly the emotional undertones of self-discovery and early personal awareness. As noted in the previous paragraph, a child's growing awareness of himself has emotional overtones. When he first recognizes himself in the mirror, it is not as though he were merely viewing a detached portrait. Some children, according to research in this area, show a great deal of animation in connection with the discovery of a reflected image. One investigator was especially impressed by the emotional coloring of this development, noting the "jubilant interest" shown by an infant at the sight of his own image, and of the child's ecstasy when he saw that the movements in the mirror corresponded to his own movements. There appeared to be a real affective value in having a vision of the whole body as distinguished from knowing it as bits and pieces.⁸

Emotional experiences such as those related to a child's recognition of his body can also be noted in connection with other forms of self-discovery. For example, a child may come forth with a jubilant cry when he discovers how to ring a bell, spill the milk, or open a door. A detailed record of joyful episodes in the life of a young child would probably indicate that a large proportion of these are related to experiences in which he tries himself out and realizes, in some new and fascinating way, the capacities of his own strength and ability. Why then do some babies show an eager interest in their own "body image" but also coyness, as though they were embarrassed with the discovery and awareness of their own body? Why

should a child cry and withdraw from his image in the mirror? Perhaps the child who cries or withdraws is somewhat apprehensive, as though this new found creature were at one time both a stranger and a familiar figure to be sorted out.

A significant step in children's self awareness occurs when they recognize the bodily differences between boys and girls and clearly identify the sex to which they belong. Although developmental problems relating to sex identity will be discussed in some detail in subsequent chapters, we shall note here several implications during early self awareness. Many youngsters shown a keen interest in the anatomical differences between the sexes in connection with this aspect of self discovery. This discovery, according to some writers, may be quite disturbing. Psychoanalytical theories tend to speculate that girls are especially likely to have feelings of inferiority or envy when they realize the differences between themselves and boys. According to Conn, however, the discovery of differences between the genital organs of the two sexes does not produce an emotional shock in the typical healthy child, although children are greatly interested and curious."

Social Undertones of Self-awareness

Although the social self will be presented from several dimensions in subsequent chapters, it is relevant to note here several social implications of early self awareness. Signs of self awareness become increasingly apparent after a child has learned to talk and can communicate with and distinguish between self and others, for example, he differentiates between "I" and "you" and "mine" and "yours." Also he is able to sort out dreams from actual happenings in his social world, and he is able to acknowledge feelings as his own or tries to conceal his feelings in the presence of others, in spite of overt behavior to the contrary.

When a child begins to assert himself in opposition to others, a notable phase in the development of self occurs. Beginning at about the age of two, many children go through a behavioral phase during which they are especially obstinate or "negativistic." Apparently the child seems to be testing his powers of self assertion in his relationship with others. A related and important developmental stage occurs as a child is able to view himself in comparison to his peers and to test his powers in competition with them. When a child knowingly competes, he is using others as a standard against which to measure himself. An additional significant sign of self scrutiny occurs when a child is openly critical of his own behavior as assessed from socially derived appraisals.

Sometimes during childhood, a youngster is likely to form a more or less clear conception of his family's socioeconomic status or social class. In time, he also becomes aware of his religious affiliations, the nationality of his

parents, and the ethnic group from which they came. Children's awareness of social class differences does not usually appear to be well established until they are well along in the elementary school years.¹⁰

Among the earliest experiences that influence the development of the child's awareness and view of himself are those with other people in his social world. The theory that the child's attitudes pertaining to himself are influenced by "significant" people, notably at first his mother or mother substitute, has been expressed by several writers, but probably most strongly by Harry Stack Sullivan.

According to Sullivan, the "self system" has its origins in interpersonal relationships and is influenced greatly by "reflected" appraisals. If a child is accepted, approved, respected, and liked for what he is, he will be helped to acquire attitudes of positive self awareness, of self acceptance, and respect for himself. But if the significant people in his life—at first his parents and later his teachers, peers, and other persons who wield an influence—belittle him, blame him, and reject him, the growing child's attitudes toward himself are likely to become unfavorable. He will tend to appraise himself as he is judged by others. In addition, according to this position, the attitudes concerning himself that he has thus acquired will, in effect, color the attitudes he has toward other persons. Thus, he judges others as he judges himself. In essence, perceptions of self and others evolve significantly from self-interpretations of social experiences as they relate to increasing self awareness and self discovery within an interpersonal and intrapersonal environmental field.

Self-awareness: A Summary View

The foregoing sections have considered various aspects of *self awareness* and the characteristics a person is clearly able to *recognize* as part of his make-up through the process of *self discovery*. These perceptual attributes constitute a person's *phenomenal self* (the self that, as a *phenomenon*, appears, shows, is perceptible). The development of the self is a dynamic process of increasing differentiation from the general to the specific. At first, the child does not have a clear perception of self or the world. However, the child gains a growing awareness of self as he begins his interaction with the significant people in his environment. As the early roots of self begin, the child first distinguishes between his sensations and factors contributing to them. Self awareness emerges as the child begins to manipulate his body and develop a "body image." This exploration of self and the differentiation of self from the environment represent the first step in self-development.

Eventually, the child is able to differentiate things of special meaning to him, such as mother's face from other women. Increasing development of

self-awareness can be noted in the "negativistic" stage, frequently occurring around the age of two, when the child appears to be testing his self-assertion in opposition to others. Another way in which feedback about self is developed is through the child's reactions and opposition to the standards of peers and other social groups. The self is also influenced by the child's particular religious, social, and socioeconomic group. The changing self is interpersonal, involving the child and his world as he perceives himself and his environment and, as such, represents a constant internalization of his social experiences. The self is changed by a person's active contact of his "inner world" with the world of people and things surrounding him. Self-discovery, then, is a continuing-always-state-of-arriving process, not appearing at a specific time, but significantly woven throughout all developmental stages and phases.

PERCEPTION — VEHICLE OF SELF-DEVELOPMENT

From the viewpoint of the phenomenological theorists of human behavior, the psychological self is fed through the human perceptive process. Consequently, this section will explore in some detail the concept of perception as the activating and implementing vehicle of self-development to offer a frame of reference for subsequent consideration of the self in growth, development, and adjustment. Earl Kelley, one of the leading self theorists, sees the relation of perception to self-development as follows:

We feed the psychological self through the perceptive process. This is what comes into consciousness when stimuli from the environment impinge on the organism. It is the stuff of growth for the personality, and it builds attitudes, habits, and knowledge. The perceptive stuff of growth provides the experiential background from which we operate. . . . The quality of the perceptive stuff of growth therefore determines the quality of the behavior of the individual. . . . Perception is the stuff of growth for the psychological self. The perceptive process is the only avenue by which the self can be fed. Recent understandings as to the nature of this process have enabled us to see more clearly than before how the self is built.¹¹

If, then, perception is so important to the development of the self, what do we mean precisely by the term? A technical definition from a dictionary of psychological terms would describe perception as follows: "An event in the life of a person or organism primarily controlled by the excitation of sensory receptors, yet also influenced by other factors of a kind that can be shown to have originated in the life history of the organism."¹² In essence, perception is based upon sensations that are human reactions to multiple stimuli in an organism's environment. An organism explores and reacts to his environment by means of his sense organs; as an individual interprets

the meaning of these sensations, the process of perception occurs. How, then, do we translate these concepts into the human processes of the emerging phenomenal self, self perception, and self awareness—the topics under consideration in this chapter?

A baby who has reached his first birthday has already developed a considerable feeling of acquaintance with his world, a world inhabited by many people and things that he has identified more or less to his satisfaction. The boundaries of the baby's "world" become more and more extended as he grows and develops, and the objects and people that confront him multiply. Soon he is a toddler, instead of a baby who creeps then crawls, and a whole new sphere of exploratory, observational experiences opens up to him. His determination to find the meaning of things in the world around him often amazes and sometimes alarms observing adults. But regardless, the self-discovering baby must make the unfamiliar familiar; things and people must be identified if self-growth is to continue. Thus it is with every individual as he enters upon the lifelong process of "structuring" his world, of giving birth and rebirth to a continuously emerging and actualizing self. *Observing, identifying, and interpreting* people, things, and happenings are an inescapable and integral part of his life. Thus, then, is *perception* translated into human developmental processes.

Perception is an amazingly complex process, which, as we shall see, involves considerably more than the fact that there are "things to see and eyes with which to see them." Some individuals quite obviously "see" more than others, some see, if not more, at least very differently, some see and enjoy, whereas others in basically the same surroundings are not very much excited or impressed by what their senses report. Significantly, during the last fifteen years perception has been accorded more space in research publications than any other problem of psychology. All phenomenological, humanistic writers assign to perception a paramount consideration in their self-theory discussions. For example, Arthur Combs,¹³ a pioneer in self-theory, and Donald Snygg base an entire book upon the perceptual processes of self-development: *Individual Behavior: A Perceptual Approach to Behavior*.

Inherent in the definition of perception are numerous and complex questions. There are, for example, such questions as the role of sensations and the sense organs in an individual's observations of his surroundings, the manner in which meanings derive from the individual's contacts, via his sense organs, with the objects around him, and the degree to which a person's present needs and past experiences influence his perceptions. These are questions that will be considered in some detail in the pages that follow. As a frame of reference for discussing these questions, we need to explore the thinking of two scholars of self-theory, Carl Kelley and Arthur Combs, who have made significant contributions in perceptive processes and self-

development. Kelley, believing that perception is "the stuff of growth" for the psychological self, offers three elements that seemingly characterize the quality and quantity of individual perceptions--selectivity, experiential background, and purpose. He describes these perceptive factors as follows:

One of the most revealing facts about perception is that it is *selective*. We do not see everything in our surroundings. There are thousands of coincidences in the situation in which we find ourselves at any point of time. To perceive them all would cause pandemonium. We therefore *choose* that which the self feeds upon. The direction of the growth of the self depends upon those choices.

The choices seem to be on the basis of experience and unique purpose. We all have a background of experience upon which perception is in part based. We cannot see that which we have no experience to see. But experience is not enough to account for what happens, for there are many objects in our surroundings with which we have had experience, but which we do not perceive.

The additional element which appears to determine perceptive intake is purpose. There is ample evidence now to show that all living tissue is purposive, and, of course, in man this purpose is partly, but only partly, on the conscious level. In perception, purpose operates automatically most of the time. And so, just as we do not eat everything, our psychological selves are particular as to what they feed on. What they take in has to suit their purposes, and has to fit into their past experiences.¹⁴

A Brief Look at Combs' Perceptual View of Behavior

Arthur W. Combs and Donald Snygg, early leaders in self theory, use perception as the entire thesis of their classic book, *Individual Behavior: A Perceptual Approach to Behavior*¹⁵ by consistently developing the theme that behavior is a product of the perceptual field. In an early chapter entitled "The Physical Organism: Vehicle of Perception," they state that the most self-evident factor affecting perception is the organism in which the process of perceiving occurs. The physical body in which each of us is housed makes perceiving possible; limitation upon the physical body and its functions necessarily restrict our perceptions. Our physical equipment sets broad limits to the kinds of things we can perceive directly, but within these broad limitations human perceptions can be extremely varied and extensive. Perception, then, makes possible such behavior as feeding, drinking, or sheltering oneself against the elements. Propagation of the species would cease without perception, because reproduction would be impossible. Where the body goes, what it eats, drinks, enjoys, thinks, remembers, forgets, or avoids is the product of its perceptions. The perceptions available to the organism even determine whether it lives or dies. Thus, we see

that the physical organism is truly the vehicle of perception. A more detailed discussion of the physical organism is forthcoming in Chapter 8 of this book, "The Physical Self."

Let us give our attention to other basic constructs in Combs' perceptual view of behavior. He believes that human behavior may be observed from at least two very broad frames of reference: from the point of view of an outsider (the objective or the external frame of reference) or from the point of view of the behaver himself. The latter frame of reference, which has been called perceptual, personal, or phenomenological, is the viewpoint maintained by Combs. According to him, people do not behave according to the facts as *others* see them, but in accord with the facts as *they* see them. Thus, what governs behavior from the point of view of the individual himself are his unique perceptions of himself and the world in which he lives, and the meanings things have for him. As it were, man's behavior is the living-out of his personal perceptions; his perceptual experiences become his road map for life.

Combs believes that the perceptual field of an individual determines his behavior. Inasmuch as behavior is scientifically lawful to the individual himself, behavior always seems relevant, purposeful, and caused. In essence, reality is to the individual as he perceives it. In using the field concept to refer to that more or less fluid organization of meanings existing for every individual at the moment of behaving, Combs defines the perceptual or phenomenal field as ". . . the entire universe, including himself, as it is experienced by the individual at the instant of action. . . . These experiences we call perceptions and the entire field of these perceptions we call the perceptual field."¹⁶

As his basic postulate, Combs states that *all behavior, without exception, is completely determined by, and pertinent to, the perceptual field of the behaving organism*. Sometimes the perceptual field has been called the personal field, the private world, the behavioral field, the psychological field, the individual life space, and the phenomenal field. The last term is derived from a school of philosophy known as phenomenology that holds that reality lies not in the event, but in the phenomenon of the individual's experience of the event. This is essentially Combs' position concerning behavioral determination, and will be the consistent theme of this book in the exploration of the emerging self. To restate then: *Behavior is a function not of external events but of the individual's perception of them*. The perceptual or phenomenal field of the self is the universe of naïve experience in which each individual lives, the everyday situation of the self and its surroundings which each person takes to be reality. As Combs stated:

To each of us the perceptual field of another person contains much error and illusion; it seems an interpretation of reality rather than reality

itself; but to each individual, his phenomenal field *is* reality; it is the only reality we can know. This perceptual field is far richer and more meaningful than that of the objective, physical world. We do not live in a world of objects without meaning. On the contrary, we invest the things about us with all sorts of meanings; these meanings are for each of us the reality to which we respond.¹⁷

Before leaving Combs' viewpoints to continue our discussion of perception in relation to the emerging phenomenal self, we shall explore briefly his basic ideas on the effect of self on perceiving. Combs believes that the individual's basic frame of reference is the phenomenal self; it is the only self he knows. Thus, whether other persons would agree with his self-definitions or not, the phenomenal self has the feeling of complete reality to the individual; it is himself from his own point of view. Wherever a person is, whatever he does, the maintenance and enhancement of this self is the prime objective of his existence in the being-becoming, actualizing process of self-fulfillment.

As the core of the perceptual field, the phenomenal self is the point of orientation for the individual's every behavior. All other perceptions derive their meaning in terms of this frame of reference; thus the phenomenal self provides meaning in greater or lesser degree in all perceptions, without which human behavior would be meaningless. Thus, the self provides the viewpoint from which all else is observed and interpreted. Perceptions, then, are organized around the self-concept because the purpose of an individual's behavior is the satisfaction of his own basic need, self-fulfillment.

The meaning of an object or event becomes a person's definition of the relationship between the object and himself. In this sense *the phenomenal self is both the product of the individual experience and the producer of whatever new experience he is capable of*. Therefore, because the perceptions we hold about self determine the meaning of our experiences, *the more closely related an experience is perceived to the phenomenal self, the greater will be its effect upon behavior*. This postulate implies the tremendous significance of self-awareness, self-discovery, self-identity, and self-commitment to the actualization of the self. Combs' viewpoints have been presented here in some detail because *the phenomenological or perceptual frame of reference will be the central theme of this book as the multiple facets of the emerging and actualizing phenomenal self are presented in subsequent chapters*.

Perception and the Emerging Self

The year-old baby whose perceptual responses were described briefly at the beginning of this section had already become the "proprietor" of a world of his own—a world in which there were for him, after so short a

time, many familiar things. In this brief span of twelve months he had acquired a perceptual scheme—a system of expectations—with which to deal with objects and the relationships among them. In short, he had become a relatively adept perceiver of the things of his world. How, then, does an infant's perceiving develop? Because neonates and very young infants cannot be interviewed about their perceptual experiences, this is a question for conjecture.

During the first few days of his life the infant's world would appear to consist of a series of disturbances of equilibrium. For example, his comfortable stomach becomes uncomfortable, his warm dry nest becomes damp and cold, his head gets into an awkward position and his neck muscles hurt, bright lights flick on and not only startle him but hurt his eyes, loud, sudden noises break into his quietude. Thus sensations come and go, but the circumstances that cause them have for the young infant not the slightest relationship. Nevertheless, these sensations, his initiation into postnatal life, eventually occur in an order and under such circumstances that the first strands of meaning for the infant are formed. From such beginnings we must suppose perception starts to develop in an individual life.

In the midst of the confusion of stimuli in his environment the infant engages in behavior that brings gratification such as feeding, rocking, and contacting warm, soft objects. In some undetermined manner sensations such as these affect the neurophysiological structure that underlies the infant's perceptual capacities, and the eventual result is meaningful awareness. By the end of the second week the neonate usually can distinguish between cold and warm milk and between sour and sweet substances placed in his mouth. Sometime before the end of the third week infants generally are capable of avoidance reactions to such irritating stimuli as acetic acid and the smell of ammonia. Experimentally, it has been noted that infants will respond to sound within a few days after birth. Color discrimination becomes evident after the first half month of age and in general seems fairly well defined by about three months of age. Discrimination between saturated colors of green, yellow, red, and blue is evident among infants a year of age. Characteristically, they seem to show a preferential response to red.

The ability to fixate objects in space and to respond differentially to distances depends considerably upon the convergence of the eyes in binocular vision. According to Ling,¹⁸ such convergence is possible for infants near the end of the second month of age. However, it is not until much later that the child in any very real sense "inhabits" space or localizes objects in space. These steps in perceptual development appear only after he is able to locomote in space—when, at a year or less, he begins to crawl.

At what age can a baby distinguish a person from other objects in his surroundings? Buhler¹⁹ reported that by the third month babies she observed

were responding to grown persons by smiling. Gesell and Ilg²⁰ discovered that at twelve weeks the baby "knows mother and recognizes her." In attempting to determine whether infants could distinguish between the face of a person and the representations of facial expressions in various masks, Spitz²¹ concluded that infants seemed to make such differentiations between three months and six months. By the end of his first half year, the infant may be expected to note characteristics that distinguish unfamiliar persons from those he has often seen. He is, by that time, capable of being frightened by an unfamiliar face or by a strange item of apparel on an otherwise recognizable person.

Person awareness, in general, is not a sudden emergence in an infant's development. Gradually, from his experience of the things, for example, that his mother does for him (the satisfactions of being fed, warmed, fondled, rocked, and so on) a particular person awareness emerges. With similar gradualness he begins to recognize that not all such perceptions add up to only one person. There are noticeable differences—stimulus differences—to distinguish the things people do to him: differences between the ways different people touch him or pick him up or rock him, the ways they speak to him, the ways they look at him. Even before his eyes furnish him much help in the process, he has begun to "sense" some of these differences. As indicated in the findings of Buhler and of Spitz, he is ready, by the age of three or four months, with the aid of his eyes, to begin synthesizing various sensory stimuli into the awareness of differences among people.

Significant Influences in Early Perceptual Development

An examination of the literature discussing early child development reveals common significant influences in perceptual growth, which will be discussed in this section. The infant's discovery that there are enduring objects in his world is for him the beginning of perceptual order and stability. As he manipulates various objects, he becomes aware of certain differentiable features, and presently the fact dawns upon him that these objects with their identifiable characteristics appear and reappear in his experience. Hence, his perceptual world begins to be object-inhabited as well as person-inhabited.

Various writers have called attention to the fact that for the baby an object is what the object can do, and more especially for the very young infant, what it can do to him. Stone and Church maintain that "... throughout infancy only those objects—and only those aspects of objects, which have some behavioral meaning, some functional relevance, become differentiated for the baby."²² These writers speak of the persistence beyond babyhood of this tendency to perceive *action objects* rather than things in themselves. Thus, in the very beginning of an individual's awareness of the

things of his world, the element of function is significant, and this element continues to endure even into adulthood. Also, the very young child responds to objects in terms of what he can do to them. He begins to perceive them in this light when about four months of age; he grasps them and puts them in his mouth. At approximately seven months of age, any object he can get in his hands is likely to be something to bang against other objects.

Such are the beginnings of the individual's expectations about objects. Expectation then becomes the core to perceiving—the controlling element in his observing and identifying of the things of his world. An individual's expectations control his attention and determine what he will notice and respond to and the sort of response he will make. Out of his "living and learning" he develops his "system" of expectations. The more learning he has acquired—the more he has been forced by his experiences to modify his responses—the more expanded and refined his system of expectations becomes. Much of an individual's behavior may be attributed quite directly to the kinds of reports of his world that he gets from his eyes, ears, and other sense organs. Many differences in the actions and ideas of individuals may be traceable to differences in sense-organ functioning.

Another significant fact is that objects and events are not always seen the same way by different individuals, even when their sense organs are equally effective. People see things and organize their perceptions quite largely in accordance with their current needs and past experiences, physical, emotional, and social. For example, we have ample evidence by Sherif²³ that among the fundamental motivations underlying an individual's perceptions and concurrent behavior is the social-influence need of being accepted and valued by others. Therefore, it is extremely necessary in our study of perception not only to recognize the significant functioning of the sense organs but also to know the facts about how awareness and meaning are influenced by what the individual wants and expects and the way he perceives himself. The influences of a person's needs, motives, expectations, and feelings upon his perceptual behavior will be discussed in some detail in Chapters 4 and 5.

Thus, human behavior is a very individual phenomenon. Each person is a unique creature whose responses to occurrences outside and inside him begin in early life to take on increasingly the dimension of self-reference. At the center of his experience are his meanings, the makings of a changing but sustaining frame of reference that determines the unique and distinct ways he perceives the succession of events and people around him and within him. As Thoreau aptly wrote, "If a man does not keep pace with his companions, perhaps it is because he hears a different drummer. Let him step to the music which he hears, however measured or far away." So the infant continues his own perceptual exploring of the world around and

within him, internalizing his experiences into self awareness and self discovery as he works toward the formulation of a personalized self concept

ORIGINS OF A SELF-CONCEPT

Because the multidimensional aspects and attributes of the self concept will be discussed considerably in Chapter 12, "The Personalized Self," our examination here will be limited to its origins as an emerging product of self-awareness, self discovery, and early perceptual behavior. The concept of self is a learned attribute, a progressive concept starting from birth and differentiating steadily through childhood and adolescence like an unfolding spiral. From the very beginning of this book there has been a sustained emphasis upon the importance to the individual of his interpretation of the place *he* occupies not only in what happens around him, but *within him*. The study of developmental behavior as it is presented in this book should be, first and last, an attempt not only to know growth and development but to understand and to appreciate as best one can the individual's experience with *his* emerging growth and developmental actualization. Much of the remainder of this chapter will be devoted to a brief consideration of the individual's efforts to know himself and to gain and to maintain significance. This means giving attention to the emerging *inner aspect of personality*—the private world of the individual.

The dawn of self awareness was briefly described in a previous section of this chapter, let us pick up the thread of that discussion and then trace the development that leads to the origins of a self concept. One of the earliest manifestations of the self, we have said, is the negativistic attitude of a two year old child when he begins to realize that he has an individuality of his own with pressing and distinctive needs and powers. This growing awareness of himself as an unique person is his concept of self. This self will take on various subjective attributes in the form of 'I am' (his nature), "I can" (his capacities), "I should or should not" (his values), and "I want to be" (his aspirations).

In our previous discussion of perception and self awareness, we noted that the child has not lived long before he has become engaged in the task of interpreting the world around him and, more significantly, his own relationship with it. His experiences soon begin to thrust upon him an awareness that he is a creature separate and apart from other objects and creatures. Besides the kinds of experience that help him distinguish between "me" and "not me," he makes other discoveries that foster self perception. These include learning that he has a special name (one of society's first influences and something that in time he will cherish and defend, or perhaps covertly hate), learning that certain things belong to him but that

they must be distinguished from things that belong to others, and learning that he is held increasingly responsible for his own behavior. The fact that he is being treated by other people as a unitary whole tends to hasten his perception of himself as an organic entity.

Erich Fromm has said that man must accept the responsibility for himself and the fact that only by using his own powers can he give meaning to life. Thus, the infant soon learns that he must give birth to himself, but that the implementation of his birthright must be in a social referent of people. Other persons supply the "mirror" in which the individual learns to see himself; out of their responses to him he constructs his self-image. This process is accentuated and hastened as the child becomes increasingly involved with other children. Youngsters' uninhibited remarks about facial features, other body features, manner of speech, items of clothing, and so on provide a perceptual screen on which to construct his self-concept. Thus, from what others say or seem to him to be saying about him, what others do or seem to be doing to show that he is valued or not valued; from such interpersonal relationships the individual develops the picture he has of himself.

Something that we may call *experience of the evidence* (or self-identity validation) that he is loved and admired by his parents and favorably regarded by his peers contributes to a picture he gains of himself as a desirable person. Conversely, experience of being rejected and neglected by his parents, of being indifferently regarded by his peers, or of being ridiculed by significant people in his life leads to a self-picture with which the individual finds it hard to live. Seemingly, *the human spirit has little psychological patience with social rejection.*

Strong within every person is the urge to give expression to what he believes are his strengths—to make actual that which he senses within himself as potentially significant assets. George Kneller has said that *man is always what he is yet to be; and the true human is the one whose face is toward the future, whose life is yet to be made.* In phenomenological literature, this urge to become—to give birth and rebirth to oneself in a continuous state of arriving—is known as *self-actualization*. The accent on the striving and urges in self-actualization leads to the examination of oneself in another aspect. In one's *self-experience* there is more than self-ideas; there is more than *concepts* of self. All attributes of self, including needs, motives, emotions, feelings, values, and aspirations, are a part of what we call the self-concept.

Therefore, in the individual's striving for self-significance and goal attainment, all the dynamics that will be discussed in Chapter 4, "The Motivated Self," Chapter 5, "The Feeling and Emotional Self," and Chapter 6, "The Sociocultural Self," will be significantly operative in self-actualization. The individual in his self-processes *needs* to feel secure, loved, and accepted.

He needs evidence that his values are respectfully regarded and that his cherished purposes are viewed as significant. Flowing through these kinds of inner experiences are many deep currents of feeling, emotion, and, sometimes, anxiety.

Hence an individual works at the task of maintaining and enhancing his self-concept. He learns a variety of behaviors that, though they may not always make sense to other people, are integral parts of his self-concept, including a *protective system* (to be discussed in Chapter 12) within which he can sustain self-significance in his own eyes. So to speak, *the pattern of life of every individual is a living out of his self-image, it is his road map for living*. Thus, we have noted that learning the answers to "Who am I?" and "Why am I?" are major developmental tasks of human beings continuing in increasing sophistication from birth onward in a never-ending process of dynamic actualization.

THE EMERGING PHENOMENAL SELF: A SUMMARY

Kierkegaard said, "The greatest good which can be done to any being, greater than any end to which it can be created, is to make it free [to become]"²⁴ Phenomenological-existentialistic theories of behavior constitute an approach to rehabilitating man in his own eyes—to restoring him to himself. To exist authentically as a congruent self in the highest degree is the aim that existentialism sets before every man. As Sartre said, "Man is freedom [to become]"²⁵ And Plato succinctly vowed many years ago, "The first and best victory is to conquer self; to be conquered by self is, of all things, the most shameful and vile." The purpose of this section is to offer a summary of the emerging phenomenal self as discussed in this chapter and to give a quick forward look to the central themes of the next several chapters, which discuss the motivated and feeling self.

The infant perceives his experience as reality; for him, in his self frame of reference his experience is reality. He is endowed with an inherent tendency toward actualizing his organism. His behavior is goal-directed, directed toward satisfying the need for actualization in interaction with his perceived reality. In this interaction he behaves as an organized whole. Experiences are valued positively or negatively, in an organismic valuing process, in terms of whether they do or do not maintain his actualizing tendency. The infant is attracted to positively valued experiences and tends to avoid those that are negatively valued. As a result of the tendency toward differentiation (which is an aspect of the actualizing tendency), part of the individual's experience becomes symbolized in awareness as self-experience. Through interaction with significant others in the environment, this self-experience leads to a concept of self, a perceptual object in the experiential field.

With awareness of the self the need for positive regard from others de-

velops to maintain and to enhance the self-concept. The satisfaction of this need is dependent upon inferences regarding the experiential fields of others. Reciprocity exists among human beings in that the individual's positive regard is satisfied when he perceives himself as satisfying another's need. The positive regard of a significant social other can be more powerful than the individual's organismic valuing process. A need for self-regard develops from the association of the satisfaction or frustration of the need for positive regard with self-experiences. The experience or loss of positive regard thus becomes independent of transactions with any social other. Self-regard becomes selective as significant others distinguish the self-experiences of the individual as more or less worthy of positive regard. The evaluation of a self-experience as more or less worthy of self-regard constitutes a condition of worth. The experiences of unconditional positive regard would eliminate the development of conditional worth and lead to unconditional self-regard, to congruence of the needs for positive regard and self-regard with organismic evaluation, and to the maintenance of an authentic, congruent self.

The need for self-regard leads to selective perception of experiences in terms of conditions of worth, so that experiences in accord with one's condition of worth are perceived and symbolized accurately in awareness, but experiences contrary to the conditions of worth are perceived selectively or distortedly, or denied to awareness. This presence of self-experiences that are not organized into the self-structure in accurately symbolized form results in the existence of some degree of incongruence between self and experience, in vulnerability, in psychological maladjustment, and in a non-authentic self. Incongruence between self and experience leads to incongruence in behavior, so that some behaviors are consistent with the self-concept and are accurately symbolized in awareness, whereas other behaviors actualize those experiences of the organism that are not assimilated into the self-structure and have not thus been recognized, or have been distorted to make them congruent with the self. Thus, the individual constantly in a continuous process of being in becoming strives for self-actualization from birth to death. Gebattel stated that for only in the process of Becoming does the form of life complete itself and the "eidos" of the person become realized.

This chapter has explored the early development of the phenomenal self as a backdrop to view the self in dynamic interaction in successive chapters. So far, we have stressed the human being as an irreducible, organic whole in continuous interaction within himself and within his phenomenal field. In subsequent discussion, although the self will be viewed arbitrarily through its functioning attributes and components for study purposes, man will still be considered as an organic whole entity operating totally in a continual process of striving for self-actualization. The last two chapters

have presented the "what" of the self. Chapter 4, "The Motivated Self," will explore the "why" of human behavior in self-development.

The Dynamic Power of Self-perception

YOU ARE WHAT YOU LIVE

He who lives with fear is afraid.
He who lives with pity is sorrowful.
He who lives with hostility is belligerent.
He who lives with jealousy is hateful.

He who lives with joy is happy.
He who lives with encouragement is confident.
He who lives with fairness is just.
He who lives with praise is appreciative.

How do you live?
Is it an ugly world? Or is it a wonderful world?
How do you want to live?

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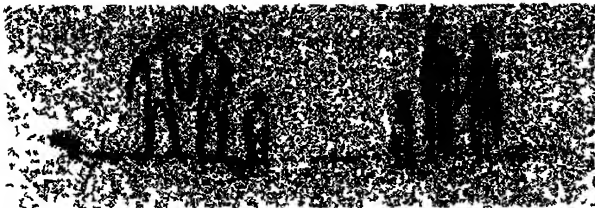
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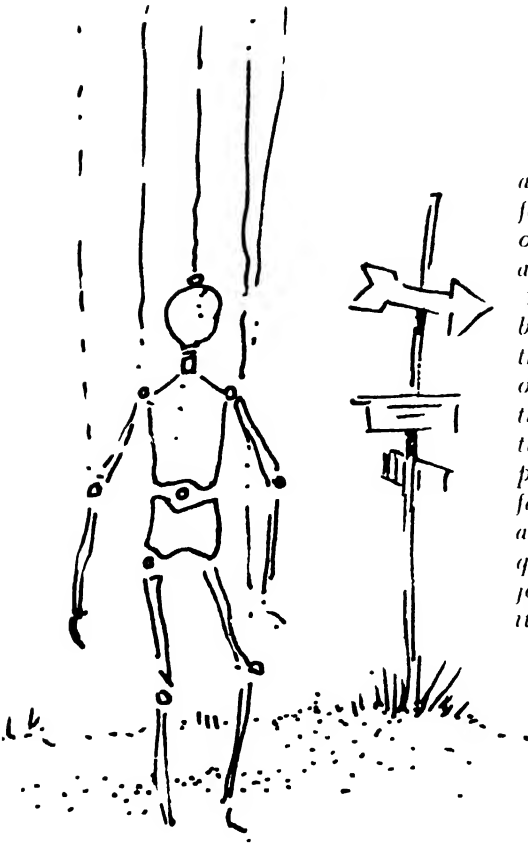
PART 2

FOUNDATIONS OF SELF- DEVELOPMENT



4

The Motivated Self



Human life is a struggle against frustration, ignorance, suffering and the maddening inertia of things in general but it is also a struggle for something

And fulfillment seems to describe better than any other single word the positive side of human development and human evolution—the realization of inherent capacities by the individual and of new possibilities by the race, the satisfaction of needs spiritual as well as material, the emergence of new qualities of experience to be enjoyed, the building of personalities

—Julian Huxley

Spinoza said "I have made a ceaseless effort not to ridicule, not to bewail, nor to scorn human actions, but to understand them" Fundamental to the understanding of human behavior is the concept of the purposiveness of behavior. This chapter, then, will be concerned with the "why" of human behavior—the motives, the needs, the drives, the strivings underlying human actions

Within the general perspective of the nature of the self and its origins, as explored in the previous two chapters, there remains the problem of discovering some explanations or causes for the apparently limitless diversity of behavior. Is there a common principle that can explain the behavior of the student cramming for an exam, the commuter gulping down his breakfast before dashing off to catch the train, the cub scout working for a silver arrow, the "show off" trying to impress people, the boy getting up at six to deliver papers, the girl from a good family caught stealing jewelry in the ten-cent store, the minister caring for his flock, the teacher struggling financially to afford his profession, the hatermonger fanning fears and prejudices?

From the wide range and variety of behavior of which man seems capable, it would appear at first glance as though human motives would defy classification. Yet all of man's motives can probably be viewed as serving one or both of two basic purposes: (1) *self-maintenance* and (2) growth toward *actualization* of his potentialities. All our strivings—toward wealth, position, status, adventure, and so on—can be seen as dimensions of these two themes. Although maintenance and actualization strivings will be discussed separately, to some degree, in this chapter, they should not be regarded as separate kinds of dynamic energy stored somewhere within the human system. Man is an integrated, ongoing energy system, and his strivings at any given moment represent what seems most important to the total organism at that time under those circumstances.

In the comparatively brief history of psychology as a science, the problem of why people are motivated to behave as they do in particular ways has been a matter of major concern, vast speculation, and experimental exploration. A multitude of constructs and postulates concerning motivation have permeated psychological literature during the last fifty years. Various theories of motivation have evolved but none seem to explain all the phenomena related to the "why" of human behavior. Some of the approaches that have received wide support and have contributed substantially to our current understanding of behavior will be discussed in the next several sections of this chapter.

The comparatively recent scientific insight that all behavior is caused and that causes are multiple has brought a new attitude in behavioral thinking: if there are causes, we should be able to find out what they are; then, to the extent that they can be changed, we should be able to free and to change behavior. This, then, is the behavioral perspective of the psychologist and other professional people who use the knowledge of psychology in establishing and enhancing human relationships and promoting man's actualization. The service professions, including teaching, must take into consideration the self, which strives for further growth and actualization.

VIEWPOINTS CONCERNING MOTIVATION

Theory of Primary and Secondary Drives

One popular theory has maintained that there are a few basic, inborn psychological drives with which every human being begins life. The diversity of the motivation in everyday behavior is regarded as the result of the conditioning of these inborn urges to new goals. Thus a motive for love, power, or aesthetic enjoyment is considered as really a disguised hunger or sex drive, for example. Any drives or motives except the original, primitive, physiological ones are thus secondary because, supposedly, they are built upon the primary ones. Basically, this is the position maintained by the psychoanalysts and stimulus-response psychologists, although in other conceptual considerations these groups are quite dissimilar.

This theoretical approach to motivation makes three basic assumptions: (1) that our only inborn motive power is biological—drives powered by hunger, sex, and other tissue needs; (2) that there is no qualitative change in our drives with learning that the underlying motive power remains the original hunger or sex drive and that the only way our motivation can be changed through learning is by attaching new goals to unchanged drives; and (3) that conditioning can in fact account for all the kinds of motives operative in human behavior.

Basically, all these assumptions are still open to much questioning. For example, there is considerable evidence for a psychological substratum of strivings and needs (to be discussed later) comparable to the biological ones. Thus, although man seeks for love, approval, and status in vastly different ways in various cultures, these seeking seem to be somewhat common or universal to people everywhere. Studies like those reported by Bowlby¹ seem to indicate that even in the early moments of life, unmet psychological needs can lead to illness and death even when physiological needs are met adequately. Further evidence of the inadequacy of this position as an explanation of all motivation comes from the classic work of Harlow.² His studies with baby monkeys demonstrate that very early in life exploratory and manipulatory motives appear that are clearly not conditioned from other drives, that do not follow the patterns of arousal and satiation typical of hunger and sex, and that frequently take precedence over the biological drives.

In essence, there is nothing in conditioning theory to explain how a supposedly conditioned drive could become stronger than or antithetical to the original one, whereas we have behavioral illustrations every day of biological satisfactions being denied or deferred for psychological or social reasons. Seemingly, this behavior would be impossible if all our psychologi-

cal and social motives were derived from biological ones. Monkeys can be taught to work for tokens that they can then exchange for food, but they never come to prefer the tokens to the food. Yet a man can choose to die rather than recant his beliefs or to give up affluence and devote his life to less adequately paying work that he feels is important and meaningful. The truth for an individual may be sought even when it repeatedly fails to lead to biological satisfactions, and the striving to preserve one's self-esteem can take precedence over any and all biological needs. Thus, the theory that all adult motives are derived from biological ones through conditioning to new goals not only is unproven at this point, but it is also not in agreement with all known behavioral facts.

Motivation as Tension Reduction

Some psychologists have explained motives as devices for the reduction of tension and the restoration of equilibrium, as devices essentially for bodily maintenance. Deprivation, or disequilibrium, is conceived as setting up an unpleasant tension that the organism then strives to reduce. Illustratively, when the organism needs nourishment, hunger sends it out in search of food. Then, when the food is found, tension is reduced, the hunger drive is satiated, the motivated state ceases, and the organism is quiescent until something else comes along to upset it.

Obviously, much of our biological functioning does follow this pattern, and the discovery of the homeostatic mechanisms for maintaining physiological equilibrium has been extremely useful in helping us to understand behavior such as food seeking. Yet apparently human beings do not seem to be concerned solely with maintenance of the status quo or removal of all tension. In short, few people are content to live as vegetables. Instead, they go out of their way in working long hours at fulfilling their potentialities, to create, to explore, to build, to improve, to increase the complexity of their lives. Seemingly, these human motivated activities cannot be satisfactorily explained as attempts to reduce tensions. So once again we seem to have a theory that does not explain fully the causes of behavior.

Push and Pull Theories

A number of approaches to motivation might be labeled "push" theories or "pull" theories.³ The push theories emphasize man's inner drives or strivings, his own purposes, his essentially active nature. Man's behavior is viewed as the result of his attempts to meet his needs, to express himself, to make sense out of his world, and to accomplish his goals. The environment may provide for his needs or may place obstacles in his way, but the behavior is initiated by forces and conditions within him. He is an active,

striving, free, and purposeful agent. As Socrates said, 'Let him that would move the world, first move himself.'

Conversely, the pull theories emphasize environmental stimuli as the primary forces that induce and channel behavior. According to this view, our behavior is conceived as a response to demands and pressures, rewards and punishments in any case a response to some initiating stimulus in the environment.

Hence the push theories emphasize the *active* side of man, the pull theories the *reactive* side. Where the push theories find the basic motive force *within* the individual in impelling urges and needs, the pull theories find it largely in forces *outside* him manipulating man as if he were more or less a puppet.

It would seem that neither of these approaches to motivation is sufficient by itself. Man is both active and reactive. His behavior, like that of other dynamic energy systems, is the result of both (1) his inner structural and functional properties and (2) the conditions and forces of his phenomenal field or environment. Some things we do because of inner demands, some we do because of social cultural dictates and demands. Both the instigation of behavior and the form it takes are the joint results of our own self-concept and the phenomenal field in which the action occurs. If either the doer or the environmental field were different, the action would be different.

Although the author recognizes the significant contributions of the theories of motivation mentioned in this section, this chapter will tend to emphasize motivation as man's striving toward self-maintenance and self-actualization, with man in constant dynamic interaction within himself and within his phenomenal field. In developing this viewpoint of motivation the author will lean heavily upon Abraham Maslow's theory of motivation of inner basic needs.

MASLOW'S THEORY OF MOTIVATION ⁴

Abraham Maslow, a pioneer in the phenomenological humanistic approach to understanding human behavior, has developed a theory of motivated behavior based upon our needs. He has established a hierarchy of human needs beginning at the basic organic or physiological needs and proceeding up the scale to self-actualization. Maslow attempted to formulate a positive theory of motivation that would satisfy the theoretical demands of studying behavior scientifically and at the same time conform to the known facts, clinical and observational as well as experimental.

Maslow ⁵ sees his theory of motivation as deriving most directly from clinical experience. His theory, as he sees it, is in the functionalist tradition of James and Dewey and is fused with the wholism of Wertheimer,⁶ Gold-

stein,⁷ and Gestalt psychology, and with the dynamicism of Freud⁸ and Adler.⁹ Arbitrarily, Maslow has designated this fusion or synthesis of postulates concerning the motivated behavior of man a "general dynamic" theory of human motivation, and classifies what he considers to be our basic needs in a hierarchy of prepotency. Maslow's theory of man's motivation has been very significant in the development of the phenomenological humanistic approach to understanding self-development and, as such, has been given important consideration by the self-theorists in psychological literature and thinking.

Underlying Propositions of Maslow's Theory of Motivation

In his classic book *Motivation and Personality*¹⁰ in which Maslow proposes a general theory of human motivation based upon a synthesis of holistic and dynamic principles, he presents sixteen propositions in Chapter I, "Preface to Motivation Theory." Maslow believes that all of these propositions would have to be included in any theory of human motivation that could lay claim to being definitive. His conclusions concerning a basic theory of motivation may be summarized briefly as follows:¹¹

1. The integrated wholeness of the organism must be one of the foundation stones of motivation theory.
2. The hunger drive (or any other physiological drive) was rejected as a centering point or model for a definition theory of motivation. Any drive that is somatically based and localized was shown to be atypical rather than typical in human motivation.
3. Such a theory should stress and center itself upon ultimate or basic goals rather than partial or superficial ones, upon ends rather than means to these ends. Such a stress would imply a more central place for unconscious than for conscious motivations.
4. Usually, various cultural paths are available to the same goal. Therefore, conscious, specific local cultural desires are not as fundamental in motivation theory as the more basic, unconscious goals.
5. Any motivated behavior, either preparatory or consummatory, must be understood to be a channel through which many basic needs may be simultaneously expressed or satisfied. Typically, then, a behavioral act has *more* than one motivation.
6. Practically all organismic states are to be understood as motivated and as motivating.

7. Human needs arrange themselves in hierarchies of prepotency. As such, the appearance of any need usually rests on the prior satisfaction of another, more prepotent need. Thus man is a perpetually wanting animal. Also, no need or drive can be treated as if it were isolated or discrete; every drive is related to the state of satisfaction or dissatisfaction of other drives.
8. *Lists* of drives are not adequate to explain human motivation for various theoretical and practical reasons. Furthermore, any classification of motivations must deal with the problems of levels of specificity or generalizations of the motives to be classified.
9. Classifications of motivations must be based upon goals rather than upon instigating drives or motivated behavior.
10. Motivation theory should be human centered rather than animal-centered.
11. The situation or the field in which the organism reacts must be taken into account, but the field alone can rarely serve as an exclusive explanation for behavior. Furthermore, the field itself must be interpreted in terms of the organism; field theory cannot be a substitute for motivation theory.
12. Not only must the integration of the organism be taken into account, but also the possibility of isolated, specific, partial or segmented reactions must be considered.
13. Motivation theory is not synonymous with behavior theory. The motivations are only one class of determinants of behavior. Although behavior is almost always motivated, it is also almost always biologically, culturally, and situationally determined as well.
14. One important aspect of motivation, often neglected by psychologists, is the concept of possibility. On the whole, we yearn consciously for that which might conceivably be actually attained. Thus, attention to this factor of possibility of attainment is crucial for understanding the differences in motivations between various socioeconomic subgroups within a culture.
15. A complete theory of motivation must include a consideration of the influence of reality upon the unconscious behavior of man as his self-strivings are controlled, modified, or held back from discharge by reality conditions.
16. Most of our knowledge of human motivation has come

from psychotherapists treating patients. Any theory of motivation that is worthy of attention must deal with the highest capacities of the healthy and strong man as well as the defensive maneuvers of psychological cripples. The important concerns of the most adequate people must all be encompassed and explained. Motivation theorists must become more positive in their orientation.

Maslow's Theory of a Hierarchy of Needs

As mentioned in the beginning of the chapter, all of your motives can probably be viewed as serving one or both of two basic purposes. (1) *self-maintenance* and (2) growth toward *actualization* of your potentialities. Thus, for a considerable number of psychologists, it seems inescapably necessary in an adequate description of man's behavior to include the concept of "forward-going" orientation of ends toward which the individual's personal growth and development are directed, as well as considerations for the maintenance of the organism.

An emphasis upon "higher-level" motivations is implied in the concept of self-actualization. This concept stresses the tendency in man to devote his attentions and his energies to concerns of a more and more creative nature, in keeping with the degree to which he is freed of the demands of his physiological needs. Furthermore, the idea of self-actualizing behavior implies that for most persons, most of the time (at least for the fortunate ones such as ourselves), the basic physical needs are relatively satisfied and do not demand our complete attention. The basic physical needs are not, therefore, the most significant motivators in total, integrated human behavior.

Maslow, who is a leading proponent in the concept of self-actualization, proposes a hierarchy of needs arranged in order of prepotency. We shall explain his proposal only briefly here, because much of the rest of the chapter will be devoted to a more detailed examination of his ideas as types of needs, strivings toward self-maintenance, striving toward self-actualization, and the motivated, developmental self are discussed. Maslow believes that the appearance of one need rests upon the prior satisfaction of another. His list of needs, arranged in their hierarchical order from the lowest to the highest, is as follows:

1. Physiological needs, for example, to satisfy hunger, thirst, sex.
2. Safety needs, for example, security and release from anxiety aroused by threats of various kinds.
3. Love needs, for example, love, affection, acceptance, and

- feeling of belonging in one's relationships with parents, teachers, friends, and other social groups
4. Esteem needs both self-esteem from mastery and confidence in one's worth, adequacy, and capacities, and esteem from social approval
 5. Need for self-actualization through creative self-expression in personal and social achievements, need to feel free to act (within the limits of general and social needs), to satisfy one's curiosity to understand oneself, and to engage in self-enhancing behavior that promotes the facilitation of one's productive potentialities

According to Maslow's theory, an individual's lower needs must be satisfied before higher ones can operate. However, it is not necessary that a lower need be completely satisfied before higher need systems can come into operation; they must be satisfied at a *particular level* before the next higher can emerge. Thus, loosely generalized, if only 10 per cent of Need 1 were satisfied, Need 2 might not appear. If Need 1 were 20 per cent satisfied, then Need 2 might appear. A much more detailed explanation of Maslow's basic needs and how they function within his general dynamic theory of human motivation will be presented subsequently. First, however, we need to digress somewhat in the next several sections to consider the general characteristic of motivated behavior and a clarification of motivational terms and concepts.

CHARACTERISTICS OF MOTIVATED BEHAVIOR

Because our motives are not autonomous entities but all help to subserve the more basic, underlying strivings toward our self-maintenance and fulfillment of potentialities, the operation of any given motive can be understood only as we see its part in the whole motivational pattern at any given time. Motivation is a psychological concept that has numerous definitions and significant characteristics. Although there are theories utilizing the construct of motivation as a manipulation of the organism's environment to produce action, the viewpoint in this chapter has reference to *something going on within an individual* to which the expression *basic needs and motives* relates in the more truly psychological sense to the developing, emerging, and actualizing self. This is the view that emphasizes the word *felt* in the expression *felt need*. To describe and to explain these propelling forces within the individual is distinctly a significant consideration in understanding the "why" of developmental behavior. Hence we shall be discussing the characteristics of motivation largely from this viewpoint.

Motivation as Need-Propelled and Goal-Directed Behavior

Two aspects of motivation are especially distinctive to developing behavior. One is a condition of need within the individual, which will be discussed at length as we examine Maslow's description of basic needs in later sections of this chapter. The other is *direction of behavior* toward a goal (goal-object) that will satisfy the need. Much behavior is not characterized by direction: many body movements, for example, are simply reflexive. Some actions are vaguely conscious but largely random in nature. *Motivated behavior*, however, consists of responses that occur in a sequence *governed by a relevant end result*. The end result promises, or seems to promise, the satisfaction of the felt need.

Motivation as Coping Behavior

Much of human behavior consists of episodes which merge one into another to form the stream of an individual's experience. If you observe a given behavioral episode, you will see in it an element of goal seeking characterized by various maneuvers and adaptations of behavior. These maneuvers and adaptations are directed at overcoming obstacles that interfere with goal attainment. What you are seeing is aptly called *coping behavior*. To cope with a situation is to strive purposefully toward the solution of a problem that it presents. The "problem" may be relatively simple, or it may involve numerous complications and complexities.

The highly energized actions of a hungry baby illustrate one aspect of coping. Children engaging in hazardous behavior to rescue pets from danger represent coping. Coping may be observed daily on college campuses as students put forth strenuous efforts to maintain their academic and social positions in reference to their own self-images. Not to be regarded lightly as an illustration of coping behavior are the complex activities of a college male as he tries for a date with an attractive coed to a prestigious social affair. Maybe the preceding examples will indicate to some degree how much of life revolves around need-centered behavioral episodes. At least these illustrations may imply that need plus goal plus the element of purposeful striving are inseparable aspects of motivated behavior.

Motivation and Distant Goal-Objects

Although in some motivated behavior the goal-object (such as food or drink for the baby) may be near at hand, it may be far removed and at the end of a long, circuitous route in some situations. For example, getting a date with a girl one has never dated before may be accomplished only

after a great deal of "thinking about the idea," cautious inquiry, rehearsing of the telephone conversation with her, and some advance 'built in self-consolations' in case she expresses her 'regrets'."

For most persons, many goals have these characteristics of distance and circuitousness of approach about them. For you, college graduation and your vocational plans of the future are doubtless examples of distant goal-objects. Many times the persistent and complex process of trying to answer the questions *Who am I?* *Why am I?* and *Who will I be?* are somewhat future oriented, although there are numerous current considerations. Often the particular goal of motivated behavior can be accomplished only after attaining intermediate subsidiary goals along the way. For you, satisfactory grades and accomplishments in a variety of college courses is subsidiary to the goal of college graduation. Your graduation from college is an intermediate goal on the way to becoming a teacher or other professional person. Similarly, dating, courtship, marriage and courtship are intermediate processes in the goal object of parenthood.

Multiplicity and Complexity of Motives

During a discussion of scientific principles of behavior in Chapter 1, the point was emphasized that all behavior is caused and that the causes of behavior are multiple and complex. This scientific fact applies with special force to motivation. Because of the uniqueness of individuals and the nature of their perceptual behavior, different people observed doing seemingly 'the same thing' may have vastly different needs (and needs within needs) that help propel them to behave the way they do.

You certainly do not need a psychology course to inform you that motives rarely operate one at a time. Usually the motivation underlying a bit of behavior is mixed and complex, a whole pattern of motives is instigating and guiding what you do, although one motive may be dominant. During the days or weeks that you struggle to gather data and write a term paper or similar project you are also motivated by needs (sometimes conflicting) for food, rest, companionship, and many others, although as the deadline for the term paper approaches these other need requirements may be temporarily ignored as academic priorities take over. These characteristics of the multiplicity, complexity, and interdependence of motives are well illustrated in the following statement:

In truth, there is no limited set of drives which produce the actions of man. Man is a purposive being who responds to challenges with his own counter-thrust who imagines goals which have to be brought into existence, who creates—at least in part—the very problems he struggles to solve. This process is like a long conversation between the individual and his milieu. Every stimulating word, every success and failure, every

contact and opportunity enter into the shaping of the pattern which emerges. Sometimes it is a deepening thirst which grows out of real sensed lackings which becomes the dominant theme for a period of man's life. Then his passion becomes an integrating core around which his thoughts, his choices, his rememberings, his actions are grouped. But there are also lives in which a continual conflict between motives keeps morale at low ebb, and one motive neatly cancels another until there is no centered movement of the individual as a whole.¹²

Interdependence of Motives

Most behavioral acts serve many motives, not just one. You may try to write a scholarly term paper not only to complete an assignment but also to demonstrate your organizational and writing skills, to gain commendation, to raise your grade level (and perhaps that of your sorority or fraternity), and to have a good academic record to show prospective employers. In general, behavior that brings approval also serves to raise your self-esteem and sense of worth. Social contacts may be sought as an expression of affection, as a source of power, as a testing ground for our worth, as a medium for the promotion of our ideas, or as a source of relaxation and recreation, or perhaps for all these reasons at one time. A Don Juan or a Jezebel may be as eager to prove his masculinity or her femininity (or to punish parents, and so on) as he or she is to gain sexual satisfaction.

Seemingly, key motives pervade your behavior. Just as one act may express many motives, one motive pattern may find expression through many kinds of behavior. For example, a central motive to excel or to lead will normally be manifested in school work, in personal contacts, in group activities, and even in recreation.

Different needs may arouse the same motive. Our various motives are closely related to each other in both arousal and expression. In fact, one drive may even be instigated by the deprivation of needs other than those usually associated with it. Illustratively, the hunger drive, although usually aroused by tissue needs for food, may also be aroused by unmet psychological needs. For example, children who feel unloved often have a pathological craving for sweets. In a similar manner, some individuals experience an almost continuous sex drive and engage in promiscuous sexual behavior, not primarily out of physical need, but rather in an attempt to increase their feelings of being worthwhile and attractive to others or to compensate for thwarted love needs.

Conversely, a real tissue need may fail to lead to feelings of hunger or any desire for food in a person whose fiancée has just eloped with a best friend or who has other stressful and somewhat psychological traumatic experiences. Or a hungry person may lose his appetite if criticized

or humiliated by a superior or other significant person in his life. Family arguments at mealtimes are notorious destroyers of appetite. Thus, there seems to be no one-to-one relationship between need and either motive or behavior.

Motivation and Conflicting Patterns of Needs

What happens to human motivation when two or more needs conflict or when one can be fulfilled only at the expense of another? What happens when you have an important assignment due tomorrow and you have an opportunity for an exciting, enhancing social activity this evening? What takes place within the dynamics of motivation when a man can obtain food for himself and his family only by stealing it, or a promotion only by giving up his evenings and week ends with his wife and children? What happens when you find yourself in a variety of choice situations with basic needs and/or human physiological, social, or cultural roles conflicting? Among our various strivings, do some have predominance or prepotence over others? If so, which ones are they? If a young married couple on a honeymoon found themselves lost in a desert or mountain area without food or water for a week or more, would they be interested in overtly expressing their love for each other through coitus, or would coping behavior to fulfill hunger and thirst needs take precedence?

Maslow¹³ suggests that basic needs arrange themselves in a hierarchy from the most basic biological needs to the need for self-enhancement and self fulfillment, which represent the higher development of the personality. With some slight modifications, to present them briefly since Maslow's needs will be presented in detail later, we may envision the hierarchy as: *body needs*—basic tissue needs such as food, water, sex, *safety needs*—protection from harm or injury, *needs for love and belonging*—for warmth, status, acceptance, approval, *needs for adequacy, security, self esteem, self-enhancement, competencies*, *needs for self-fulfillment, broader understanding*. As discussed earlier, these needs may also be grouped as biological maintenance needs, psychological maintenance needs, and actualization needs.

Strength of Needs and Deprivation

The psychological literature reveals some interesting insights into the relative strength of needs with human deprivation. Interestingly enough, one order of relative strength seems typical under certain conditions of deprivation, and the reverse order under conditions of reasonable gratification. Thus, in extreme deprivation, most (although not all) individuals will sacrifice their higher-level needs for esteem and actualization to meet

acceptance, belonging, and other psychological maintenance needs, and will sacrifice the latter, in turn, for personal safety and survival. Bettelheim¹⁴ and Nardini¹⁵ report that in both the Nazi concentration camps and in the Japanese prisoner-of-war camps, for example, it was a common pattern for prisoners subjected to prolonged deprivation and torture to lower their moral standards, take food from each other, and in other ways surrender the loyalties and values they had held under more normal conditions.

The tremendous force of hunger and other physiological drives becomes readily observable even under experimental conditions. Keys¹⁶ and his associates, in a study of the effects of semistarvation conducted during World War II with conscientious objectors, discovered that dramatic personality changes occurred. For example, the men became irritable, unsociable, and increasingly unable to concentrate on anything but the thought of food. By the end of the twenty-fifth week, food dominated their thoughts, conversations, and daydreams. In fact, they even pinned up pictures of chocolate cake rather than of beautiful women.

The preceding pattern of need duration under deprivation does not always hold, however. Every catastrophe has its heroes who sacrifice their own welfare for the good of others, and every age its appropriate martyrs who remain faithful to their principles and beliefs despite social ostracism, physical deprivation, torture, or certain death. It seems possible that through learning, human relationships, beliefs, and values can become more significant to us than our inherent needs. For many creative people the expression of a special talent has been more important than the mere technicalities involved in routinely meeting needs of food, rest, or social acceptance or companionship.

Probably most of us would choose *minor physical deprivations* rather than surrender our principles, or submit to *minor disapproval* rather than give up cherished, significant goals. In fact, every day most of us undergo delays in our life, frustrations, and inconveniences rather than violate social conventions to achieve our desires more directly. Thus, we want our "creature comforts," but we can forego them when they would cost us approval and self-esteem. Evidently the persevering quality of lower-order needs is a matter of degree and a highly individual human phenomenon; only under extreme deprivation conditions do the lower needs seem to be predominant in directing our behavior.

Strength of Needs Under Favorable Conditions

Under favorable conditions, our higher-level needs typically become dominant. Thus, needs that have been met cease to be active motivators. If we have plenty to eat, a warm and comfortable house to live in, and assurance

of a substantial income, we are then free to be concerned about our relationships with other people and our status in the community; we want others to accept and to approve of us and are unhappy if they do not. Then, if there are no severe deprivations to our needs for status, acceptance, and approval to elicit self-defensive behavior, we may feel restless and look for new worlds to conquer, new competencies to master, and new meanings and value in what we do—in short, work actively toward self-actualization.

People who, despite adequate resources, remain dominated somewhat consistently by maintenance strivings tend to be unhealthy, physically or psychologically or both, and seem to be unhappy and unfulfilled—a uniquely humanly induced predicament. Personality theorists such as Allport¹⁷ and Goldstein¹⁸ regard individuals preoccupied with basic tension reduction as “clearly pathological psychologically.” As such, maintenance-motivated man is more easily manipulated or controlled by authority figures who have the power to offer or to withhold incentives. Also, because he is concerned primarily with meeting lower-level needs, he may be more susceptible to alcohol or drugs as an easy way to resolve his maintenance problems. As it were, he is not a whole man; he is more vulnerable to outside threats because he responds in segments, rather than as a total person.

Maslow,¹⁹ in comparing “deficiency-motivated” people with “actualizing” ones, discovered that the self-actualizing ones had more efficient perceptions of reality and more comfortable relations with it; could tolerate uncertainty better; were more spontaneous, creative, and accepting of themselves and others; were problem-centered rather than ego-centered; had deeper than average relationships with other people, but also valued solitude more; felt kinship with and concern for all humanity; and had a philosophical, un-hostile sense of humor.

Patterns of Motivation and the Life Style

As we have mentioned in previous chapters, the developing self-structure of each person contributes to the development of a fairly consistent style of life; thus, a continuing pattern of assumptions, ideas, aspirations, goals, and attitudes makes his behavior somewhat predictable. Rarely is behavior a simple, one-dimensional reaction to external stimulation. Usually, your behavior incorporates some degree of examination, screening, evaluation, and selection from among various choice-alternatives.

Preferential Patterns of Motives

An additional factor in this consistent and continuing life style is what Goldstein²⁰ calls a *preferred pattern of motives*, that is, what the person is persistently trying to do. Each person develops a unique and continuing

pattern of key motives and purposes that helps to make his behavior predictable to a degree in widely different settings. This pattern of motivation is consistent with his concept of self and his capabilities in relation to the demands he sees being made upon him. It may have little relationship to the actual degree of deprivation or gratification of his basic needs.

To illustrate influence of preferred patterns of motives upon behavior, let us look at some of the actions of individuals in *The Diary of Anne Frank*, a wartime chronicle of eight people hiding from the Germans for two years under conditions of considerable deprivation and constant fear. In the book, each person is portrayed as behaving in ways consistent with his style of life before the episode began. The ensuing deprivations and fears affected the behavior of all of them, but in very different ways and in different degrees. Anne herself was far less concerned with (motivated by) the hunger and the danger than with her relationships with other people and with her own developing values. Self-centered and materialistic, Mrs. Van Daan behaved consistently in petty, childish ways. Anne's father, for whom intellectual values were all-important, kept himself and the children busy reading, thinking creatively, and broadening their interests and knowledge—essentially working on their higher-level needs of self-actualization. The dentist, a pessimist even before going into hiding, rarely saw anything but irritations and gloomy prospects.

Consistent Aspiration Level

A significant part of any person's life style, as related to his motivated behavior, is his level of aspiration, based partly upon the group standards but even more upon his interests and needs and his own evaluation of himself and his abilities. The psychological literature seems to indicate that emotionally healthy people tend to have a fairly accurate evaluation of themselves and their world and hence a fairly realistic level of aspiration. Maladjusted people, on the other hand, are typically under pressure to defend themselves from threats to their feelings of worth and to enhance their feelings of self-esteem. Studies show that their level of aspiration tends to be unrealistic, either too high or too low, which in turn leads to inevitable failure or wasted opportunities, with further self-devaluation and an ever growing need for self-defense.

Factors Affecting the Formation and Change of Motives

In considering characteristics of motivation, obviously the same motive or pattern of motives does not operate day in and day out at the same strength. What, then, makes motives change from day to day and over a longer period of time?

Short-Term Changes Our motivational patterns are continually changing as certain needs are gratified and others are felt. On the physiological level this process follows a rhythm based upon periodic intensification and reduction in drive strength—a phenomenon resulting from metabolic activity and commonly known as *drive cycle* or *periodicity of drive*. We may observe this periodic rhythm of physiological drives in the hunger, thirst, and sex needs, with continued frustration (up to a point) the drive becomes intensified. With gratification its strength is decreased and it drops in the motivational pattern.

On the psychological level a periodic rhythm is less readily apparent either in the maintenance strivings for affection, adequacy, and self-esteem or in the actualization strivings for growth and fulfillment, although moods may vacillate up and down uncountably. Yet even here at the higher level, when one need is met its relative felt strength tends to be reduced, and others tend to be moved to the forefront. Thus, no matter how well satisfied our needs are we always seem to discover some new point of imperfection or dissatisfaction upon which to focus our motivational energies. This phenomenon is often dramatically illustrated when we achieve some long-sought goal in life such as college graduation, marriage, or parenthood, which does in fact gratify certain basic needs only to realize that instead of feeling relaxation and inner peace with ourselves we become aware of a whole new set of needs and motives.

Long Term Changes In addition to these short-term changes, we also develop new motives periodically. Some of these long-term changes seem to result from the appearance of new developmental requirements at different life stages; others come about as a result of experience and learning.

We have thought of motives as strivings toward particular goals. A persistent problem in motivation has been the interpretation of changes in our motivational patterns through experience and learning as we go through life—changes in goals, changes in means for achieving them, changes in our interests. When the fisherman tires of being teased by game fish and becomes a scuba diving enthusiast, or a frustrated golfer becomes an obsessional “ski bum,” has he unlearned his old motive and learned a new one?

Some psychologists would say that he has learned new motivational behavior. For example, Allport¹¹ with his theory of functional autonomy, believes that new motives are learned through associations with existing ones and then eventually become “autonomous” themes (i.e., that is, able to energize behavior in the absence of the original need). An excellent example of the functional autonomy of a motive, according to his view, would be the motive for working. Although this motive began as a source of money to buy food and other necessities, often the motivation continues even though work may no longer be necessary or remunerative. From a somewhat sim-

ilar position Woodworth²² held that habits after a time acquire the power of drives in their own right.

In essence, from our discussion in this section, we might interpret motivational patterns with the assumption that for the most part our basic need requirements remain unchanged, we merely change the means by which we satisfy them as we discover that new goals, experiences, and activities will suit our purposes as well or better than old ones. Thus the "class clown" may abandon his show off behavior when he is guided into more constructive and socially acceptable ways of gaining the attention and acceptance he seeks. According to this view, a person might continue to work after it was no longer necessary financially or continue to attend college graduate classes after having accomplished the scholastic requirements of his profession, because these activities had become for him a significant means of meeting his self-esteem and actualization needs.

CLARIFICATION OF BASIC MOTIVATIONAL TERMS AND CONCEPTS

Thus far motivation and some of its characteristics have been discussed in general. Now let us examine more specifically the meaning of some of the terms that have been used. In psychology, what exactly do we mean by the terms *needs*, *drives*, *motives*, and *goal objects*? Every day we use many words that relate in a nontechnical sense to motivation (for example, wish, desire, want, purpose, urge, inspiration). What special connotations do the four words selected here have that make them particularly meaningful in discussions of motivation?

Definition of Terms

Although they may differ in their specific definitions of terms and in theoretical approaches, psychologists generally see *motivation* as a reference to the regulation within the organism of need-satisfying and goal-seeking behavior. Inasmuch as this description covers a wide range of activities and conditions, we shall need to examine other associated terms to understand motivated behavior with a degree of precision.

Need. A definition of need that is relevant to many discussions of motivation is "a condition within the individual that energizes and disposes him toward certain kinds of behavior."²³ A felt need has both the effect of *energizing* the organism and of *disposing* it to react in a way indicated by a distinguishable goal object. Broadly defined, a condition of need in the human organism is one in which something is disturbing to the satisfaction of its physiological and/or psychological state. The disturbance may be a matter of something lacking (food deprivation) or something noxious (pain

inflicted by a sharp object, or a barbed remark jabbing into an adolescent's self-image). An important characteristic of the condition of disturbance, especially in relevance to physical disturbances, is *tension*—that is, tension in the tissues of the organism that is so great as to preclude a satisfactory “state of affairs.”

Drive. When the condition of disturbance is of organic origin, some psychologists seem to prefer the term *drive* as a distinctive label. Some authors use this word particularly when the reference is to conditions of hunger, thirst, or sex urges. In this book, *physiological* or *tissue needs* as a part of self-maintenance needs will be used, so that a degree of consistency will be maintained in the next several sections as self-maintenance needs and self-actualization needs are discussed.

Motive. *Motive* is probably best used to indicate a need coupled with the intention to attain a goal-object that for the organism “promises” the satisfaction of the need. Relevant to this point is the comment of Krech and Crutchfield: ²⁴ A hunger need is not alone the motive, nor is food the motive; the motive is to seek and eat food to relieve the hunger need. A motive may have any one of several kinds of prompting. The motive may be prompted by a physiological fact (hunger) or by some element of prior learning (approval of others of some accomplishment) or by a momentary set of attention (discovery of some idea or object giving instant satisfaction).

Goal-Object. Normally, behavioral scientists use the term *goal-object* to designate that which the organism seeks or desires: something that “promises” the satisfaction of a felt need. For example, milk would be such a goal-object for a hungry baby, just as friendly responses from another child would be the goal-object for a youngster who is hungry for peer acceptance and companionship. Money often becomes an intermediate goal-object for a person who visualizes the promise of some desired thing that money will buy—the ultimate goal-object. An excellent mark on a test or in a college course is a goal-object; it is desirable for the kinds of need fulfillment it promises to bring to the student as related to short-range and long-range goals and aspirations. Beyond the mark of “A” may be the prospect of seeing one's name on the Dean's list or the further possibility of gaining the esteem of various highly regarded persons.

Motivational Significance of the Term Basic. In much of the discussion of motivation, we find the word *basic* coupled with the term *need*. Because this relationship is significant, an explanation is in order. In joining these two terms, psychologists have hoped to force the issue as to what are the *prime movers* in the behavior of organisms. Exactly what needs in man are so tied into his essential well-being that not to have them satisfied would put his welfare in real jeopardy?

When one answers the question, “Are food, water, oxygen, and sleep basic needs?” then the significance of the term *basic* as applied to human

needs begins to be evident. Then what about answering the question, "Are there any *psychological* needs that, if unsatisfied, would put an individual's essential welfare in comparable jeopardy?" Certainly we need not, in fact, we must not, consider man's physical well-being the only kind of essential welfare of the organism. Thus, deprivation of any kind that threatens the growth or stability of the physical or psychological self is a serious matter.

In this discussion, *basic needs* will be considered arbitrarily to be those suggested by Maslow²⁵ in the hierarchy of needs, related to his theory of motivation, that seem to be essential for the maintenance and the actualization of self. Different writers have organized their discussion of the kinds of human needs and motives in a variety of ways. A convenient and rather widely used classification recognizes the essentially physiological basis of some needs and motives, in contrast to the essentially psychological-social nature of others. These connotations will be implied in the subsequent discussions of basic needs. Because the central emphasis in this book is upon the *emerging* and *actualizing self*, Maslow's needs will be described under the main classifications of *self maintenance needs* and *self actualization needs*.

SELF-MAINTENANCE NEEDS

Although the needs, both maintenance and actualization, do not, as inner sources of motive power within a human being, operate in a vacuum, the scope of this section and the next one will be to describe the basic needs of man without particular emphasis and reference to the field forces of environment in motivation. These factors will be discussed later in Chapter 6, "The Sociocultural Self," as we explore the importance of outside influences in motivating our behavior to develop and to actualize the self.

The prime requisite for man's survival is preserving the integrity of one's physical self; countless activities within the body work together toward this goal. Endocrine action, breathing, digestion, and circulation all contribute their part, as do certain built-in mechanisms for combating disease, ensuring normal blood and body chemistry, maintaining proper body temperature, and initiating our search for food, water, and rest. All of these physiological processes are part of the continuous endeavor of the body to maintain internal conditions within the limits necessary for physical self-survival and health—a significant condition referred to by Cannon²⁶ as *homeostasis*.

Some of these homeostatic mechanisms are autonomous and involve no awareness or conscious effort on our part; and, as such, they are primarily the concern of medicine rather than psychology. In many cases, however, as in the drives for hunger, thirst, and sleep, the homeostatic mechanisms do

lead to awareness and conscious effort and come to include complicated learned behavior.

The concept of homeostasis, in connection with physiological processes has a parallel on the psychological level. Here, again, man strives to maintain his self-integrity or integration—in this case his feelings of worth and adequacy and his ability to think, to feel, and to act in organized, coherent ways that encourage feelings of security, belonging, approval, esteem, love, and relatedness to others. Damage to the self-structure, as in the case of severe guilt, anxiety, or inadequacy feelings, can disable one's self just as much as can the disruption of physiological functioning. The concepts of psychosomatic medicine and holistic psychotherapy recognize the significant interrelations of these two systems of man—physiological and psychological. Man puts considerable effort into maintaining and strengthening his psychological structure, especially his self-structure, which, as we have seen, serves as his basic anchorage point. Thus, unconsciously he may develop defense mechanisms such as rationalization and projection (discussed in Chapter 12) to protect himself from threats to his feelings of personal worth and adequacy.

At both the physiological and psychological levels, maintenance of a smoothly functioning self is possible only if certain basic need requirements are met. If needs at a lower level have not been met, then self-functioning at a higher level is difficult, if not impossible, until the meeting of the lower level requirements frees the self to participate in higher-level needs. What we call *self-maintenance behavior* is behavior aimed at meeting these requirements both psychologically and physiologically. This behavior is initiated when a deprivation of some kind occurs or is anticipated, and it ceases when the missing requirement has been supplied. This might be called *need-deficiency motivation*, because this kind of striving dominates our behavior only when a deficiency occurs or is anticipated.

Organisms may, of course, operate at different levels of efficiency and deficiency. For example, in a concentration camp or other rigorous place of confinement, where the inmates may receive physiological abuses and few, if any, psychological or social satisfactions, life may continue at a bare subsistence level. Under such circumstances, many physical and psychological requirements are not being met; yet the individuals may hang on to life for months, even years. Thus, the requirements that we shall be discussing are the basic needs for normal self-functioning, not for bare survival. They are the basic requisites for a certain quality of self-maintenance, though not in every case requirements for life itself. Our first view, then, will be to explore some of the generally agreed upon requirements—physiological and psychological basic needs—that must be met for normal self-functioning.

Physiological or Bodily Needs

The needs that are usually taken as the starting point for motivation theory are the *physiological drives* or *bodily tissue needs*. Undoubtedly, these needs are the most prepotent of all needs as viewed by Maslow's hierarchy of needs. What this means specifically is that in the human being who is missing everything in life in an extreme fashion, it is most likely that the major motivation would be the physiological needs rather than any others. Thus a person who is lacking food, safety, love, and esteem would most probably hunger for food more strongly than for anything else.

The human body needs many substances, conditions, and activities, from vitamins to sexual release and the needs to use our physical equipment. Some needs, such as our need for food and water, may be clearly and frequently felt only under conditions of serious deprivation. Although bodily needs can be classified in various ways, the following categories seem particularly pertinent to an understanding of human behavior.*

1. *Visceral needs*—needs for food, water, oxygen, sleep, elimination of wastes, and other substances, conditions, and activities necessary for keeping the organism alive.
2. *Sex needs*†—needs basic to the perpetuation of the species and important to individual fulfillment.
3. *Sensory and motor needs*‡—needs for using bodily equipment if it is to function properly.

Physiological needs are normally considered unusual rather than typical because they are isolable and because they are localizable somatically. This is to say, they are relatively independent of each other, of other motivations, and of the organism as a whole, and secondly, in many cases it is possible to demonstrate a localized, underlying somatic base for the need. This phenomenon is true less generally than has been thought (exceptions being fatigue, sleepiness, maternal responses), but it is still true in the classic instances of hunger, sex, and thirst. Any of the physiological needs and the consummatory behavior involved in them serve as channels for all sorts

* Although safety needs are included in classifications of bodily needs by some writers, this category will be included in the next section as a separate classification in adherence to Maslow's hierarchy of needs.

† Sex needs will not be discussed here but will be explored in considerable detail in the next chapter, *The Emotional and Feeling Self*, and in Chapter 9, *The Psychosexual Self*.

‡ Because one of the visceral needs, specifically food, will be used to illustrate Maslow's prepotency of the physiological needs, a discussion of the sensory and motor needs will be postponed until the end of this section.

of needs as well. As it were, the person who thinks he is hungry may actually be seeking more for comfort, or dependence, than for vitamins or proteins. Conversely, it is possible to satisfy the hunger needs in part by other activities, such as drinking water or by smoking cigarettes. In essence, relatively insoluble as these physiological needs are, they are not completely so.

In relation to Maslow's theory of prepotency, if all the needs are unsatisfied and the organism is then dominated by the physiological needs, all other needs may become simply nonexistent or be pushed into the background. Then the whole organism might be characterized by saying that it is hungry, for consciousness is almost completely preempted by hunger. All capacities are put into the service of hunger satisfaction, and the organization of these capacities is almost entirely determined by the one purpose of satisfying hunger. Now the sensory receptors and effectors, the intelligence, memory, habits—all may be defined simply as hunger gratifying tools. Human capacities that are not useful for this purpose lie dormant or are pushed into the background. To illustrate, the urge to write creatively, to relate to people harmoniously, to express or receive love—the need to maintain personal safety, the desire to acquire material goods are, in the extreme case, forgotten or become of secondary importance. For the person who is extremely and dangerously hungry, no other interests exist but food. He dreams of food, he remembers food, he thinks about food—he emotes only about food—he perceives only food, and he wants only food. The more subtle factors that ordinarily fuse with the physiological drives in organizing even feeding, drinking, or sexual behavior (such as expected social roles and recognized human values) may now be so completely overwhelmed as to constitute at this time (but only at this time) a pure hunger drive and related behavior, with the one unqualified goal of relief.

A peculiar characteristic of the human being when it is dominated by a certain need is that the whole philosophy of the future tends also to change. For our extremely starved man, the ideal world would be perceived as simply a place where there is plenty of food. (Thus talks of idealistic democratic living would fall on deaf ears if the stomachs of people were chronically empty.) He tends to think that if only he is guaranteed food for the rest of his life, he would be able to live the good life and attain happiness, life itself tends to be defined in terms of eating. Anything else will be considered as unimportant by comparison. Freedom, love, loyalty, respect, philosophical values may all be waived aside as frivolities that are useless because they fail to fill the stomach. Such a person may truly be said to live by bread alone.

Obviously, a good way to obscure "higher level" motivations (utilized sometimes in situations of controlling groups of people in prisons and war prisoner camps) and to get a narrow view of human capacities and human nature (for example, some behavior of children in economically disadvan-

taged areas) is to make the organism extremely and chronically hungry or thirsty. Certainly, anyone who attempts to measure all of man's goals and desires by his behavior during extreme physiological deprivation will receive an atypical and skewed picture of his significant meanings and values. Maybe it is quite true that man does live by bread alone—when there is no bread. But what happens to man's desires and goals when there *is* plenty of bread and when he may even fill his stomach with cake?

At once other (and "higher") needs emerge, and these, rather than physiological hungers, dominate the organism. When these in turn are satisfied, again new (and still "higher") needs emerge, and so on. This phenomenon of motivated behavior is what Maslow means by saying that the basic human needs are organized into a hierarchy of relative prepotency.

One main implication of this behavioral assumption is that gratification becomes as important a concept as deprivation in motivational theory, for it releases the organism from the domination of a relatively more physiological need, permitting thereby the emergence of other more social goals. Thus, the physiological needs, along with their partial goals, when chronically gratified, cease to exist as active determinants or organizers of behavior. They now exist only in a potential fashion in the sense that they may emerge again to dominate the organism if they are thwarted. Because a want that is satisfied is no longer a want, the human being is dominated and its behavior organized only by unsatisfied needs. Then if hunger is satisfied, it becomes unimportant in the current dynamics of the person.

So far in this section we have used the lack of food to illustrate the visceral needs of the organism functioning in Maslow's hierarchical need theory of motivation, and we have noted that the sex need will be discussed in future chapters; so let us now look quickly at the third classification of physiological needs—sensory and motor needs.

These needs, in the light of fairly recent psychological investigations, deserve some special comments. We have long been aware that failure to use muscles leads to their atrophy. Now experiments have indicated that integration of thought processes is dependent upon sensory stimulation, or "feedback" from the environment (Lilly;²⁷ Heron, Doane, and Scott²⁸). In essence, to prevent disorganization of thought processes, a certain level of sensory stimulation is essential. If incoming stimulation is greatly reduced for a period of several hours, a person's thought processes become disoriented and he begins to have hallucinations. In addition, he becomes prone to accept any information that is "fed in," a tendency that suggests why brainwashing can be effective with some people. After a prolonged period without sensory stimulation, performance on intelligence and other psychological tests is temporarily lowered, and time is necessary to restore normal mental functioning. Thus, in your life as a college student, prolonged deprivation of sensory stimulation induced by depressant drugs or fatigue

could lower your results on final examinations and other tests or responsibilities.

The organism's tendency to use its bodily equipment is illustrated by the child's urge to self-discovery, to explore his environment, to learn to walk, to engage in vigorous bodily activities, and to enjoy sounds and sights, including music and colorful pictures. Although not too much is known about man's aesthetic needs, his enjoyment of music, dancing, and art is thought to be closely related to his sensory-motor structure—affected, of course, by cultural influences.

Safety Needs

In Maslow's theory of motivation, if the physiological needs are relatively well gratified, then a new set of needs emerges which he categorizes roughly as the safety needs. All that we have said concerning the physiological needs is equally true, although in a lesser degree, of these desires. Therefore, the organism may equally well be wholly dominated by them. Thus, they may serve as the almost exclusive organizers of behavior, recruiting all the capacities of the organism as a safety-seeking mechanism, just as we spoke of a completely hunger-dominated man in the last section. Again we may say of the receptors, the effectors, the intellect, and the other capacities that they are primarily safety-seeking tools. Again, as in our hungry man, we find the dominating goal to be a strong determinant not only of his current world outlook and philosophy but also of his future-oriented views of life. In effect, practically everything looks less important than safety (even sometimes the physiological needs, which, being satisfied, are now underestimated). Thus, a man in this state of need-directedness, if it is extreme enough and chronic enough, may be characterized as living almost for safety alone.

Because we are interested in the concept of motivation developmentally, we can perhaps best approach an understanding of man's safety needs through an examination of the behavior of infants and children, in whom these needs are much more simple and obvious. One reason for the distinguishable appearance of the threat or danger reaction in infants is that they do not inhibit this reaction, whereas adults in our society have been taught to inhibit it at all costs. Even when adults do feel their safety to be threatened, we may not be able to discern this because of learned inhibitions and societal expectations. Infants, in contrast, will react in a total fashion during threats to their safety—if they are disturbed or dropped suddenly, startled by loud noises, a flashing light, or other unusual sensory stimulation, by rough handling, by the general loss of support in the mother's arms, or by inadequate support.

In infants we can also observe a much more direct reaction to bodily

illnesses of multiple kinds. Sometimes these illnesses seem to be immediate in their threat and appear to make the child feel unsafe and quite different in his usual behavior. For example, vomiting or colic or other sharp pains may induce the child to look at his world in an extremely different way. At the moment of such perceived threat, stable things suddenly become unstable—the whole world may become a place in which anything at all might happen. Thus a child who has had a bad experience with food, if taken ill, may for several days develop fears, nightmares, and a need for protection and reassurance never observed in him before his illness.

Another significant indication of the child's need for safety is his preference for some kind of undisrupted routine or rhythm. He seems to want his world to be predictable and orderly. Injustice, unfairness, or inconsistency by the parents, as perceived by the child, seem to make him feel anxious and unsafe. The child's attitudinal reaction may be not so much because of the injustice, as such, or any particular discomfort involved but because the perceived parental behavior threatens to make his world appear unreliable or unsafe or unpredictable. In child rearing, young children seem to develop more positively under an approach that has at least a skeletal outline of rigidity, in which there is a schedule of a kind, some sort of routine, something that can be counted upon not only for current behavior but also far into the future. In effect, the child needs an organized but flexible world, rather than an unorganized or unstructured one.

Certainly the central role of the parents and the family climate are indisputable in their relevance to the safety needs of children. Quarantining, physical assault, separation, divorce, or death within the family may be particularly disturbing to children. Also, such parental behavior as outbursts of rage or threats of punishment directed to the child, calling him names, speaking harshly to him, handling him roughly, or actual physical punishment sometimes elicit such total panic and terror in the child that we may assume that more is involved than the physical pain alone. Although it is probable that in some children this terror may represent also a fear of loss of parental love, this reaction may occur also with completely rejected children, who seem to cling to the hostile parents more for sheer safety and protection than because of hopes for love.

If the average child is confronted with new, unfamiliar, strange, or unmanageable stimuli or situations, the danger or terror reaction frequently will be elicited. For example, such behavior could evolve from getting lost or even being separated from parents for a short time, being confronted with new faces, new situations or new tasks, the sight of strange, unfamiliar or uncontrollable objects, illness or death. At such times, the child's frantic clinging to his parents demonstrates their role as protectors—a role quite different from that of food or love givers.

Thus, we may generalize that the average child in our society generally

prefers a safe, orderly, predictable, organized world that he can count on, in which unexpected, unmanageable, or other dangerous things do not happen, and in which he has all powerful parents who protect and shield him from harm. Under these conditions, the child would probably perceive his world as safe, and therefore his safety needs would be adequately met to free him of concerns so that he could become involved with higher level needs.

Generally, the healthy, normal, fortunate adult in our culture is largely satisfied in his safety needs. In a relatively peaceful, smooth-running, "good society," people ordinarily feel safe from wild animals, extremes of temperature, criminals, assault, murder, and tyranny. Therefore, we no longer have any safety needs as active motivators except under atypical conditions. Naturally, we could observe these needs more directly and distinctly in the perceptual behavior of neurotic or non-neurotic individuals, or in the economically, socially, or culturally disadvantaged groups. Among most people, we can perceive the expression of safety needs only in the normal concerns for creature comfort and security. Otherwise, the need for safety among mature people is seen as an active and dominant mobilizer of man's resources only in emergencies of personal, economic, or societal crises.

Love Needs

According to Maslow, if both the physiological and the safety needs are fairly well gratified, then the love, affection, and belongingness needs will emerge, the whole cycle already described repeating itself with these needs as a new center of focus. Now you would feel keenly the absence of friends, a sweetheart, wife, husband, or children. You would hunger for affectionate relations with people in general; namely, for a place in your group, you would strive with great intensity to achieve this goal.

In our society the thwarting of these love needs is the most commonly found core in cases of maladjustment and more severe psychopathology. We have already mentioned the necessity of maternal love for the normal physiological and psychological development of the infant. Numerous studies have shown that deprivation of love during later life periods also tends to block self fulfillment and happiness. Love and affection, as well as their possible expression in sexuality, are generally viewed with ambivalence and customarily involved in many restrictions and inhibitions. In fact, many psychologists believe that the thwarting of the need for love is the most common basis for personality problems among children, adolescents, and adults. The title of the book *Love or Perish* states succinctly the choice we seem to have psychologically. Evidently, human beings both develop better and function more effectively in a warm, affectionate, loving environment.

Ordinarily, our basic love needs either as children, adolescents, or adults

are met in the personal social, intimate relations of marriage and family living or in a variety of activities in preparation for marriage. Some individuals, unfortunately, grow up in homes that deprive them of adequate warmth and love, so that later in life they may experience great difficulty in giving and in receiving love. In some of these cases, the individuals are overly possessive of the loved ones and are almost insatiable in their need to be assured that others love them. Sometimes they become emotionally "insulated" and tend to remain aloof, self-contained, and unwilling to allow other people to enter their life with affection. Quite often these people admit to feelings of loneliness and isolation, of not being able to feel close to others.

One point that should be stressed here is that love and sex are not synonymous, as some people perceive them. Sex, as such, may be studied as a purely physiological need, and will be discussed in this context in reference to sexual maturity in Chapter 9, 'The Psychosexual Self'. Ordinarily, sexual behavior is multidetermined, which is to say, determined not only by sexual needs but by other needs, chief among which are the love and affection needs. Thus, we are not using the term *love* to mean sex, as some people confuse them, but rather as including all warm, accepting human relationships. Naturally, of course, love enters into the motivation toward mating, but the psychological requirement for love has a much broader range, as we shall see in the next chapter when we explore its multidimensional nature in connection with "The Emotional and Feeling Self".

We should note several significant aspects of the love needs, however, before leaving our current discussion. We should not overlook the fact that the love needs involve both receiving and giving love. Often the need for love is thought of simply as a need *to be loved*, but our need *to love* is fully as great. We need *to care* about *people* and *things* outside ourselves and to make personal affectional commitments to them, if we are to function and to develop properly as a self in the process of becoming and actualizing.

The Esteem Needs

Although we shall discuss four requirements of man's general esteem needs separately, these psychological needs are not isolated entities, but rather are inseparable and completely interrelated aspects of each other. Because psychogenic processes are so heavily infused with learning, we shall not be concerned as to whether these psychological needs are learned or unlearned, conscious or unconscious, *ad infinitum*, but that they play a significant part in human motivation and that deprivation leads to disturbances in the integration of overall self-functioning.

Need for an Integrated Personal Frame of Reference Developing a meaningful picture of our world and our unique place in it is a profoundly

felt psychological need. In essence, man cannot behave effectively until he builds up a fairly stable and somewhat consistent frame of reference concerning himself and his world, which enables him to examine and to evaluate new situations and to anticipate the effect of his actions therein. To be really effective, the referent framework should be accurate, but accurate or inaccurate, man develops a frame of personal reference because of a basic need to do so. Human beings do not like ambiguity, lack of structuring, chaos, disorganization of events, people, and things beyond their understanding and somewhat predictive comprehension, which place them in situations of undesirable threat or stress.

Our perceptual processes function in such a manner to help us maintain the consistency and stability of our world. When contradictions occur, we try to ignore them, however, if we cannot avoid recognizing these discrepancies, we are uncomfortable until we can reconcile them somehow. Festinger²⁹ has indicated that a contradiction is a motivating condition in the same way that hunger is a motivating force. In both cases, activity is initiated toward reducing or eliminating the problem and success is experienced as satisfying. As you can imagine, contradictory pictures of our world would tend to throw us into hopeless confusion as to how to behave.

This striving toward order and a consistent picture of our world applies also to our assumptions about ourselves and accounts for many of our self-protective devices such as forgetting, rationalizing, and lack of self-understanding. In the interest of self maintenance we have a great need to believe we are behaving rationally, as Fromm notes:

However unreasonable or immoral an action may be, man has an insuperable urge to rationalize it—that is, to prove to himself and to others that his action is determined by reason, common sense, or at least conventional morality. He has little difficulty in acting rationally, but it is almost impossible for him not to give his action the appearance of reasonable motivation.³⁰

In effect, to face the possibility that our own behavior may be irrational or disorganized would interfere with psychological self maintenance and disable us seriously, for we then could not depend upon ourselves nor trust ourselves in our world. Thus to meet this particular esteem need, an integrated frame of reference is necessary to view ourselves and our world consistently and compatibly.

Needs for Adequacy and Security. To maintain a reasonable degree of self consistency and integration everyone needs to feel basically capable of dealing with his problems. When our adaptive resources seem inadequate to cope with a situation, we tend to become confused and disorganized; we are upset by the apprehension of disaster that we feel helpless to avert. This pattern of behavior is probably most dramatically manifested in the

disorganization of panic reactions, but a felt inadequacy in any situation can interfere significantly with integrated effective behavior and the on going maintenance of self.

As implied in the last section, feelings of adequacy are most dependent upon the development of a reliable frame of self-reference and of essential skills for dealing with specific types of problems. In the main, our tendencies to test reality, to learn, to master, and to improve our life situations all seem to be related closely to our strivings toward feelings of adequacy. When we observe the normal infant, he is continually exploring the possibilities, extensions, and limitations of his physical and social phenomenal field (environment). By such testing of reality, he acquires the practical knowledge and skills that he needs to become increasingly more independent and adequate.

Thus, security is, in a sense, the assurance of personal adequacy in the future. Because we realize that failure to fulfill our needs is acutely unpleasant, we try to maintain conditions in our life that ensure future as well as present gratification. The achievement of a sense of security during early infancy is very important for a child's development because without a basic trust in people and his general environment, he cannot have courage to explore his world and learn to meet its challenges and hazards. Our later effort to achieve security is reflected in our preference for jobs with the "fringe" benefits of tenure, health, life, and disability insurance, and retirement plans.

The more adequate we feel, naturally, the less awareness we have of our need for security and adequacy. Conversely, the more inadequate or insecure we feel, the stronger our felt need to be more adequate and secure. For example, one study³¹ revealed that people who identified themselves with the "working class" expressed a desire for security as their major value in life, possibly because they had experienced economic fluctuations. By contrast, the subjects who identified themselves with the "middle class," who in most cases probably had a more secure economic position, typically considered a desire for self-expression or actualization as being more important for them.

The relative importance of security may be affected also by learning, to a marked degree. Through learning, people may come to value the exploration of unfamiliar roads as a means of self-enhancement, leaving the security of the known to look for richer experiences in new, better ways of behaving and living. But evidently this can happen only when a person has developed underlying feelings of adequacy and security so that he can tolerate change and uncertainty without undue panic and fear.

Needs of Belonging and Approval The psychological self has little patience with social rejection. Let us first view the growing infant who is completely dependent for his existence upon the approval and assistance of

others. He soon learns that socially approved behavior is rewarded, whereas socially disapproved behavior is punished. As the child grows older, he perceives that being approved and accepted in the social group becomes increasingly important for only through human relationships in group participation can he normally meet his needs for a meaningful personal frame of reference, security, love, and self-esteem. Thus, he strives to become and to remain an accepted and approved member of his social surroundings. As Sherif and Cantril summarize this need:

Every individual strives to place or to anchor himself as an acceptable member in his social milieu or in some social setting. . . . This is true for any individual in any culture, whether highly competitive or highly cooperative, whether primitive or advanced. There is an unmistakable striving on the part of the individual *to belong* to his group or to some aspired group.³²

Indeed, man's need for social belonging and approval was recognized in psychological literature many years ago by William James:

No more fiendish punishment could be devised . . . than that one should be turned loose in society and remain absolutely unnoticed by all members thereof. If no one turned around when we entered, answered when we spoke, or minded what we did, but if every person we met "cut us dead," and acted as if we were non-existing things, a kind of rage and impotent despair would cre long well up in us from which the cruellest bodily tortures would be a relief.³³

Rare indeed is the "psychologically insulated" person who can long maintain his morale in complete isolation from other people or in the face of continual disapproval from all others. Most of us strive to achieve an approved position in the group and are somewhat consistently alert for ways to better our social position or status.

Needs of Self-esteem and Worth. Very closely related to our needs for feelings of adequacy and social approval is our psychological need to feel—and to have others feel—that we possess whatever traits we and they have learned to regard as valuable. As mentioned in previous chapters discussing the nature of man and the self, the concepts of dignity, worth, and respect are an essential core in viewing human beings from a humanistic phenomenological approach to understanding behavior. Thus, as we learn our society's values and standards concerning education, physical appearance, economic status, social behavior, and right and wrong, we apply these standards in evaluating ourselves through "reflected appraisals." Hence, we try to measure up, so that we can approve of ourselves, respect ourselves, have faith in ourselves, and feel worthy. If we see ourselves as falling short

in these self appraisals, we tend to feel worthless, guilty, anxious, and insecure—behavioral conditions that tend to be self destructive rather than self maintaining

Self esteem which has its early grounding in the mastery of successive developmental tasks and in successful problem solving and coping behavior, receives continual psychological nourishment from a feeling of competency in areas that gain us social approval. Thus becoming an athlete or a campus leader, or earning an academic distinction, or simply feeling we are performing well in our many personal social or vocational roles contributes to our self esteem. Saint Thomas Aquinas may have been implying the essence of man's self esteem when he said: "Three things are necessary for the salvation of man: to know what he ought to believe, to know what he ought to desire, and to know what he ought to do."

Lacking a sense of personal worth, we tend to become negative in our general approach to living: to criticize and to belittle ourselves; to be discouraged and apathetic; and to find little meaning or challenge in life. Because we tend to see the world and the people in it with reference to our perceptions, this projected attitude of self depreciation would likely lead to viewing others with much less faith, dignity, respect, and worth than we would if these needs were fulfilled adequately. Such being the case, we would have difficulty proceeding to the next order of needs included in the process of self actualization, because the fulfillment of these esteem needs depends considerably upon a mutual cycle of social approval which tends to be reciprocal in its nature.

SELF-ACTUALIZATION NEEDS

As mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, motivation theory in psychology has long been dominated by the concept of maintenance strivings in which man's primary motivation stems from meeting whatever need deficiency arises and thus returning to a state of equilibrium and relative passivity. However, needs related to physical and psychological health and survival are only a part of our motivational structure. These needs cannot explain the strivings of the explorer, the mountain climber, the scientist, the inventor, the writer, the artist, the Schweitzer or the Tom Dooley or any person who throws himself into his work and life with tremendous zest and enthusiasm. What a man *can* be, he *must* be.

Such behavior is an expression of actualization strivings. Essentially, *actualization* is the need to become what you can become—physical, intellectual, emotional, and spiritual growth toward the fulfillment of your unique capacities and potentialities as a human being. Whereas maintenance strivings help a person to *keep the status quo* of the physical and

psychological self, actualization strivings tend to *improve the self structure or its phenomenal field* by making it more attractive, more capable, more useful, more acceptable, or otherwise of greater real or apparent worth. Both kinds of self strivings are characteristic of human beings in reasonably favorable environments.

Only as our maintenance needs are met do we then free to move on to more rewarding and meaningful activities. The more adequately our maintenance needs are being met, the more capable we are of experiencing direction from within ourselves toward actualizing growth and fulfillment. When the life situation is so unfavorable that a person's primary energies must be devoted to meeting his basic physiological needs, he is likely to experience feelings of frustration, dissatisfaction, and meaninglessness in his life. For deep personal satisfaction we need to feel that we are 'going somewhere that has meaning for us—improving ourselves or our situations.

Naturally deep growth in this sense is not without some conflicts and psychological pain,' but it is rewarding and stimulating in ways that meeting our maintenance needs is not. Our human nature seems to be such that we actually function more smoothly and happily when we are active, questing, challenged, excited and stimulated. We gain a great sense of satisfaction as we work to expand our interests and our knowledge, when we narrow our interests and cease to grow—to become—we feel dissatisfied. Thus, we are bored with a vegetative existence that offers no challenge and therefore find it difficult to like and to respect ourselves.

From many sources comes evidence of man's desire to develop and to use his talents, to broaden his interests and affiliations, to seek and to know, even though the acquisition of knowledge may involve arduous work, hardship, or pain. If his maintenance needs are met, he lacks not desirelessness and meaninglessness, but stimulation and action, the feeling of effort to 'stretch himself—' itself is satisfying. In fact, the achievement of a goal, instead of bringing contentment, often initiates felt needs for new desires and accomplishments in the onward struggle toward fulfillment.

Previously, we have described the needs for personal meaning and organization, the needs for adequacy, security, belonging, approval, esteem, and worth, and the needs for love and relatedness as maintenance needs because they must be met for normal integration and healthy functioning. These are, in a sense, also actualization needs in that much of our actualization occurs as we broaden the scope of our knowledge and understanding of ourselves and our world and expand our relatedness to other people. Although any categorization of the 'highest level' needs is somewhat arbitrary, we shall identify five closely related needs that characterize actualization strivings. These will be described as (1) striving for greater value in one's

experiences, (2) striving for self-enhancement, (3) striving to develop one's capacities, (4) striving to become a "real person," and (5) striving to create rich associations with one's world.

Discovering Increased Satisfaction in Our Experiences. An outstanding characteristic of man, as noted by Cantril,³¹ is his capacity to see value in his experiences and his tendency to expect a certain level of satisfaction from everything he does. When dining out, we expect the food and the service to meet certain standards of quality. When we choose a trip or a vacation location, we expect variety, change, and excitement in our lives. When we attend a movie or a stage play, we expect it to meet certain standards of plot, character portrayal, and photography or staging. When we begin a career, we have our expectations relevant to earnings, responsibilities, usefulness, and job satisfaction. The criteria that we use in assessing these and other experiences as "worthwhile" or "disappointing" are based upon the satisfactions we have received from our experiences in the past. We also use these standards in deciding which new experiences to choose and which to avoid. If we think an experience will not make a sufficient return in value received on our investment of time and participation, we tend to avoid these possibilities for involvement.

As human beings, we are never satisfied for long, but seem to suffer from what literary writers call "divine discontent." Thus, what was perfectly satisfying yesterday seems a little "stale" today; we are constantly trying to improve the quality of our experiences. We wait in line to see an "Oscar-winning" movie or a highly acclaimed play and feel cheated if it is not above the usual standard. To compete for our attention and money, household appliances and automobiles must have new and better features each year. Unless we have an opportunity to grow in our jobs, we become dissatisfied. Hence the increased satisfaction that we discover from any new experience becomes a part of our new standard for judging the value of subsequent experiences.

As our personal standards become higher and higher, increments of satisfactions may become increasingly more difficult to achieve and may involve much struggle and sacrifice. Thus, this type of actualization need may become extremely demanding upon the time, energy, and life style of the person involved. Seemingly, one of our most persistent urges is to build, to improve, to go beyond previous achievements and understandings—to reach just a little higher and farther than we did yesterday.

Striving to Enhance Self-worth. If our lower-level needs are met quite adequately, we are free to spend some of our time, energy, money, and productive capacities on enhancing our self-worth. Although the concept of self-enhancement is actually so broad as to be almost a substitute for the term *actualization*, we shall limit its meaning here to an enhancement of

the perceived self. Of course, the forms that enhancement take are heavily influenced by sociocultural standards: the various bodily decorations and distortions that enhance feelings of worth among people of other cultures would have little meaning for us.

At a relatively simple level, this striving toward self-enhancement can be observed in the use of cosmetics and other beauty aids, the wearing of stylish clothes, the joining of private clubs, living in exclusive neighborhoods, and the driving of prestigious cars. This type of behavior is common to people all over the world although, of course, it will naturally evolve in form from the sociocultural values of the respective societies. The striving toward self-enhancement is also seen in our attempt to improve our performance to make a better showing among people and in our own eyes. Our willingness to learn many and varied social skills and to develop numerous physical and personal skills are attempts at enhancing our self-worth.

Naturally many of these attempts at self-enhancement result in real self-improvement, but because of the importance we attach to improving our worth in other people's eyes, the means we choose may improve our attractiveness to other people without actually changing our "inner self," improving our capabilities, or realizing some of our potentials. Some psychologists have suggested that the source of much of modern man's anxiety is precisely this problem: in trying to develop personal traits, behavior, and social appearance that will please other people, we often deceive ourselves, have feelings of being "other-directed," and initiate internal conflicts that tend to interfere with the development and actualization of self.

As Fromm³⁵ suggests, we tend to develop a "marketing" orientation, in which the worth of behavior is gauged by its market value, instead of a "productive" orientation, in which the individual's genuine capacities for creative functioning are highly prized. Thus, we are afraid to be ourselves and to grow in the directions our inner nature dictates. When self-enhancement strivings are limited to external stimulation, they do not carry us very far toward actualization. To enhance self-worth in the best sense of actualization, one needs to be guided by the dictates of the self's real goals, aspirations, and commitments that are a significant integrated entity in the realization of one's potentials; that is, one needs the personal freedom to become a unique and special individual without undue social "smothering" and "other-directedness."

Developing and Using Potential Capacities. Our physical growth, in which, without conscious effort, our bodies move toward the fulfillment of the inherent, genetic pattern, is probably the most obvious and potent illustration of striving to fulfill our potentials. As an acorn grows into an oak tree, a fertilized human ovum becomes an adult human being. The

developmental changes are a continuing progression toward the fulfillment of original potentialities. Most of our psychological potentialities receive no such automatic fulfillment. Yet intellectually, emotionally, socially, and spiritually, as well as physically, there is an urge to grow, to improve, to become more capable. Developing our potentials for physical, intellectual, emotional, and social competencies is so important and necessary for self-development that many of the following chapters will be devoted to discussions of the complex processes involved. Continuing growth—the urge to become—not only increases our ability to master the problems of living but also offers much personal satisfaction of its own.

One of the chief ways in which the urge to become is evident is in the common attempt to make better sense of our world. We try to find out “who we are,” “why we are,” and “who we will be” in relation to our world. We listen and read to discover what is going on, what has gone on, and what others have thought about it. We try to increase our knowledge and to broaden our viewpoints, sometimes just for the sake of knowing, but sometimes to increase our capacities to cope with life’s problems. We try to expand our basic assumptions and generalizations about what is true, what is important, what is valuable, and what is possible. Also, we feel the need to improve our understanding by redefining and reorganizing the ideas and assumptions we already possess, looking for new relationships, and trying to achieve a better integration of contradictory elements.

Another significant way in which we fulfill our potentialities is through building new competencies and improving old ones, developing whatever capacities we have into greater actual abilities, and using these competencies for creative self-expression. If we have special talents for creativity in music, art, writing, or human relationships, we may feel quite frustrated if prevented from developing them and expressing ourselves through them. Even with more modest capacities we feel the need to develop and to use what proficiencies we can and to improve our present level of skills. In fact we may persist in working in a special area of competency and interest, even when the skill is not especially prized in our social group. Thus the urge to become—developing and using one’s potentials—is a significant striving of the self toward actualization.

Becoming an Authentic Person. Within the self-striving for actualization and closely allied with the need to develop one’s potentials, but not quite the same thing, is the tremendous urge to become a special and authentic person—to find and be one’s “real self.” Phenomenological and existentialistic psychologists place a high priority upon the need for an individual to develop integration, freedom, and congruence in reference to discovering a “real, authentic self,” known to him, and accepted by him. Rogers, from his clinical experiences, describes this search in this manner:

As I follow the experience of many clients in the therapeutic relationship which we endeavor to create for them, it seems to me that each one has the same problem. Below the level of the problem situation about which the individual is complaining—behind the trouble with studies, or wife, or employer, or with his own uncontrollable or bizarre behavior, or with his frightening feelings lies one central search. It seems to me that at bottom each person is asking: Who am I *really*? How can I get in touch with this real self, underlying all my surface behavior? How can I become myself? . . . it appears that the goal the individual most wishes to achieve, the end which he knowingly or unknowingly pursues, is to become himself.¹⁶

More than a century ago, Kierkegaard described this search for self. In his writings, he emphasized that the most common despair is in being unwilling to be oneself, but that the deepest form of despair is choosing to be other than oneself.

As described in earlier chapters, each of us has an inner nature in part uniquely his and in part common to the species. When this essential core, the self¹⁷ is denied expression, the person becomes physically or mentally ill—sometimes in obvious ways. As Maslow has said:

This inner nature is not strong and overpowering and unmistakable like the instincts of animals. It is weak and delicate and subtle and easily overcome by habit, cultural pressure, and wrong attitudes. But . . . though weak, it never disappears in the normal person—perhaps not even in the sick person. Even though denied, it persists underground forever pressing for actualization.¹⁷

Thus, as indicated in much of the humanistic-phenomenological writings, becoming an authentic person—discovering a real, unique self—and learning to understand and to accept this human being as oneself is a significant striving of the highest level of personal need. This process of becoming a person seems to be interwoven with a tremendous striving toward wholeness and congruence, toward inner consistency and resolution of conflicting and warring inner tendencies, and toward integration and self-direction.

Creating Rich Associations with One's World. Even though motivation has been viewed primarily as self-strivings in this chapter, one of the ways we seek to actualize ourselves is through the significant associations we create in our world, especially with other people. As has been mentioned earlier, people and the perceptual experiences with them are the real essence of self-growth. We have a deep capacity of caring for others—for protecting, encouraging, and sharing our knowledge, and for helping *them* grow and

to find meaning and satisfaction in their lives. If we do not use this capacity we feel incomplete and unsatisfied. Because this capacity for caring is a uniquely human characteristic, the person who does not develop and use it must fall short of actualizing himself as a human being. Paradoxically, caring deeply for something and someone outside oneself is a most gratifying and self-fulfilling human experience.

Thus, many of the experiences we value most highly are those that have been shared with others close to us—family jokes, anecdotes, and traditions are special treasures in our lives. Throughout our lives we build “lifemarks” of this kind, which enrich our lives and add their special meaning and value by increasing our sense of relatedness to the world around us. We cherish memories linked to events shared with friends or places where we once found happiness and satisfactions. The human bond we feel toward others with whom we have shared a crisis, a joy, or another significant event is an enriching experience that broadens our base of self-structure.

In contrast, self-centeredness or rigid concern with self leads to a restriction of energy and an impoverishment in the meaning of one's life, which, in turn, may interfere with actualization. Asch illustrates the need for building significant associations in one's world by saying:

The ego [self] is not dedicated solely to its own enhancement. It needs and wants to be concerned with its surroundings, to bind itself to others, and to work with them. The ego needs to have interests wider than itself, not to be always watching its feelings and looking out for its interests.

When the possibilities of entering into appropriate relations with others are barred, the ego turns its potentialities for care upon itself. Avarice, greed, ruthless ambition often are the answer the ego gives when it fails to find in the surroundings the opportunity for its outgoing needs.¹⁸

Building deep and satisfying love relationships with other human beings is one of the most significant means of establishing rich linkages with the world. We are not implying the deficiency motivated love of the affection-starved child, which tends to be possessive, jealous, and insatiable, but a mature, outgoing love, involving the acceptance of and faith in others as they are and a responsible concern for their needs. Such a generalized love, including the elements of care, responsibility, empathy, sacrifice, and faith, is not limited to a striving for self-gratification, but is directed toward the fulfillment and happiness of the loved one. This type of human relationship implies no loss of one's personal identity, but instead a free and open extension of self—the development of an ability to care and to take an active role in improving one's world and the people in it. In speaking of this dimension of love Fromm states:

Love is union with somebody or something, under the condition of retaining the separateness and integrity of one's own self. It is an experience of sharing, of communion, which permits the full unfolding of one's inner activity. . . .

Love is one aspect of what I have called the productive orientation: the active and creative relatedness of man to his fellow man, to himself, and to nature.³⁹

Religions that accept the relatedness of man to his fellow man as an essential core of their theology would view such an outgoing love as the basic motivating force that should underlie all of our behavior. Brotherly love is stressed—the need to love others as we do ourselves. Nathaniel Hawthorne captured this idea succinctly in saying: “We have committed the Golden Rule to memory. Now let us commit it to life.” In this dimension, love is far more than affectionate involvement and warm human relationships with particular people; it becomes a basic personal orientation of concern for others and for one's world. As such, this aspect of love offers the actualizing essence of a person's building rich and meaningful linkages within his world.

MOTIVATION AS SELF-STRIVINGS: A SUMMARY OF IMPLICATIONS

In this chapter we have presented motivation as human behavior related to the prepotency of a hierarchy of needs, described under the two general categories of strivings for self-maintenance and for self-actualization. This developmental approach to motivation recognizes a growth impetus, which involves dynamic human seeking, not merely a behavioral act of tension reduction. Growth motivation, which considers the integrated wholeness of the organism, is viewed as positive striving toward self-actualization. In this view, physiological drives are rejected as being the center of all human motivation, whereas the ultimate or basic goal of an individual is stressed.

Needs, then, are not treated in isolation but as an integral part of human behavior. In this approach an endless listing of drives is not conducive to an understanding of human motivation and development, but, instead, the focus is upon basic needs as related to goals. Although, arbitrarily, descriptions of basic needs have been presented essentially as goal-oriented inner strivings of the self, the absence of forces within the individual's phenomenal field is not implied. The dynamic forces involved in a person's field, situation, and culture as they intermingle with self-strivings and become motivational determinants, will be discussed many times in future chapters.

Motivation and Developmental Behavior

In considering the concept of motivation, it is apparent that human needs, goals, and purposes establish themselves in a hierarchy as Maslow has described in his motivational theory. We can understand these needs and purposes best within the framework of the child's learning situation and his total developmental sense, involving a consideration of both his personal "inner world" and his outer world. Thus, motivation is best in the framework of the life style and self-concept in which the internal consistency of behavior is exposed.

The life experiences of each child, arising within his physical-social cultural world, determine the motives that evolve in his particular life style. His behavior is most directly affected by his selection, perception, and evaluation of all the factors in his life; the resulting perceptual attitudes determine the life style. These attitudes are first determined on a trial-and-error basis, but eventually the child learns to use them as guiding principles. Thus, the strongest motivating factors in the child's life are frequently those that have been appealed to most effectively in the past. In this process of perceptual learning, the child may misinterpret his needs and the motives of others. He learns to function upon the basis of his assumptions, however faulty; his perceptions of his needs and ways of meeting them become reality for him. As the child's anticipations of need fulfillment are confirmed and his view of life becomes more solidified, it becomes that much more difficult to change his picture of the world.

The first phenomenal-field setting in the developmental picture is the general family atmosphere. In this climate, examples and models are provided for the child regarding social levels, expectancies, and standards that relate intimately to his basic needs. Although family patterns are influential, they are not necessarily deterministic for children, some of whom reject family standards and behave in direct opposition or somewhere within a continuum of total acceptance and total rejection of family values. The family constellation has considerable influence on the development of the child's needs and motives. His position within the family is crucial to his point of view and the development of goals and purposes as related to his needs. The general sociocultural milieu is influential in determining the child's patterns of motivation. The child's needs and his perceptions of them are affected by groups to which he belongs or would like to belong.

As we view the developing self within a social-cultural environment, we must recognize that needs are also affected by the individual's level of maturity. Hence, the significance of early and late maturation cannot be ignored in motivational patterns of behavior. The fact that purposes and goals change and problems disappear will not explain all behavior, but

certainly it can be utilized in understanding difficult developmental stages.

This section has been presented to serve as a brief background for the consideration of maintenance-directed behavior and actualization-directed behavior as related to implications of basic needs for self-development. In subsequent sections of this chapter, we shall attempt to integrate the maintenance and actualization needs by exploring their significance for child development in reference to physical factors, love factors, cultural and socialization factors, peer needs, and feelings about self. First, however, we need to discuss briefly the components involved in maintenance- and actualization-directed behavior.

Maintenance Strivings

When either physiological or psychological needs are not being met, there is a disturbance in the overall equilibrium of the organism. If the situational need continues, symptoms of deficiency appear and increase. On the physiological level, the symptoms of a need for food are hunger pains and changes in blood chemistry, with emaciation coming much later. At the psychological level, symptoms of deprivation of love or security in a child might be a variety of exaggerated attention-seeking activities. Ordinarily, the imbalance sets up a sequence of action to restore equilibrium by supplying the missing element. This action may involve a general mobilization of energy, goal-directed action, and the restoration of equilibrium.

With the deprivation or anticipation of deprivation there is a general mobilization of energy. This may be experienced as unpleasant tension, the degree and unpleasantness of the tension being generally proportional to the degree of the disturbance. In any case, action is taken toward restoring equilibrium. With visceral deprivations, specific physiological drives are triggered. When drive and tension become very intense, we experience pain. Being unpleasant, pain leads to additional arousal and mobilization of bodily resources for emergency action. Because pain is a primary agent in protecting the body from hurt, we tend to avoid situations or activities in which we have experienced pain in the past.

When psychological requirements are not being met, there are no automatic drives to give direction to our search for relief. We must learn from experience both what we are lacking and how to fulfill our needs. Thus with deprivation on the psychological level, the mobilized energy is not automatically channeled into the appropriate behavior. Rather, it may lead to the arousal of unpleasant emotions, such as anger, fear, or resentment, or to the use of unconscious self-defense mechanisms that protect us from having to face our own deficiencies. A person whose psychological needs are not being met also typically feels chronically anxious, the anxiety serving

as an indication that his psychological well-being is being threatened, much as pain gives warning of a threat to one's physical welfare. In fact, anxiety is often called psychic pain.

Although anxiety, negative emotions, and the use of defense mechanisms commonly indicate a deprivation of psychological needs, their manifestation is not inevitable. Certainly with a realistic appraisal of the difficulty, if it is possible to bring the problem within one's awareness, constructive action toward the fulfillment of the need may be facilitated. Thus an individual may learn to be as successful in meeting his psychological needs as he is in meeting his physiological ones. One of the purposes of a course such as this is to increase your understanding of normal human needs and ways of recognizing the symptoms of unmet needs in yourself and others.

As indicated, maintenance-directed behavior begins with the energy mobilization that occurs when basic needs are not being met. Generally, the organism then pursues some action toward a specific goal that promises to meet the need; this goal may be an object or an experience. The action may be the avoidance of something unpleasant. The goal-object selected usually depends upon the individual's own past experience; its choice is heavily influenced both by cultural sanctions and by the alternatives the environment has to offer.

The goal-directed action, if successful, reduces the original tension by supplying the missing requirements. The action then ends, and the individual experiences pleasure, or at least cessation of the unpleasant state that started the sequence. He also learns what action worked or did not work, so that he will have a frame of reference to consult when confronted with comparable situations in the future.

Actualization Strivings

Like maintenance strivings, actualization strivings are initiated from within the self. Although they characterize human beings in widely different cultures, this type of growth motivation is not universal. For example, the neurotic is too busy defending himself in his world to be free to grow; the person struggling for mere physical survival has little time and energy left for personal, social, or spiritual growth.

Actualization strivings, like maintenance strivings, seem to follow a sequential pattern of arousal, energy mobilization, goal-directed behavior, and, if successful, feelings of satisfaction. But here, satisfaction comes through increased effort, through mobilization of energies and abilities, or through a welcoming of stimulation and activity, rather than through the removal of tension or the cessation of the need as with maintenance strivings. In fact, the actualizing person, although mobilized for increased energy output and therefore supposedly under constant tension, is usually happier,

healthier, and more efficient in both bodily and psychological functioning than the person whose energies are devoted only to maintenance.

Although actualization strivings will not normally appear unless minimal maintenance needs have been met, these urges, once aroused, may take precedence over the supposedly more basic maintenance needs. Thus, man may go without food or sleep, compromise love needs, risk his safety, and endanger his personal and social security if actualization strivings become potent enough: Socrates chose the hemlock rather than give up his devotion to truth. This exception to the rule is possible only because so little of our behavior is automatic and so much of it is mediated by evaluation and choice. As human beings, instead of reacting mechanically to stimuli, we screen, examine, sort, interpret, weigh, and compare; we then select action that is meaningful and in keeping with our self-image and with our assumptions, attitudes, feelings, and values.

Implications of Motivational Needs for Developmental Behavior

In this chapter a viewpoint of motivation based upon the hierarchical dynamics of basic needs has been presented in some detail. Now let us briefly attempt to translate these maintenance and actualization strivings into implications for the developmental behavior of children as they work toward maturity and fulfillment of their potentials. Prescott⁴⁰ has described behavior in reference to a six-point framework, which we shall utilize to explore the motivational needs of the child as related to factors within himself and his world.

Physical Factors. A child is born with certain physical needs. He has a need to safeguard his physical being and hence to satisfy the stresses of hunger, thirst, temperature, fatigue, and pain. Being aware of these ever recurring demands, the child is almost continuously active in his efforts to satisfy them. As the child matures, he learns to control these needs, and the body participates in this control through the process of homeostasis. Originally, then, behavior is motivated primarily by physical needs; only after these demands are satisfied is the child free to work toward the fulfillment of higher-level needs in the developmental process.

The child requires physical guidance and a proper balance between activity and rest. He must have opportunities to function physically, to participate in a manner appropriate to his structure and the maturity level of his body, to have knowledge concerning his body, and to develop skills in managing the body. At various stages in his life the child has different developmental needs related to the specific physical motives. The child has a need for activity as well as rest; good learning situations provide opportunities for activity and the utilization, instead of suppression, of physical motives. For the child, activity in and of itself is pleasurable. We need to

recognize and to appreciate the significance of this childhood characteristic as a motivating influence. Traditional schools of the past attempted to teach the child to sit quietly until directed to act, but now more modern approaches are trying to utilize the child's energy for his education.

Love Factors. Every child needs emotional security, which evolves from the certainty that he is appreciated and loved. When he feels valued and accepted for what he is, not for what we might want him to be, the resultant security can serve to facilitate many other activities. The insecure child generally has persistent adjustment problems and does not function effectively either in the home or at school. The child's well-being depends upon his ability to elicit the love of other children. To mature emotionally, he needs to participate in both giving and receiving love; only in this way can he learn the meaning of love as a creative human encounter. The desire to be accepted can become one of the strongest motivating factors in the child's life. A considerable amount of what a child does or attempts to do is motivated by a desire to relate in a meaningful way to some other significant person in his life. The child who seemingly functions only to please himself without significant experiences with others exhibits a major symptom of failure in social adjustment and develops a narrow, unsatisfying view of life.

Every adult at home and in school must recognize the importance of developing a relationship in which the child feels that he is pleasing and being accepted by someone whose love and respect he deserves. The child's love relationships develop first with the parents and subsequently expand to include siblings, other relatives, and a variety of people in his world. Various sources of security must be used in meeting the love needs. The healthy child's feelings of being approved, loved, and valued as a unique and distinct person give him security and the strength to function effectively.

If love needs are to be met, we must love the child as he is, not offer our love only if he behaves in reference to our perception of what he ought to be. Because adults assert such a tremendous influence upon the lives of children, we need to find more effective ways of recognizing the child's assets and strengths to help him solve developmental problems related to his needs, not to hinder his progress toward maturity, which becomes an urgent personal striving. It will be a glorious day for developmental psychology when adults generally perceive "bothersome children" as individuals who *are trying to solve their problems*, instead of individuals who *are trying to be problems*.

Cultural and Socialization Factors. In meeting his developmental needs, the child can find no freedom from his culture. The influences of subcultures upon needs and motives are internalized by the child; in fact, some needs develop from the culture. Readily, we can observe differences in culture-based needs among nations, among the subcultures of a nation or within

a large city. As a significant developmental task, for example, the child must internalize the appropriate way to play his sexual role in our culture or subculture.

As he expands his world in moving from home to the neighborhood, the school, and various other groups, he experiences the effects of his culture and must make a continuing series of readjustments to the different cultural factors with which he comes in contact. All these multidimensional factors have an influential impact upon his perception of himself and society. His assimilation of some cultural traits may cause him to face the biases and the prejudices of other individuals. Cultural factors of motivation in some instances, may stand out more clearly in the school situation. The standards and demands set up within the school may be in severe conflict with some cultural needs; the school's values may be quite inappropriate to the cultural group of some children.

In our culture the success motive is very dominant; thus the child is given an early orientation toward the importance of success. Often he reveals his attitude in the interest he displays in mastering specific situations. If the child has experienced success in the past, he normally approaches a challenge with confidence and security and has every reason to believe that he will succeed again. Hence, it is important in guiding children to offer opportunities for success experiences and to utilize past success experiences in motivating him. If we assume that everyone can be successful at something within the limits of his capacities and experiences, we should have a positive base for guiding the development of children. Robert White⁴¹ has labeled this approach the *motivation for competence*.

Peer Needs and Motives. Each child needs to belong to a peer group and must be able to make a contribution to the group. Released from the domination of his physiological and safety needs, he can then move on to the emergence of social goals. Both at home and at school, there are many opportunities daily to use a child's responsibility to others to develop a sense of belonging. The child's need to affiliate and to be socially recognized and accepted is crucial to his development as a socially sensitive human being. Unfortunately, this need to extend respect and service to others in our society is frequently neglected. We are quick to recognize the organic, physical, safety, and love needs, but the values, to a person's psychological health, developed through social mutuality in human relations, are seldom considered with the same significance.

In order to go beyond the infantile stage, the child must accept social obligations. He must learn almost at once to become both dependent and independent if he is to recognize his contributions within the total social framework. As he matures, he adjusts to increasingly complex mutuality, and the giving and receiving of personal recognition become more and more essential. Of paramount importance is that a child be taught a sense

of personal worth early in life. He should develop the social skills necessary for acceptance. These are parental and teacher responsibilities that extend beyond the provisions for security and acceptance.

Positive social contact is vital to the normal personality development of the child; the becoming of a self is hindered greatly without it because the self feeds upon rich, enhancing experiences with others. If the child cannot gain positive approval, he may be forced to receive recognition and belonging by behaving inappropriately. For some children the negative reaction of others is of much greater value than merely being ignored. The delegation of duties and responsibilities so that each child can function at his level within a group is a highly significant role for parents, teachers, and other adult leaders. When peer needs are not met effectively and the child does not develop a proper sense of social feeling, the obstruction of developmental needs and social adjustment is manifested quickly. In this respect, we might say that youth is a mirror that reflects all the blemishes of an adult society.

Self-developmental Needs. Each child needs to accomplish goals and to progress toward the achievement of personal values and aspirations. Because a child, to mature adequately, requires experiences for success; numerous opportunities to plan, make decisions, and implement his ideas suitable to his values and goals are essential for his developmental welfare. The child needs to *assure himself* that he has succeeded and can achieve. Therefore, he should be told when he is making progress and when his work deserves approval. If an individual believes that no matter how well he works, no one will give the slightest recognition to his achievements, the incentive to work and to grow may be reduced almost completely. Parents and teachers should be particularly aware of the positive influence of recognition as a motivational goal.

A child can be stimulated to achieve best when he has already experienced accomplishment. Thus, success in the early tasks is crucial to continuing development. From simple successes, a child can progress sequentially to achievements of a more difficult nature. Developmental teaching, then, in the perceptual framework of the learner, becomes extremely important. The parent or teacher who attempts to make the child advance too rapidly, beyond his own degree of readiness and success pattern, contributes to discouragement and a perceived sense of failure instead of achievement.

Success should, then, be measured in terms of the child's view of self-success and is, or should be, always relative to the perceptions of the learner. The problems and learning opportunities to which the child is exposed should be relatively difficult, but they should be within the grasp of his interests, past experiences, and abilities. We should recognize, too, that achievement as a motivational need can be used as overcompensation for the individual's anxiety about his capacity to accomplish the tasks de-

manded by his social roles. Thus the child may receive all of his satisfactions from school work and use this area of satisfaction as compensation for inadequate functioning in other areas of development. Self-developmental needs can be enhanced many times through the utilization of incentives such as novelty. Because children are naturally inquisitive, a unique approach to learning that stimulates their curiosity can generally be very effective. Is it not interesting that most six year olds who start school are eager to learn, yet it takes ten years or less to make disenchanted school dropouts of them?

Self feelings as Related to Motives The child's feelings of security, adequacy, belonging, and relatedness should free him to strive forward toward self-actualization. As he meets his goals, he can develop the dynamic, autonomous power to experience the continual process of self-realization that permits the development of creativity.

Thus, the child can give creative birth and rebirth to himself in the ongoing actualization of his potentials as a unique human being of dignity and worth. As the motivational needs of curiosity and inquisitiveness about himself and his world are triggered, the child strives to meet his higher level needs. He has the impetus to explore those paramount aspects of his becoming: (1) finding increased personal satisfactions, (2) enhancing self worth, (3) developing and using his human potentials, (4) discovering a "real" self, and (5) building rich social associations with the world.

We can see, then, that needs and motives particularly as perceived by the individual, follow a hierarchical pattern and are in a constant state of flux. Although they can be related to a person's perceptual guidelines and life style, they are constantly changing in intensity and degree. Motives may be influenced by changes in self feelings, psychological environment, phenomenal field forces, interpersonal relationships, and the general cognitive structure of the individual.

MOTIVATION TO BECOME: MAN'S PERSONAL QUEST

Erich Fromm has said: "Man must accept the responsibility for himself and the fact that only by using his own powers can he give meaning to life." In examining the 'why' of human behavior, we have viewed man as an autonomous individual who is motivated by his basic goal-directed behavior toward his fulfillment. Man, then, is viewed as having the inner capacity to develop a positive view of self in his efforts to come "alive" as a free, responsible, and creative being. In the words of Lao-tzu: "The way to do is to be."

In this positive approach to human motivation, man is seen as "master of his fate—captain of his soul," who through determined and realistic self-striving can potentially develop adequacy by meeting his basic needs at

various levels of prepotency. If man can fulfill his physiological and psychological needs to his level of satisfaction, then he truly frees himself to actualize his potentialities as a human being, he can establish a oneness and a relatedness to himself and to his world that allows him to strive toward personal fulfillment—the ultimate universal goal of all mankind. Thus, it is a striving, free, and autonomous man with the openness to encounter rich personal experiences within his phenomenal field who builds the framework for a motivated, fully functioning self, which, in turn, creates its own unique definition of happiness and the 'good life.' As we leave the "motivated self" to examine the "emotional and feeling self" in the next chapter, we offer some parting thoughts on motivation concerning the developmental behavior of children.

Thoughts on a Child's Perceptual World

CHILDREN LEARN WHAT THEY LIVE WITH

<i>If a child lives with</i>	<i>He learns</i>
criticism	to condemn
hostility	to fight
fear	to be apprehensive
pity	to feel sorry for himself
ridicule	to be shy
jealousy	what envy is
shame	to feel guilty
encouragement	to be confident
tolerance	to be patient
praise	to be appreciative
acceptance	to love
approval	to like himself
recognition	that it is good to have a goal
sharing	about generosity
honesty and fairness	what truth and justice are
security	to have faith in himself and in those about him
friendliness	that the world is a nice place to live in
serenity	to live with peace of mind

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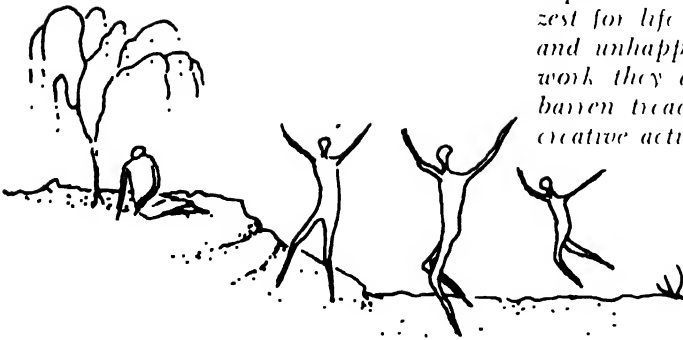
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5

The Emotional and Feeling

On the deepest level, love is a motivating force present in every person from birth to death. . . . To say that one will perish without love does not mean that everyone without adequate love dies. Many do, for without love the will to live is often impaired to such an extent that a person's resistance is critically lowered and death follows. But most of the time, lack of love makes people depressed, anxious, and without zest for life. They remain lonely and unhappy, without friends or work they care for, their life a barren treadmill, stripped of all creative action and joy.

Smiley Blanton



Growing up feels like so many different things—like a mixture of confusion, anger, anxiety, loneliness, fear, and happiness. If we were able to transport ourselves into the inner “private world” of children and adolescents, we might then experience the real meaning of the preceding

statement at the feeling tone level of the phenomenal, developmental self. Just as the last chapter invaded the "inner world" self in exploring basic needs as the "why" of behavior, this chapter will examine the innermost emotions and feelings of infant, child, adolescent, adult—of you, the reader. These emotions not only are significantly interrelated with the basic needs of the motivated self, but also are intermingled within the perceptual mainsprings of the self's deep personal thoughts, beliefs, values, memories, attitudes, hopes, fears, aspirations, feelings, strivings, and fantasies.

The emotions play a role of major importance in the child's life and in the development of his phenomenal self. They add pleasure to his daily experiences, they serve as a motivation to action, and they color the form that behavior will take. In addition, they influence his perception of himself, of other people, and of his phenomenal field (environment) and determine what his characteristic pattern of self-adjustment to life will be. As is true of all patterns of behavior, the emotional reactions the child most often experiences develop into the action mainsprings of his "inner world" and, as such, become significantly intertwined within his style of life. Hence, they become dynamic, paramount driving forces in his life and the ongoing development of his self-concept.

Every child enters the world with the potentialities for both pleasant and unpleasant emotions—those that give him pleasure and personal satisfaction and those that make him unhappy and dissatisfied. Which emotions will become the most dominant in the child's self will be determined mainly by the experiential environment in which he grows up and the relationships he has with the people in his phenomenal field. Childhood is the critical age in the development of the emotions. If powerful forces for *good* (rich, enhancing developmental experiences) are to be generated within the child's life, there must be *good* (positive, nondestructive) emotions.

As emotional patterns settle into consistent ways of behaving and become driving forces for good or poor adjustment, the child's self-concept will be crystallized. That emotions color the way we view life and our role in the social group is readily apparent from the type of memories we carry into adulthood. People who have predominately happy memories of childhood are, for the most part, better adjusted as adolescents and adults than those whose memories center around unhappy experiences. Children who grow up in homes devoid of emotional warmth find it difficult to establish affectional relationships with others or to gain pleasure from experiences that others, whose memories of childhood are happier, find self-satisfying.¹

Most parents realize the significance of pleasurable experiences in the developmental lives of their children, and they want to guarantee them a happy childhood, recognizing that "a happy child is a healthy child." Many times they believe that satisfying the child's desires for material possessions

will make him happy; therefore, they give him the things he asks for, even at great personal sacrifice. But happiness, which resides in the "inner world" of the self, derives its essence from the satisfactions of self—self grows from experiences with people, not things.

In addition, parents and other adults sometimes fail to recognize that happiness cannot exist if pleasant emotions are dominated by the unpleasant, if frustrations, anxieties, jealousies, and envies are stronger and more persistent than the happy experiences they have provided for children. They may also fail to recognize that a child cannot know that his parents or other significant adults love and respect him as a unique and special individual unless they demonstrate their love and respect by *both words and action*. The child's reasoning capacity is too limited, at this time, to allow him to see that behind their critical comments, punishment, or irritated behavior is a parental love that is overshadowed by their desire and perceived responsibility to be "good parents."

This section has been a general introduction as a preface to our examination of the dynamic aspects of the feeling and emotional self. In subsequent sections, we shall examine the nature, characteristics, and patterns of emotional behavior, emotional needs of children and adolescents, developmental tasks, expressions of major emotions, love as a universal developmental need, emotional problems in development, and emotional maturity. First, however, as a continuation of the introductory backdrop for the study of the emotional self, we shall look briefly at the concept of emotional deprivation.

DEPRIVATION OF THE EMOTIONAL SELF

As emphasized in an earlier chapter, *the phenomenal self feeds upon experiences within its phenomenal field, especially experiences with people*. If the self has *rich, positive, warm, significant, and enhancing* experiences with people, the self will strive toward maturity and actualization; but if the experiences with other humans are negative, cold, depriving, meaningless, and depreciative, the psychological self will suffer and tend to become impoverished emotionally.

Emotional deprivation does *not* mean that the child is deprived of all emotional experiences; this would be impossible and certainly undesirable. Instead, we mean that he is deprived of opportunities to experience reasonable amounts of the pleasant emotions, especially curiosity, joy, happiness, love, and affection. In its narrowest sense, it is generally limited to the deprivation of affection, although this in turn deprives the child of opportunities to experience joy and happiness also. Many children grow up in

environments that tend to stimulate the development of the unpleasant emotions, especially anger, fear, hatred, jealousy, and envy, although they may be curbed in the way they express these emotions. If the expression of these emotions leads to hostile, negative relations with significant people in their lives, the emotional development of these children may suffer. A few children grow up in environments where they have almost no opportunities to experience any of the pleasant emotions that normal children experience: They are "emotionally starved."

Studies of the effects of "emotional starvation" on children have served to highlight the role that emotions play in the normal developmental pattern of the physical, psychological, and mental selves, and in the child's personal and social adjustive processes in formulating an image of himself. From studies of this type we can appreciate the tremendously significant role that the emotions play in the building of one's self concept. The seriousness of the effects upon self-development will be influenced by when the deprivation occurs, how long it persists, the kind of emotion of which the child is deprived, and many other factors.² As an example, a child who is frustrated in every attempt to satisfy his curiosity or who is deprived of stimuli that normally elicit curiosity, because of an intellectually sterile phenomenal field or an environment designed for persons of greater or lesser intellectual capacities than his, will not attain the level of mental development he is capable of, nor will his achievements come up to his potentials. He will become apathetic and bored; he will develop a mental rigidity that interferes with creativity and self-actualization; he will become frustrated because he is not permitted to do what he is capable of doing.³

Similarly, the development of the self may be warped by the lack of opportunity to experience reasonable amounts of happiness from a sense of achievement. Thus, a child who is reared in a home where parents believe that praise makes a child lazy will be deprived of the pleasure that comes from recognition of his achievements. As a consequence, the child will probably perceive himself as incapable and develop feelings of inadequacy, with the emotional accompaniments of unhappiness and resentment toward those who did not support him in his accomplishments. These resentments often express themselves as inward hostility in the form of underachievement, not only in school but in other areas of life. Thus, underachievement is the child's way of retaliating to or punishing those who, as he perceives, have deprived him of the happiness that he persistently seeks.⁴

Deprivation of Affection

Probably the most serious and damaging effects of emotional deprivation result from situations where the child is deprived of opportunities to experi-

ence affection. As will be discussed later in examining love as a universal emotional need, being loved by others is a dynamic, self-satisfying experience. There is also another practical consideration for the development of the self. Love determines the intensity of attraction toward or away from intimate relations with others; as a result our experiences with human love influence our decisions and actions with people.⁵ Harlow in his studies of affectional responses concludes that for every child, the "initial love responses . . . are made . . . to the mother or some mother surrogate. From this intimate attachment of the child to the mother, multiple learned and generalized affectional responses are formed."⁶

Because the child is very dependent and because his mother's warm and loving behavior provides protection for him, his goal directed activity during the early years of life is focused largely toward gaining the warmth and affection he craves. As a consequence, he learns behavioral patterns that will bring him parental approval. Later, when he expands his world to include other people, he learns effective means of gratifying his own needs, thus freeing him from some of the vulnerability that emotional dependence upon the mother or mother surrogate is likely to elicit.⁷

Deprivation of emotional warmth results in a deficiency of both emotional nourishment and intellectual stimulation.⁸ If intellectual stimulation alone is present, however, *autism*, or a state of "emotional refrigeration," will result, in which the child has no interest in people. In essence, the quality and quantity of affection, its appropriateness for the child's age and level of development, and its continuity or discontinuity all play significant roles in determining the effects upon a child's behavior and the development of his self-concept.

General Effects of Affectional Deprivation

There are many causes of deprivation of affection and many conditions under which it occurs. Whatever the cause of affectional deprivation, it is damaging to the child's self-development. Babies deprived of affection suffer a delay in normal *physical* development, accompanied by such specific effects as listlessness, emaciation, quietness, general apathy, loss of appetite, and psychosomatic illnesses. If a young child's general health is poor, he often becomes highly nervous, developing nervous mannerisms and speech disorders. A delay in *mental development* often accompanies the retardation in physical maturity. The child lacks the ability to concentrate, is distractible, and his oral communication is delayed.⁹

Socially, children who have been deprived of love are handicapped in learning how to get along with people; they lack responsiveness to the social advances of others and tend to be uncooperative and hostile. They do not perceive themselves as worthy and cannot trust themselves to have

faith in the value of others. Because of self-deprecation, they suffer from feelings of inadequacy, showing their resentments in aggressiveness, disobedience, and other forms of asocial behavior. Despite their asocial behavior, children deprived of affection more often become dependent rather than independent in their behavior, thus interfering with the major developmental task of autonomous self-realization.¹⁰

The psychological effect of deprivation upon the child's *emotional development* is especially deleterious. The baby brought up in an emotionally sterile environment becomes listless, quiet, and unresponsive to the smiles and coos of others; he manifests patterns of temper tantrums, with violent kicks and screams, as if seeking attention; and he gives the general appearance of being unhappy. An older child, hungry for food or *affection*, becomes irritable, cantankerous, and unreasonable.¹¹ All of these unfavorable social and emotional reactions affect the child's developing self-concept unfavorably. Rejection may generate hate, hostility, or vengefulness, and these emotions may be manifested in neurotic, psychotic, or psychosomatic symptoms or in behavior that may, in time, lead to social aberrations such as delinquency. The child may push himself in intellectual pursuits and become an overachiever in the hope of winning parental or teacher approval, or he may become an underachiever as a way of punishing significant adults whom he perceives as rejecting him.¹²

Longitudinal Effects of Affectional Deprivation

Whether the effects of deprivation will be minor or major, temporary or permanent will depend upon several basic variations in the effects. The variable factors of major consideration are (1) the degree of deprivation, (2) developmental occurrence of the deprivation, (3) length of time, and (4) availability of satisfactory substitutes for the original source of emotional satisfaction. Although in earlier research studies the significance of degree of deprivation during the first years of life and the extension of deprivation over a considerable period of time were given credence as deleterious factors, more recent studies have lessened their importance. Current research seems to indicate that much psychological damage can be avoided if a *satisfactory substitute* for the child's original source of emotion satisfaction is provided.¹³ Although it was formerly believed that deprivation of sources of emotional satisfaction during the early years of life would lay the foundations for adult personality disorders, there is evidence that this may not be true.¹⁴ The tendency to develop "affectionless or psychopathic characters" is often offset by favorable experiences later in childhood.¹⁵ When institutionalized children, for example, are adopted and receive a stable substitute source of emotional satisfaction, the unfavorable effects of early deprivations may be offset. If the substitute proves to be unsatisfactory, the effects of

earlier deprivation may, and often do, persist in the developmental behavioral patterns of the children and later in adolescence.¹⁶

If a person cannot overcome the influence of emotional deprivation during his early childhood, what are some of the longitudinal effects upon the developing self? Impoverishment and maladjustments of the self-concept resulting directly or indirectly from emotional deprivation range from general unhappiness to antisocial behavior, psychopathic personality, psychoneurosis, or even certain forms of psychosis, such as schizophrenia. Although emotional deprivation alone may not cause maladjustive forms of behavior, it is likely to increase the tendency toward maladjustment when it occurs with other unfavorable conditions.¹⁷ For example, rebellion against authority in adolescence may be increased if the adolescent feels that he has never received the affection he craves.

Adolescent marriages are often a means of satisfying a longing for affection and emotional security never completely satisfied by love from parents, sibling or peers representing an escape from conditions of hostility and anxiety elicited by thwarted affectional needs.¹⁸ Other longitudinal effects of emotional deprivation during the early years of childhood are increased feelings of personal insecurity, which may foster poor adjustments to marriage and work and poor attitudes toward society and the law in adult life.¹⁹ Although there are multiple causes of juvenile delinquency, certainly one contributing factor is emotional insecurity (a negative perception of the psychological self), stemming from perceived feelings of being unwanted and unloved. In many instances, these self-attitudes are carried over from feelings engendered during the early years of life. Research has indicated that boys are more likely to experience long-term effects of emotional deprivation than girls, because boys seemingly have less chance to identify with the people who might serve as substitutes for their parents.²⁰

In essence, emotional deprivation of the self seems to prevent positive growth toward actualization, which may or may not have longitudinal influences in terms of destructive forces upon the self-concept. If satisfactory human substitutes are found for the child's original source, which offered deprivation rather than enhancement, much of the psychological damage to the self can be avoided. Unless the self can find these significant ways to compensation, because man is a social being built in relationship to others, the self-concept may suffer impoverishment during the processes of trying to become. As Maslow has indicated:

The need for love characterizes every human being that is born. No psychological health is possible unless the "inner nature" of the person is fundamentally accepted, loved, and respected by others. No ideally good relation to another human being, especially a child, is possible without "being-love"—especially it is necessary for teaching along with the Taoistic, trusting attitude it implies.²¹

THE NATURE OF EMOTIONS

In examining the question *Why do people behave as they do?* we must look beyond the motivating needs and also consider that human beings are emotional as well as rational creatures. Because the development of the individual depends upon his ability to adjust the self to many situations, primarily social, man needs special equipment to protect himself from physical and psychological harm, to foster social experiences and adjustments, and to motivate behavior toward his growth and actualization at various physical, intellectual, psychological, and social levels. Emotions, then, serve this purpose. Without them our sensations and perceptions would be severely limited, growth toward maturity would be endangered, if indeed it were even possible. Without emotions man would have been unable to evolve the intellect and the will power to be a cognitive individual capable of determining his own life, but instead, like lower animals, he would have to rely upon instinctual behavior as the sole means of survival. As Niederland has stated:

By origin and nature man is not a rational animal. His attachments to people, to his parents, family, and friends, as well as his reactions to pain and pleasure, depend upon what he feels, rather than on what he thinks. Even his actions are rarely the result of logical thinking alone. The most important and decisive early experiences of life are emotionally, not rationally, determined. This emotional element dominates the entire (mental growth) process during childhood, and it largely influences man's reactions to adult life. The influence of the emotional element is not limited to the mental sphere, but extends also to the functions of the organs and tissues. . . . Emotions are real and not imaginary, and their effects are experienced by every normal individual.²²

When we consider the usual behavior patterns of an autistic person who lacks emotion, who is apathetic or emotionally "flat," the importance of emotions and their necessity for the development of a healthy self becomes quite clear. The *apathetic* person is generally described as inactive, aimless, silly, callous, indifferent, or shallow. *Socially*, such persons do not respond effectively to overtures of friendliness or love and are unaware of the finer aspects of social interactions. *Physically*, they may have extremely low tolerance for drugs and medications and may have chronic physical ailments. Also they may have "missed out" on the emotional sensations commonly described as "my heart skipped a beat," "my stomach turned over," "it sent shivers down my spine," "I got goose pimples," or "my scalp's all prickly." If, then, emotions have such a significant influence upon our developmental behavior, we need to examine their nature in more detail.

Definitions and Theories

The emotions have always been of central concern to men, because in every endeavor, in every major human enterprise, the emotions are somehow involved. Almost every great philosopher has been concerned with the nature of emotion and has speculated and theorized about its origins, expressions, effects—its function in the economy of human life.

Psychology, too, has recognized the importance of understanding emotion as a fundamental concept of human behavior. Although emotions have been studied persistently since the birthdate of psychology, *today there is no single, integrating, comprehensive theory of emotions that has relevance to all areas of concern in behavior and that is accepted by all psychologists.* We continue to ask such questions as: What is an emotion? What produces an emotion? What functions do emotions have? Is emotion the cause of a bodily state? What are the physiological changes that are associated with emotion? What subjective changes are associated with emotions? Can there be emotions without awareness? What is the relation between feelings and bodily states in emotion? Are emotions learned or innate? Are emotions disruptive or organizing? What is the relation between emotion and motivation? How are emotions related to personality development?

Although in this writing we recognize the confusion, the complexities, and the disagreements in psychological literature concerning the definitions and theories of emotions, it is not within the scope of this book or this chapter to review the multiple aspects of contemporary theories of emotion. If the reader is interested, a detailed account is presented by Plutchik,²⁴ who reviews definitions and theories of emotions from the formulation of William James in 1881 to his own viewpoint in 1962. Let us merely note that the history of psychology is so marked with differences as to the meaning of emotion that some psychologists have suggested that the term be eliminated from psychological writings. In effect, this suggestion will be implemented here in that extended space will not be given to lengthy discussions of definitions or theories; after a brief consideration of general aspects of emotion and an operational definition of it, we shall focus upon the emotional behavior of the developing self throughout the rest of the chapter.

In the psychological literature the term *emotion* reappears under such pseudonyms as feeling, stress, frustration, conflict, or avoidance tendency. The study of emotions has at least three general aspects: (1) the concern with feeling states or introspections, (2) the concern with behavior or overt expression, and (3) the concern with physiology or neurology. The different theories of emotion that have been developed usually focus on one or

another of these aspects. Problems related to the identification and the study of emotions are those of intensity, persistence, purity, individual differences, introspection, complexity of the feelings attached to emotions, and, finally, the problem of definition.

In his recent book on the emotions, Plutchik presented a new theoretical model for an emotion. Evolving from the model is his definition:

An emotion may be defined as a patterned bodily reaction of either destruction, reproduction, incorporation, orientation, protection, deprivation, rejection or exploration, or some combination of these, which is brought about by a stimulus.²¹

Plutchik's basic meaning will be used as a basic frame of reference for our discussion of emotional behavior with the inclusion of the following thoughts. *Arbitrarily, we might say that an emotion in the phenomenological sense is a feeling-tone experience of the total integrated self in perceptual response to forces within the phenomenal field (inner and outer worlds), which includes, often, an expression of realistic behavior in relevance to the behavior's perception of self and his world at the moment of behaving.* As such, then, an emotion represents affective feeling tones. It is characterized by an inner behavioral adjustment, facilitated by the total functioning self (including the autonomic nervous system), expressed overtly through behavior responses distinctive to the particular emotional state expected, and aroused by the interaction of the self and forces within its phenomenal field.

As we have indicated in earlier chapters, every individual's life is an unsegmented stream of behavioral experiences, with really no beginning and no end. Emotional experiences flow in a continuous stream through all phases and facets of the self-development of a child, adolescent, or adult. Fears and resentments, joys and sorrows, and the experience of being lonely, proud, ashamed, bored, pleased, annoyed, or contented are interwoven with the other details of a child's or adult's daily living. *Emotion, then, is involved dynamically in the whole process of the being-in-becoming of the self.* For this reason the thread of emotional behavior will run throughout this book; however, this chapter is utilized to present some of the more intricate dynamics of emotions as a background for understanding the development of self.

In essence, emotion means a state of being "moved" within the self. Outward manifestations may include pallor, clenched fists, laughter, cringing, crying, or agitated behavior by a person. Inwardly an emotion includes three qualities of experience that sometimes are distinctly clear and sometimes very blurred. *First*, it involves a feeling, such as we experience when we feel afraid or angry or jubilant or just uneasy or vaguely depressed.

Kenny sees feeling as an "inner sense" that perceives the perceiver's emotions. He defines the nature of feeling as:

Feelings of emotions are the sensations linked with the symptoms of an emotion; but the sensations are feelings, just as the bodily changes are symptoms, only if they occur in a certain context. The context which attaches the sensations and the bodily changes to a particular emotion is itself specified as an emotional context by its relation to the pattern of action characteristic of the emotion in question. Going pale, for instance, is a symptom of fear only if it occurs in the face of at least putative danger; and danger is itself a backward looking reason for actions which are motivated by fear. Thus feeling is linking to symptom, symptom to circumstance, and circumstance to action. The connection is roundabout, but every link in the chain is necessary. The verbal expression of fear is linked to symptom, circumstance, and action; and once established, becomes itself a new criterion for the feeling.²⁵

Second, an emotion includes an impulse toward some kind of action, such as a definite impulse to hit, or to run, or to seek and prolong a pleasurable event, or an aimless impulse to be on the go. *Third*, on the subjective side, emotion also involves (although often not at all in clear detail) the awareness or perception of what it is, or what it might be, that produces these impulses and feelings. Thus, these feelings and impulses and the intellectual perception of what is involved may be well defined in our experience or may be buried in very vague states of uneasiness, irritation, or depression. Many of the most common emotional experiences, such as when a child is anxious, or is eager to do or to know, or is ashamed of himself, or is uneasy about the future, are not clearly defined in his awareness, even though they involve some kind of feeling and some kind of tendency to move with, or toward, or against. We must remember that, although he may not be able to understand, describe or, possibly, control his behavior, he is probably, under the circumstances, behaving the best way that he knows at that moment of observation.

General Effects of Emotions upon the Self

Physiological Reactions. We have mentioned that the influence of an emotion is not limited to the mental sphere of the self, but that it also extends to the physical self—the functions of the organs and the tissues. Physiologically, emotions may *stimulate* or *depress* the functions of the heart, the stomach, the intestinal apparatus, the respiratory and circulatory systems, the skin, or the endocrine glands; they may interfere with the direction and absorption of food, with the functions of the sex organs, the muscles, or the blood vessels, or they may cause headache, insomnia, and other psychosomatic symptoms without apparent cause.

Although these physiological effects are under the control of the autonomic nervous system and are involuntary, they can be felt inwardly or observed outwardly, or both. With fear and anger, for example, increased quantities of adrenalin are secreted and additional sugar, a source of quick energy, is liberated into the bloodstream. The heart beats faster, the walls of the blood vessels contract, and the blood circulation increases, carrying sugar more quickly to the different parts of the body. These sequential "inner" processes of the physical self constitute an internal "emergency reaction" that prepares it with additional energy for meeting excessively demanding situations. Numerous examples have been cited in popular literature of people who have accomplished astonishing feats of strength under conditions of extreme fear or anger.

Strong Self feelings. In addition to the preceding internally controlled but externally stimulated reactions, emotion is also characterized by strong feelings whenever we experience a departure from our normal, calm state of being in becoming. Developmentally, as the infant begins to differentiate the many bodily states that come within his experience, he chooses some as being pleasurable, desirable, and satisfying. Other feeling states he dislikes, finding them painful, uncomfortable, and otherwise disagreeable. The strength of his feelings is, of course, correlated positively with the degree of pleasantness or unpleasantness he assigns to any one perceived situation. Quite naturally, the strengths and degrees of feeling vary from individual to individual according to his self-concept, perceptions of the experience, or the force with which the stimulus enters his phenomenal field. Therefore, the feeling states chosen as pleasurable by one person at one age are not chosen by another person at the same age or by the same individual at a later age; what one person considers repulsive to his self-structure is desired by others. Emotions that are suppressed or controlled in one society are encouraged and exhibited overtly in another.

Just as physiological reactions have two opposing directions—stimulation-depression or increase-decrease—strong feelings of emotions fall into two general categories: the positive and the negative, or the pleasant integrative response and the unpleasant disintegrative response.²⁶ Positive, integrative feelings such as love, affection, happiness, hope, elation, curiosity, joy, delight, and yearning are elicited by the sensations the self perceives as pleasurable. The pleasant integrative emotions may be defined as psychophysiological feeling states that tend to accompany moderate muscular tension and verbal reports of pleasure. Man tends to seek and to maintain this psychophysiological state of affairs both momentarily and longitudinally as a life goal. Probably because of their involvement with competition and risk-taking, mild anxiety and apprehension would also be considered in this classification.

Negative or disintegrative feelings, from a social point of view—fear,

extreme anxiety, anger, disgust, jealousy, worry, grief, and hostility—are elicited by such disagreeable self-sensations and perceptions as loss, pain, discomfort, frustration, conflict, strangeness, unrelatedness, and threat. Some of the emotions classified as disintegrative have, in mild amounts, an integrative effect under some circumstances. For example, fear operates as a self-protective mechanism, and anxiety, irritation, and apprehension stimulate learning when self striving is at a low ebb. The socially disintegrative emotions may be defined as psychophysiological feeling states that tend to accompany extreme muscular tension, heightened smooth musculature response, and verbal reports of displeasure. Man tends to avoid or abolish this psychophysiological condition whenever possible. Functionally, many of man's humane and creative tendencies are strongly influenced by the pleasant integrative components of emotional behavior, whereas many of his aggressive and socially undesirable tendencies are accompanied by the unpleasant disintegrative types of emotional response. In essence, then, positive emotional feelings are self-enhancing and actualizing, whereas negative ones are self-depreciative and depriving.

Impulse for Action. A third effect of emotions upon the self is the impulse for action, a significant foundation for the discussion of emotional behavior. Once we have perceived a situation or circumstance in our phenomenal field as pleasant or unpleasant have in effect built up within ourselves a network of various feeling states on the plus or minus side of comfort and satisfaction, we tend, normally, to move toward the retention, recall, or increase of the pleasurable and the removal or decrease of the disagreeable. Likewise, these goals to action can take on a positive or negative attribute in our self structure and style of life. As an example, the child who wishes to be cuddled may hold out his arms in the hope that he will be picked up, or he may throw a temper tantrum, having learned that the quickest way to get what he wants is to scream. The child who is afraid may drive away the perceived object, attempt to conquer it, or escape from it. A toddler may "love" his mother with kisses or with kicks. A jealous child may show excessive love for a sibling or attempt to harm it. Or he may react to this threat to his self-esteem with aggressive acts toward play mates, toys, authority symbols, or himself.

Within the deep complex strivings of the self's "inner world," emotions can become their own activators. Love breeds love, fear breeds fear. Love can also arouse jealousy and, if thwarted, can produce hate, which is love "back fired"; fear can evoke anger. Moreover, we recognize and respond not only to our own feelings but also to the emotions of others, and not always with consistency. We may feel genuine sympathy for the person who sobs with self-pity, yet be disgusted with ourselves for experiencing a similar feeling. We may be compassionate toward a cowardly friend, yet ashamed or angered at our own fears. Thus, emotions may tend to be self-infecting; the anxious

person may be anxious because he is anxious! As frequently happens, the anxiety-ridden individual may be aware of his emotional state but not of what causes it, and that *worries* him.

The Personalized and Distinctive Aspects of Emotions

One of the distinctive components of personal experience is the emotional or affective dimension. As we confront and examine a problem and try to cope with it, we feel pleased, uneasy, elated, angry or perhaps worried about the situation or our role in it. As we undertake a course of action, we may feel enthusiasm, distaste, or perhaps dread. Whatever the situation, we tend to have feelings of some kind about what we are seeing, perceiving, thinking, and doing. Hence, emotional processes are not isolated phenomena, but distinctly unique and personal, and are components of our general experience, constantly influencing and influenced by other processes going on with the dynamic self-structure. Emotional competence, the ability of the self to live with, express or control emotions, is significantly dependent upon an accurate frame of reference and upon over-all maturity. How we perceive a situation, *its meaning for us*, determines what emotions will be aroused. If we perceive no threat, we feel no fear, however great or small the real danger. If we see our performance as superior, we feel elated regardless of the realities of the situation. And if we see ourselves as unfairly treated, we feel angry whether or not our perception is accurate. If we see ourselves as inadequate and unlovable, we feel perpetually anxious and discouraged, whether we really are inferior and unlovable or only think we are.

Barring major changes in our life situation, most of us have a continuing, characteristic pattern of emotional reactions that is an important part of our self-structure and life style. Saul emphasizes this aspect of emotional behavior in saying:

Every person has his own individual emotional constellation arising out of the emotional influences and experiences of his own childhood (always including congenital, physical, social and other related factors . . .). This "nuclear constellation" is an important part of the core of every personality [self]. . . . *No personality [self] . . . is understood unless this nuclear constellation is clearly seen and comprehended.* —Thompson²⁶

Thus, we are as consistent and predictable in our emotional reactions as in our perceptual behavior, thought patterns, attitudes, values, and other aspects of our approaches to living and becoming. Our life experiences that arouse emotion within us, the kind and degree of emotion they arouse, and our ways of expressing and controlling it all become a part of this nuclear emotional pattern, which is unique and personalized for each of us. Thus,

even though there are many general characteristics of emotions, per se, that are common to human beings, each person determines his own distinctive functioning as an emotional self, just as he does as an intellectual, rational self.

EMOTIONAL COMPETENCE OF THE SELF

Before discussing the general characteristics of emotional development and the expression of selected emotional patterns of behavior, we shall examine, briefly, the basic components of emotional competence, the general ability of the self to live with and to handle emotions. In order to understand the components of emotional competence and to increase our insight into human behavior in general, we need to realize the aspects of emotional experiences that may differ from person to person and are functioning influences in their affective lives. These attributes of emotional competence will be discussed under five headings: (1) patterns of emotional experience, (2) patterns of expression and control, (3) determinants of emotional patterns, (4) dimensions of emotional control, and (5) strategies for improving emotional competence.

Patterns of Emotional Experience

Although many times we assume that other people "feel about the same way as we do," there is considerable psychological evidence that such is not an accurate assessment of other people's emotional lives. We seem to differ greatly in the depth and range of our feelings, in our moods, and in the proportion of our positive and negative feelings.

Depth of Feeling. Some people apparently feel great intensities of emotion: that is, they react to the ups and downs of living with intense joy, disappointment, and concern. Others, whether from constitutional limitation or defensive learning, seemingly are not stirred to either enthusiasm or distress but appear to be insulated against any strong feelings. Most of us, fortunately, in terms of self-maintenance, are somewhere in between.

Emotional competence, then, would seem to require sufficient depth of feeling to allow active, vigorous, healthy participation in living. Although wide differences in emotionality seem to be within the normal range, the extremes at either end are unadaptive. Overreaction to every minor life situation squanders the individual's resources and dissipates the self's emotional strength, whereas a very shallow response usually indicates a defensive orientation with its rigidity and narrowing of perception, which restricts the openness of experience necessary for adequate self-development.

Range of Feelings We all tend to experience unpleasant emotions when our strivings are blocked or our values threatened—whether by forces outside us within our phenomenal field or by internal self factors. We experience pleasant emotions when we achieve our goals or anticipate doing so or when we receive some confirmation of our own values. The actual experiential events that please us or displease us are as varied as our strivings and our interests. In general, reaching maintenance goals yields elation or joy. If we fail to reach *maintenance goals*, we have feelings of frustration, loss, and generalized upset of the self structure. When we fail to reach *actualization goals*, we feel, in addition, varying amounts of disappointment and perhaps self condemnation.

Some people limit their range of emotionality in that they seem to experience only general for and against feelings. Others experience subtle nuances and fine shades of difference in feelings. However, each of us develops within our self structure a characteristic repertoire of emotional reactions. A wide range of appropriate emotional reactions adds richness to our daily experiences and fosters self growth. The failure to develop a full repertoire usually indicates general immaturity, unrealistic attitudes, or an unconscious defense against emotional involvement. We need to recognize that both cultural patterns and personal attitudes and values help to shape the feeling tones of the self as it matures.

The Influence of Moods In addition to our somewhat transitory specific feelings, we tend to have general background moods that last longer and color the whole situation or activity we are perceiving. Moods are pleasant or unpleasant states of mind that are less intense and that last longer than emotions. Although they are often a hangover of emotions, they may be the background for an exaggerated emotional response because they sensitize us to emotional stimuli. For example, a mood of depression may result from an emotional experience of defeat or grief. Moods are, of course, often associated with overfatigue, illness, or other purely physical causes. A depressive mood may make us cry over things that would ordinarily not disturb us, an irritable mood may make us explode into anger over a comparatively trivial incident even as we perceive it.

Our mood may be one of rest and anticipation, one of discouragement and hopelessness, or perhaps one of elusive nagging anxiety and worry. Whatever its quality or source, our mood is a significant determinant of our stress tolerance, level of energy, and degree of risk or defense self orientation. Undoubtedly, we have all had the experience of being in a "bad" mood and finding that molehills were perceived as mountains or of being in an especially "good" mood and sailing through a situation unperturbed that normally would agitate us.

Moods tend to fluctuate through a fairly predictable cycle somewhat inde-

pendently of external events, but the length of the cycle and the difference between crest and trough are distinctive to each person. If you are interested, it is possible to chart your pattern of moods by keeping a record of them over a period of several months. Normality of mood expression is an individual matter. Of course, the extreme mood fluctuations of the manic-depressive patient are considered aberrant. Anyone who feels that his mood swings are beyond the range of the "normal" should seek professional counsel.

Positive or Negative Aspects of Emotions. Both positive and negative emotions are normal, healthy reactions to certain types of situations. We all experience some of both; the person who feels that he should have only positive feelings is making unrealistic demands upon his self-structure. Yet a preponderance of negative feelings is unhealthy and inappropriate for self-growth. Negative feelings indicate that an individual feels thwarted or threatened in some way, and such a perception tends to induce defense-oriented behavior, restricting growth experiences rather than facilitating behavior that opens the self to becoming.

Furthermore, the fearful or resentful person is constantly on the lookout for new dangers to self, and thus tends to develop perceptual rigidity, seeing only what confirms his worries and fears. Such a person has trouble maintaining satisfying relationships with other people, thus denying himself the source of self-growth, and, in time, his chronic emotional mobilization may even have serious effects upon his physical health. Thus, a preponderance of negative emotions not only prevents current personal effectiveness but also interferes with the development of greater competence and maturity.

On the other hand, a predominance of positive feelings is characteristic of the emotionally healthy person. Numerous studies, both clinical and experimental, have indicated that love, sympathy, and other positive feelings are conducive to self-esteem, adequacy, fulfillment, and self-actualization. Although our feelings are, of course, somewhat dependent upon what life brings to us, this is only part of the story—*what we bring to life has great significance also*. Some people manage to have a predominance of positive feelings despite great adversity, whereas others are constantly fearful, angry, and resentful in what normally appears to be a favorable, positive situation. Within our self-concepts, our attitudes and values chiefly determine whether an experience will be gratifying or frustrating for us. Except under the most extreme stress, such as prolonged confinement in a concentration camp, for example, the emotionally competent person can usually manage to keep the balance on the side of the positive emotions. The last section of this chapter will discuss emotional competence in more detail as a positive view of self.

Patterns of Expression and Control

We vary not only in our patterns of emotional experiences but also in our patterns of expression and control. Some of us are effusive and demonstrative, freely expressing our feelings in words, gestures, and other behavior. Others hide their feelings, sometimes just from other people, sometimes from themselves as well. Sometimes the *approved* or "admirable" emotions are expressed freely, while *disapproved* ones are concealed or denied. In the words of Confucius: "When anger rises, think of the consequences." These patterns may be culturally induced, but usually they serve individual needs and goals also.

Naturally not every emotionally competent person will have the same pattern of expression and control. Just as with the experience of emotion, "normal" covers a wide range of behavior. Emotional expression and control will be discussed in association with the following three characteristics of affective competence: (1) balance of spontaneity and control, (2) constructive channeling rather than suppression or repression of emotion, and (3) avoidance of distorted and disguised expression.

Spontaneity and Control. Sometimes emotional reactions grow out of proportion to the situation and induce incongruent behavior. Without adequate inner controls, we may overreact emotionally to routine situations, flying off our "emotional handles" or bursting into tears or unwarranted displays of verbal or physical behavior. With too rigid controls, we may be unable to "let ourselves go" at all. Neither extreme is desirable in that neither represents a compatible balance for self-congruence. Emotional health requires both the freedom to express our feelings without embarrassment or guilt and the ability to control emotional expression according to the nature, circumstances, and requirements of the situation.

Behavioral Effects of Emotional Control. All emotional states are accompanied by preparation for action, brought about by physical and glandular changes. Controlling the action that normally would occur means that the energy that has been aroused must either be kept bottled up within the self or be channeled into other forms of activity. Hurlock²⁷ discusses five ways in which children find release for emotional arousal when circumstances demand control: (1) moodiness, (2) substitute responses, (3) displacement, (4) regression, and (5) emotional explosions. In reference to these behaviors, the child's usual way of responding will depend largely upon what he has discovered gives him the greatest satisfaction, wins social approval, or avoids the disapproval of significant people in his life.

An emotionally aroused child may bottle up the emotional energy and let it smolder for hours or days. This results in *moodiness*, a drawn-out

state of the emotions. Because the unpleasant emotions are the ones most likely to be controlled, he will be gloomy, morbid, sullen, and reticent; he will be in a "bad" humor. In general, he will be listless and will work far below his capacity; his interest in people and things will wane, and he will be preoccupied with himself and his feelings. Should a pleasant emotion, such as joy, be controlled, his mood will be pleasant; he will glow with an inner satisfaction and will be eager and enthusiastic about whatever he does. In all moodiness, there is a tendency to *overreact*, to react to stimuli with greater intensity than the stimuli justify.

Emotional energy can be released by *substituting a response* that is more socially acceptable than the response normally associated with the emotion. For example, when angry, the child may substitute name calling for hitting or kicking if he finds that the former brings less social disapproval or less threat of punishment, or he may learn to express his anger in a constructive manner by doing something useful or socially approved. Syphoning repressed emotions off into socially acceptable patterns of behavior is known as *sublimation*.

In *displacement*, a person expresses his emotion by directing his response toward a person, object, or situation unrelated to the origin of the emotion. Happiness, for example, may come from successful achievement. The happy child can express his happiness directly by "crowing over his successes," but if he discovers that this is socially unacceptable, he may displace his happiness by showering praise or gifts or other forms of attention upon his peers or other people. Thus an outburst of generosity may be merely displaced happiness upon the part of the giver. Most commonly, displacement occurs when angry reactions are controlled. Instead of hitting and kicking, the angry child will "take it out" on an innocent victim by a verbal or physical attack. Older children suffering from frustrations caused by overprotective or dominating parents may hold back their negative feelings toward their parents because of fear or a sense of loyalty. Thus instead of attacking the parents directly, they may displace their bottled-up anger by being hypercritical of others; by being hostile toward all adults in authority, especially teachers and law-enforcement officers; by engaging in hostile fantasies in which they fight against the parents; or by seeking the "protective coloration" of the peer group in attacking, either physically or verbally, some innocent victim.

Another common way of dealing with controlled emotions is to express them indirectly in behavior that apparently has little or no relationship to the emotion that elicits it. One of the most common indirect forms of expression of thwarted emotions is *regression*, going back to earlier forms of behavior that satisfy the child's needs. For example, the jealous child may revert to such infantile behavior as wetting his bed or claiming that he needs help in dressing or feeding. He may bid for attention by pretend-

ing to be ill or by developing fears of objects that usually do not bother him.

When the child tries to inhibit the expression of an emotion too long or when the emotion is too strong to be inhibited, he may *explode emotionally*, reacting violently to a seemingly trivial stimulus. When angry, for example, he will have a temper tantrum reminiscent of a three- or four-year-old. Because a person is expected to develop frustration tolerance as he grows older, handling his emotions in an explosive manner may lead to strong feelings of guilt and inadequacy.

Repressed Feelings. When direct expression of our feelings brings us pain or when we are taught to be ashamed and afraid of our feelings, we may unconsciously resort to emotional insulation or *repression* to protect ourselves from hurt or self-devaluation. Hence we may try to stay aloof from emotional involvement altogether so that, whatever happens, nothing can hurt us; or we may drive our unwanted feelings below the level of consciousness; or we may turn all blame inward so that we can keep only kindly feelings toward those around us. Although these ruses by the feeling self enable us to maintain our self-esteem and may provide a temporarily more comfortable way of living with our emotions, they are usually unadaptive eventually. Once aroused, feelings press for expression in some way, and we ignore or deny them at the peril of our self-structure.

Accepting and acknowledging our feelings does not mean that we go "primitive" and act out all hostile or destructive impulses, for emotional competence requires that our behavior be in keeping with our long-term goals and values. Feelings that are acknowledged and accepted become a part of our life style and are under potential control; we can then decide whether and how to express them and work out sensible and satisfying patterns of expression and control. On the other hand, repressed feelings are beyond the range of our direct control and thus can cause untold mischief for the developing self.

Dimensions of Emotional Expression. If we deny feelings direct expression, they may find outlets in disguised forms. For example, hostility may be expressed through nagging or cynicism; chronic fatigue may really be an expression of anxiety and fear. In some cases, the strain of suppressing emotions may be relieved by the development of a psychosomatic ailment such as a migraine headache, asthma, hay fever, or skin allergies. However, none of these reactions satisfies either the person or those around him. His destructive feelings are increased instead of lessened, and usually he is unaware of the real motive power behind his reactions. Often a person is confused by his own emotional behavior. Until he understands the reasons for his present reactions, a person will have difficulty learning more effective patterns of expression. Thus, somewhat consistent self-assessment is a requisite in working toward emotional competence. In the word of Socrates: "The unexamined life is not worth living [emotionally]."

From our discussion, we may assume the most competent mobilization of the emotional resources within the self cannot be achieved by rigid control. Personal effectiveness in emotional expression and control, like competence in other dimensions of behavior, includes a consideration of both inner needs and outer demands; an integrating degree of congruence must exist. Emotional competence is actually a perpetual state of arriving within self-development; it cannot be achieved once and for all. Even though we can learn to look at emotion-arousing situations differently and thus reduce our susceptibility to unpleasant emotions, our emotional experience is often beyond our conscious control. In the important task of searching for self-competence, everyone has the continuing responsibility of finding personally satisfying and constructive ways to express his emotional tensions.

Determinants of Emotional Patterns

Human behavior at best is complicated and difficult to understand, particularly from the viewpoint of the observer; emotional behavior is no exception. In that every human being is unique, there are wide differences in the emotional patterns of people. Although these patterns are complex and difficult to comprehend, the following factors, as discussed by Coleman, contribute to the determination of our emotional behavior: (1) constitutional make-up, (2) early training, (3) frame of reference, and (4) social field. Because the first determinant was considered in a previous chapter, we shall examine briefly only the last three here.

In the early development of our self-structure, we learn to regard our emotions as something to be encouraged and expressed or as something to be denied and hidden. These early attitudes are assimilated into our self-concepts and affect our subsequent emotional development. If we are taught to recognize and accept our real feelings, regarding them, even the negative or violent ones, as part of our authentic human resources, then normal emotional development can proceed. Learning appropriate patterns of expression and control is a continuing developmental task, a process of ever becoming emotionally, for with the new problems arising in each life period somewhat different emotional patterns become appropriate and necessary.

To comprehend a person's emotional behavior, we must understand his *frame of reference*. Both the feelings that a person has and the way in which he expresses and controls them depend upon his basic assumptions and attitudes of *what is true*, *what is right*, and *what is possible*. He responds to a situation or to people according to the perceived meaning in relation to his own needs and purposes.

A person will likely never find opportunities to experience feelings of adequacy and success if his level of aspiration is too high or too low and his self-expectations unrealistic. If he regards the world as a dangerous,

hostile place, he will interpret whatever happens as a confirmation of this view of life and will constantly feel anxious and threatened. If he feels guilty about actually "normal feelings," he will keep subjecting himself to unnecessary anxiety and self-condemnation, from which he will then have to protect himself by a variety of conscious and unconscious defensive maneuvers.

Culturally, there is no universally approved method of expressing or controlling emotions. The type of social climate in which people function has a great influence upon their emotional patterns. People who live in a highly competitive, hostile, aggressive society tend to develop aggressiveness and hostility, with an underemphasis upon love and sympathy. Studies indicate, as already noted, that an autocratic social climate tends to elicit hostility, which is sometimes channeled through displacement or scapegoating behavior. A dramatic contrast in dominant emotional patterns, induced by the sociocultural field, is provided by the warlike Comanches and the peaceful Hopi Indians of the Southwest. The social field is of paramount significance in the channeling of emotions. Some societies condone verbal criticism but not physical attack. Some societal standards advocate free expressions of unpleasant emotions, whereas some regard any expression of pain or fear as a lack of manliness. Some social groups expect loud lament under stress conditions; others demand stoic acceptance. In some cultures free expression of feelings is encouraged; in others, elaborate, formal rituals are conducted through which all expression must be released.

To the developing self, the family climate is a particularly influential social determinant. In a prevailing atmosphere of bickering and tension, hostility and other negative emotions are perpetually elicited and expressed in rather direct, destructive ways. In a warm, happy family, love and other positive emotions are likely to be dominant; members learn to control negative feelings so that they do not disrupt the harmony of the home. Inadequate, infantile parents or emotionally disturbed relationships in the family may be reflected in fixations and distortions in children's development that carry over into adulthood. John Milton captured this developmental tendency in saying that, "The childhood shows the man as morning shows the day."

The forces of the phenomenal field influence our emotional behavior in other ways. Social contagion in a group may lead to strong emotional arousal within individuals and to behavior that they would never normally permit themselves, such as riots or aggressive group protests. When those around us are responding with intense emotions, as in a crisis or panic, their reactions tend to infect us and make it more difficult to follow our normal patterns of expression. In a similar manner, we tend to be responsive to the general level of morale of those around us. Our own spirits may be dampened if others are discouraged and depressed. When others are excited

and enthusiastic, they seem to infect us with their jubilation. Certainly it is difficult to remain serene and constructive in an atmosphere of dissension and suspicion. Thus, a healthy social climate is a tremendous advantage in our attempts to attain emotional efficiency, whereas an unhealthy social climate may subvert the best efforts of the self. We may well keep these ideas in mind as we try to guide youth to emotional becoming.

Most of us are apprehensive about our feelings periodically. Some people wish they could feel more deeply and spontaneously; others wish they could learn to control their emotions more easily; still others have irrational fears or feelings of hostility that they cannot seem to conceal, yet do not know how to express without inviting retaliation. Although building greater emotional efficiency depends first and foremost upon generating healthy attitudes toward ourselves and our world, there are also specific strategies that can help us handle our emotions so that they become constructive and enriching determinants in our lives and self-structure instead of inducing stress, which tends to disturb the self-image. Coleman²⁸ notes five such strategies for improving the emotional competence of the self: (1) understanding and accepting emotion, (2) functioning with emotions instead of fighting them, (3) finding constructive ways to express feelings, (4) keeping a sense of humor, and (5) accentuating positive emotions.

THE EMOTIONAL HERITAGE OF SELF

How do human beings come by their emotions? What is the self's emotional heritage? What factors contribute to emotional development? Are emotions learned? What are some of the common characteristics of children's emotions? These questions and others will be discussed in this section as we explore the developing emotional self.

Emotional Heredity

As Bakwin has pointed out, "The ability to respond emotionally is present in the newborn as part of the developmental process and does not have to be learned."²⁹ This statement was selected to start our discussion of emotional development because it involves, to a degree, a controversy currently in psychological literature as to whether emotions are inborn or learned. Some research³⁰ has indicated that prematurely born infants are capable of emotional reactions, suggesting that such behavior is possible several months before birth normally occurs. In a similar sense, general excitement in the newborn infant has been observed as a part of the mass activity present at birth, although there are no indications of clear-cut definite emotional patterns that can be recognized and identified as specific emotional states. Often, before the period of the newborn immerses into

later development, the general excitement becomes differentiated into simple reactions that suggest pleasure and displeasure. The unpleasant responses are elicited by uncomfortable events within the baby's physical self and his world, such circumstances cause crying and miss activity. Pleasant responses can be elicited by rocking, putting, providing warmth, and snug holding, the baby may react by sucking or a general relaxation of the body.

True emotions are a developmental by product of change, and change occurs only through learning and the maturation of the self. Emotions and their responses develop through the awareness, perception, memory, and differentiation of changes in the internal and external phenomenal fields of the self and through the maturation of glandular and neural systems. An important part of emotional behavior is myelination and cortical development, which must occur before messages can be sent to muscles and glands. Most authorities are of the opinion that an infant under the age of three months is incapable of true emotion, although Bridges,³¹ in a classic study that traced emotional development during the first two years of life, interpreted certain manifestations of general excitement as "delight."

Delight, love, affection, and jealousy are dependent upon perceptual social awareness—a recognition of other people as having some special meaning to the observer. True anger presupposes an awareness of "me" or "mine." When these elements of intellect are combined with the physiological changes that occur from hunger, thirst, sucking, and the startle reaction, *emotions are born*. Thus scientists lean more and more toward the opinion that there are no *inborn* emotions. On the other hand, Jost and Sontag³² and Menninger³³ believe that certain inherited physiological structures enable a person to perform emotionally at a particular level, that is, he inherits the potential for developing at one of a few levels on the intensity continuum between depression and elation. Some are more or less sensitive to stimuli within his phenomenal field. Therefore, some people live and perform their developmental life tasks at a relatively high and stable level of elation, others behave much more passively, and still others vacillate from one level to the other. It would seem then that *apparently* this "constitutional self structure"—this emotional tempo—is inherited along with the pattern by which the endocrine glands function—a high, low, cyclical, or erratic rate.

Levin³⁴ cites three separate studies that have added further information to our knowledge of the emotional heredity factors. From the three related studies, she concluded:

Babies are born with certain traits that directly influence their development as well as the way their mothers respond to them. The characteristics of the child's behavior will be influenced by his primary reaction pattern as well as by his environment. In each new situation he faces his

behavior will depend, in part, on whether his reactive style is primarily negative or positive, mild or of high intensity, rhythmic or arrhythmic. . . . It follows, therefore, that there can be no universally valid set of rules that will work equally well for all children everywhere.

Hence the self is *unique* in its emotional heredity, as it is in other aspects of individualization. Constitutional structure, or the emotional tone of the physical self, determines the way in which a person will perceive his environment and the degree to which the elements in his phenomenal field will make their impact.

Emotion, Feelings, and the Phenomenal Self

Emotions, then, are a developmental by-product of our perceptual experiences, in relevance to the emotional tone of the physical self, as we behave within our phenomenal field, consisting of our "inner" world of self and our "outer" world of perceived events, situations, and people. Although this was not always true in the history of psychology, psychologists in recent times have come to believe that there is some degree of emotion connected with every human behavior. At one time, we believed that the major emotions, especially fear and anger, were assumed to be innate responses to fairly definite situations; other scientists, approaching the problem from an external view, described emotion as being a nonspecific, a "disorganized response." More recent thinking on the nature of emotion by such authors as Combs and Snygg indicates that emotion is a state of tension or readiness of the phenomenal self to act, and, as such, has an organizing and facilitating effect as well as a "disorganized" response. Combs and Snygg view this tension as representing the reaction of the organism to the perception of the possibility of need satisfaction (self-enhancement) or the perception of threat (maintenance of self).

Thus, emotion is a behavioral manifestation of the organism's attempt to satisfy need. Emotion (tension), like any other behavior, may be regarded as an aspect of the organism's activity in seeking adequacy. Hence, the person under tension is striving for need satisfaction; the feeling of tension is the result of his awareness either of menace to his self-structure or to the possibility of self-enhancement. According to Combs and Snygg,³⁵ the degree of tension experienced will vary widely, dependent upon at least the following factors:

1. The perceived relationship of an event to the phenomenal self.
2. The psychological immediacy of the event.
3. The clarity of the perception.

4. The individual's feeling of adequacy to cope with the matter.

In the course of our daily lives, most of us make no distinction between our "feelings" and our "emotions." In attempting to communicate with other people and indicate our state of being, we talk about or show our feelings or emotions of hate, anger, love, fear, anxiety, appreciation, or grief without stopping to define more precisely what we mean. Psychologists, however, in attempting to understand the dynamics of behavior, must differentiate emotion and feeling. From a phenomenological frame of reference, Combs and Snygg view feelings as a kind of shorthand description of our perceptual fields at a particular moment:

*Feelings are our perceptions of ourselves, of the situations in which we are involved, and the interrelationship of these two. . . . What we experience is, of course, our whole perceptual field. To convey this, however, is patently impossible. To manipulate our own perceptions or to communicate them to others we need a kind of symbol by means of which we can express these perceptions of ourselves and the state of our respective fields. We have developed a large number of symbols (feelings) to convey our meanings to others. . . . These represent our attempts to convey to others the personal meanings events have for us*³⁶

Because our bodily self is always a part of our perceptual field, a very large part of what a person describes as his feeling comes from his awareness of the bodily conditions he differentiates in the field at the moment; our bodily states are always with us and always in some degree a part of the perceptual field. Of course, this includes an awareness of our state of tension or acceleration, which have been described previously as *emotion*. What we attempt to communicate by our *feelings*, then, is the state of our perceptual fields, including our state of tension or acceleration. Feelings differ from emotion in that they symbolize *all* of the perceptual field. With a brief background of emotional heredity and a perceptual differentiation of emotions and feelings, now let us examine some of the major developmental characteristics within the emotional heritage of the phenomenal self.

Characteristics of Children's Emotions

In our emotional heritage, the emotions of young children differ markedly from those of adolescents and adults, even from those of older children. Unless these differences are recognized, significant adults in the child's phenomenal field will tend to regard his emotional actions as "immature." Sometimes adults even have a tendency to reprove or to punish a child

whose emotional reaction is normal for his age and level of development for not "acting his age." Because learning, as we shall see, plays such an important role in emotional development, it is unrealistic to expect all children of a given age to have similar emotional patterns. Because of differences in maturational levels and learning opportunities, individual differences are inevitable. Regardless of these differences, we have identified certain characteristic aspects of children's emotions that differentiate them from those of adolescents and adults. Hurlock³⁷ summarizes them as follows:

- 1 Children's emotions are brief
- 2 Children's emotions are intense
- 3 Children's emotions are transitory
- 4 Children's emotions appear frequently
- 5 Children's emotions are different—a wide variability in emotional response
- 6 Emotions can be detected by physical and psychological symptoms of behavior
- 7 Emotions change in strength as the child grows older
- 8 Patterns of emotional expression change

DEVELOPMENT OF EMOTIONS

In viewing emotions as tension within the organism that is manifested in the seeking of need satisfaction, we acknowledge that the capacity for emotional behavior is potentially present at birth, although emotional development is significantly related to the *maturation of* and the *learning by the self* as it differentiates and controls the self-structure and the phenomenal field. Learning and maturation are so closely interwoven in the development of emotions that at times it is difficult to determine the relative effects of these two factors. As mentioned in the last section, the young child's emotional behavior is characterized by a lack of gradation, that is, he reacts as strongly to trivial situations as he does to more serious ones. Also, his outbursts are generally frequent, brief and transitory, unrestrained, and of great intensity. Rapid recovery and sudden shifts of emotion are characteristic of the young emerging self.

Early Responses

An individual is born with reflexes to protect him from overstimulation and harm and to stimulate him to exercise. The homeostatic adaptations

within a person function to relieve tension and to maintain the self in a calm, balanced state. The involuntary actions of bodily mechanics permit us to realize a stable internal temperature, to ward off disease, to correct organic and nutritive deficiencies, and to supply certain elements necessary for meeting internal and external emergencies. These reflexes and responses that later become differentiated into emotional behavior are part of this homeostatic system.

The birth cry, which starts the infant breathing, is the first response to distress and violent tension. For many months the infant manifests this reaction to discomfort, tension, and frustration. He learns rapidly that crying brings relief from people in his world. Crying then becomes an effective way of gaining warmth, security, soothing motions, cuddling, and tactile stimulation, as well as protection and lung exercise. The sucking response, observable at birth or within a few days, not only serves its primary function of obtaining food but also is so powerful in its ability to provide relief from all tensions that it virtually eliminates the sensation of pain.

An additional early reaction of the infant is the startle response. Sudden, violent auditory and visual stimuli, loss of support, and restraint precipitate a physiological activity—an emergency reaction—that is exceedingly uncomfortable. In order to burn off the excess energy released by the reaction, the infant (involuntarily) responds with generalized mass activity and gross motor movements, including muscular flexion of the fingers, kicking, squirming, and crying. The infant learns to fear, to be angry, to be cautious, and to appreciate equilibrium primarily through this startle response. The mass activity restores internal balance, and within a few months after birth infants learn to differentiate between disturbing stimuli and pleasing ones, so that smiling is substituted for crying and the mass behavior—this general excitement—is interpreted as delight.

Differentiation and Control

The quality of a child's reaction becomes more appropriately differentiated and controlled as he learns to respond more specifically to situational circumstances within his phenomenal field, as they relate to his needs and his perception of behavior that brings satisfaction or dissatisfaction. Some responses become weaker, others become stronger. Children with training learn to express themselves less freely and less overtly, more in keeping with the expectations of self and of society. As the child moves toward greater self-control, these refinements increase at each developmental level. He experiences the meaning of his own emotional growth and perceives the directions for self-improvement in discovering old patterns that are discouraged and new patterns that are rewarded by people in his world.

Gradually, then, through self-perception and interaction with those social agencies responsible for his development and learning, the child achieves greater dominance and control over his emotions and feelings. If the combination of self- and societal influences are successful, the individual develops and maintains the necessary emotional competence (1) to meet conflicts in effective and acceptable ways and (2) to effect a balanced realization of his fundamental needs and desires—he is on the way to emotional becoming, a state of continual arrival. Garrison, Kingston, and Bernard³⁸ summarize the developmental aspects of the emerging, emotional self as follows:

1. Differentiation of emotional behavior emerges early in life. This differentiation increases as the individual develops toward maturity.
2. Individuality of emotional behavior appears at an early age. This tends to increase as each individual matures and learns effective ways of meeting emotional situations.
3. The emergence of specific patterns of emotional behavior is closely related to the needs of the individual. Those forms of behavior which bring forth the greatest satisfaction tend to be repeated and to become a part of the total behavior pattern.
4. There is a definite relationship between the stage of a child's maturation and the nature of his emotional response.

The Role of Maturation

Before a person is able to develop emotionally, maturation within the physical self must occur; his cerebral cortex, especially the frontal lobes, must be able to function and continue to function with increasing efficiency. The operation of the glands and the autonomic nervous system are essential, in that we become more sensitive and responsive to stimuli from within and without as they mature. Through maturing sensory capacities, a person is better able to perceive and to differentiate persons, objects, situations, feelings, and other mental states as being threatening, unpleasant, or pleasurable. As the child develops his capacities for perception and understanding, he learns to deal more effectively with his widening world, to anticipate and recognize the dangers, the exciting events, and the stimulating situations in his phenomenal field.

A child's fears are directed more often toward intangibles and the supernatural with the development of imagination. As he begins to foresee the natural consequences in his world of experience, he becomes apprehensive

of unpleasant events; yet he can begin to appreciate humor as he anticipates ridiculousness, incongruities, and surprises.

With a growing awareness of self and social relations, an individual's affections are broadened and deepened, but become more selective. A child likewise develops a fear and dislike for personal ridicule and loss of esteem. As he experiences and identifies injustices and indignities to himself and others, the experiential foundation is laid for the development of pity, sympathy, and compassion. These various changes and maturing abilities affect the individual's emotional behavior in much the same way as increased physiological growth elicits more intricate organic functions. More differentiated behavior creates a greater variety of conflicts, and since the changes continue to occur, both behavior and conflict become more complex. Thus, through every maturational stage, specific frustrations are eliminated only to be replaced by the need to solve others of a higher, more complicated order.

The Role of Learning

The newborn baby is incapable of expressing his anger except by crying. Maturation of the nervous system and muscles provides the potentials for differentiated reactions, whereas learning determines the manner in which anger will be expressed. The form of expression the child uses will depend upon what he has learned as socially approved in his sociocultural group, what he has learned will bring him the greatest satisfaction, and what he has learned is the quickest and most expedient way of getting what he wants. As soon as the infant enters into interaction within his world, conditions operate to create imbalance in his state of mental and physical equilibrium, to which he must adapt.

By associative experiences, he learns to behave in response to a multitude of events, circumstance, and people; through self-discovery and awareness, he finds a variety of ways to restore personal equilibrium and to relieve tension. The child learns to become more and more sophisticated in seeking pleasurable states or at least to maintain self-needs. Equilibrium becomes increasingly a matter of more pleasure (as the individual perceives) and less pain, not a lack of both or a strict balance of one against the other.

Because the complex aspects of learning will be discussed in Chapter 9, "The Learning Self," we shall merely mention that learning plays a significant role in the emotional development of the self. In fact, much of the discussion in this chapter relevant to emotional behavior has already recognized the paramount importance of learning. Before discussing the expression of major emotions, however, we shall note that four general forms of learning are responsible for the development of emotional patterns in childhood: (1) conditioning, (2) imitation, (3) absorption, and (4) training.

Overtone of these processes will be in evidence as we explore the expression of major emotional patterns.

COMMON PATTERNS OF EMOTIONAL EXPRESSION

We have said that an emotion is a behavioral manifestation of the organism's attempt to satisfy need, a state of tension representing the reaction to the possibility of need satisfaction within the self for maintenance or enhancement. We have indicated that a feeling is an attempt to communicate the state of our perceptual fields, including our state of tension or acceleration; feelings differ from emotion in that they symbolize *all* of the perceptual field and really are descriptions of our phenomenal-field states. We have recognized that every human activity seems to be accompanied by some degree of emotional response. What are the major patterns of emotional expression? How do these behavioral responses develop within the self? After the early months of babyhood have passed, a number of differentiated emotional patterns, each with its own specific form of behavior, may be observed. The most common of the emotional patterns characteristically found in childhood will be discussed in this section.

Fear

Generally, a newborn baby is protected as much as possible from forces within his phenomenal field that may provoke fear. Before the end of the first year of life, fear-arousal stimuli begin to affect him, and with each passing year, more and more things that are likely to frighten him appear in his ever-enlarging world. As his intellectual development progresses, he recognizes threats in objects, situations, or even people, that formerly he was incapable of perceiving. Thus, with increased self-awareness and the exploration of self and his environment, the child's fears not only are more numerous but are likely to be more intense.

Fears have their foundation in the child's experiences, whether they are rational or irrational. Although most fears are learned, they are not all learned in the same way. Some come from direct associative experiences with stimuli that arouse fear, such as loud, harsh noises. Others are acquired through imitation; for example, fear of thunderstorms is often learned by perceiving and imitating the fear behavior of a parent, sibling, or playmate. A third type of fear may come as a by-product of unpleasant experiences with doctors, dentists, large animals, hospitals, or certain people. Finally, fears may develop from frightening experiences presented in movies, on television, in comic books, or in fairy tales. Although the child does not experience such fears directly, he does so vicariously through imagination in identifying with the experiences of others.⁴⁰

Dimensions of Fear. Some of the developmental factors that determine variations in fear among children are age, sex, and past experiences; level of intellectual development; social and cultural values learned from parents and peers; and degrees of personal security. In general, research indicates that the number and severity of fears reach a peak at three years of age and, again, at eleven years. During the early peak period, fears are mainly *situationally* determined, arising primarily from people, objects, or animals in the child's environment. With the preadolescent peak, fears become more generalized, being manifested in anxiety or worry.⁴¹

Although fears change with *age*, there is no sudden shift from one type of fear to another; instead, there is a gradual movement from specific to general fears.⁴² There are *sex* differences in fears at every age, but especially as children grow older and identify with their expected sex roles. Girls can still retain social acceptance by fearing certain things, such as snakes and bugs, but for boys, such fear is regarded as "kissified."

Because fears are greatly influenced by learning, what a child fears will vary according to the *socioeconomic* status of his family. For example, lower-class boys are more concerned about violence from robbers, killers, guns, whippings, and their parents, whereas upper-class boys are more afraid of car accidents, storms, and school accidents. Social class values play an increasingly significant role in the child's life as he approaches adolescence. Illustratively, lower-class boys are more afraid of the teacher and are more susceptible to "stage fright" in class, whereas upper-class boys are more concerned about making good grades, finishing school, and getting into college.⁴³ Other factors that seem to determine variations in children's patterns of fear are their *physical* and *psychological conditions* during the time the fear stimuli are presented and their *general personality pattern*. Children who are insecure show a greater tendency to be easily frightened than children who are emotionally secure.⁴⁴ Being with others who are frightened seems to make a child more susceptible to fear, whereas being with persons who are calm decreases this susceptibility. Fears are shared as the number of individuals in a group increases, and the total number of different fears for each child increases.

In essence, then, fear is not dependent upon a given stimulus alone, but upon the surrounding circumstances, the manner in which the stimulus is presented, the child's past experiences, the child's present physiological and psychological condition, his perception of himself and the world at the moment, and many related circumstances. If we are to recognize the nature and intensity of a child's fear, we need to try to understand his present physiological and psychological condition, his apparent perceptions of himself and his world, and the history of his fear reactions. It is not within the scope of this section to explore the value of fear, the "typical fears" of developmental periods, characteristics of fear stimuli, and fear-response

patterns. Those aspects of the emotion we call fear are discussed quite adequately in Hurlock.⁴⁵

Worry and Anxiety

Worry is an imaginary, but perceptually realistic, form of fear. Although fear is aroused directly by a stimulus in the environment, worry may come from imagining situations that could arise and that in turn might lead to physical pain or psychological unhappiness of the self. Thus, the child must reach a stage of intellectual development in which it is possible for him to imagine things not immediately present before he is capable of worrying. Worries are usually illogical exaggerations of what is likely to happen; they are normal in childhood, being manifested in even the best-adjusted children. When children get together and talk about their fears, there is a tendency for each child in the group to *imagine* that such experiences *could* happen to him. As a result, he develops new worries, many of which have no relation to his own experiences.

Common Worries. Although, naturally, there are marked individual differences in patterns of worry among children at different levels of development, certain trends are common among American children at varying ages. The most common worries center around home, family relationships, and school problems, with the latter becoming more prevalent as children progress in school. Typical of the family worries are those relating to the health and safety of family members and to being scolded or punished by the parents. School worries are involved with being late for school, being scolded or punished by the teacher, doing schoolwork adequately, and failing to be promoted. Children, in addition to home and school worries, are concerned about their health, about dying or being killed, about their personal and social adequacy, about economic problems, and about their clothes. School worries are generally more common than out-of-school worries, with girls worrying more than boys, especially about school and safety.⁴⁶

Like fears, worries are significantly influenced by the personal values, goals, and aspirations of the child; these vary from one age to another and according to the socioeconomic group with which the child is identified. Lower-class children, as they approach adolescence, worry more about money problems than children of higher socioeconomic groups. Relative to differences in worries about social relationships, girls of lower groups are more concerned about their popularity and reputations, whereas girls of the upper groups worry more about dates and getting boyfriends. Worries are also influenced by social pressures and peer values, especially as children grow older and become more anxious to be socially acceptable.⁴⁷

Anxiety. Worries, when frequent and intense, may lead to *anxiety*, a pervasive apprehension and dread within the self, and a general feeling that all is not well. Anxiety is characterized by apprehension, uneasiness, and foreboding from which the self cannot escape; it is accompanied by a feeling of "being trapped" or helplessness because the anxious person feels blocked and unable to find a solution for his problem. Although anxiety develops from fear and worry, it is more vague and does not grow from a present situation that the person can perceive, but from an *anticipated* one. Thus, the anxious child is often unaware of the cause of his anxiety. Many times he does not realize that it evolves from feelings of insecurity within himself, rather than from an external situation to which he projects his fear.

Anxiety, like worry, comes from imaginary rather than real causes. Worry, however, is related to *specific* situations, whereas anxiety is a generalized emotional state. Worry is related to an *objective* problem, whereas anxiety comes from a *subjective* problem. If the state of anxiety generalizes to the point of becoming what we call "free floating," a person's entire life is pervaded by helpless apprehension and a sense of impending disaster. A child who worries more than usual for his age is likely to develop a state of anxiety that will interfere not only with self-maintenance but self-development.

Anxiety develops later than fear because it depends upon the child's ability to imagine something not present in his phenomenal field except in his own mind. Too many and too frequent worries tend to undermine the child's self-confidence, to give him a negative self-image, and to predispose him to a generalized feeling of inadequacy that often leads to anxiety. Anxiety tends to increase during childhood, especially during the middle elementary grades, and is more commonly associated with child-child relationships than with adult-child relations.⁴⁸

As with worry, anxiety varies from one child to another, both in quantity and in quality, and within the same child from one experience to another. On the whole, girls tend to experience greater anxiety than boys, and Negro children more than white children. Children who are socially unpopular seem to experience greater anxiety than do popular children. The less successful the child is in whatever he undertakes, the more likely he is to be anxious. The less secure the child feels of his abilities to cope with the problems that face him, the more likely that specific worries will lead to a generalized state of anxiety, which predisposes the child to be anxious in *any* situation in which there is a threat to his self-security.⁴⁹ This section has explored briefly the nature of worry and anxiety as manifestations of the imaginative self, but we shall not discuss the behavioral responses characteristic of these emotional states. If you are interested, these aspects are presented in Hurlock⁵⁰ and in Jersild.⁵¹

Anger

Being two dimensions of threat to self, anger and fear are closely related emotions. Anger is a more frequent emotional response in childhood than fear in its different forms because there are more anger provoking circumstances in the child's phenomenal field and because many children discover at an early age that anger is an effective way to gain attention or to satisfy other self desires. Because each year there is a greater number of situations that arouse anger, a child displays more angry reactions, of one form or another, with increased age. Fear reactions tend to decrease because the child comes to realize that in many instances there is no need for fear.

Anger is a protest against a situation to which the child cannot readily accommodate himself. As such, it is an outgrowth of frustration, a normal, healthy response to physical or psychological restraint. Conditions that inhibit the gratification of a child's needs, as he perceives them, or the realization of his goals may elicit an anger response. Thus, anger often furnishes us with a significant clue to an individual's needs and to the nature of his emotional life. Anger may be a more accurate measuring instrument of the emotional self than fear because children may be shielded from fears or may learn to conceal them because of social expectations.

Sources of Anger. The situations, in general, that elicit anger responses are those involving body restraint, interference with movements the child wishes to make, either by others or his own inability, blocking of activities already in progress, thwarting of wishes, plans and purposes of the child, and numerous cumulative personal irritations. As Jersild has pointed out, "The occasions that elicit anger parallel the course of development. A child's susceptibility to anger at any given maturity level is influenced by the *limitations* and by the *urges, strivings, and activity tendencies* that are characteristic of that level."²

For example, babies respond with angry outbursts to minor physical discomforts, to interferences with physical activities, and to processes related to physical care such as bathing and dressing. As the baby grows more independent, he wants to do some of these things for himself. As he is given the opportunity to do more for himself, he often becomes angry at his own ineptitude. Likewise, his inability to make himself understood through his early attempts at speech may irritate him. He may become angry if people do not give him as much attention as he craves, or if someone interferes with his possessions. Preschool children are angered by many of the same conditions that anger babies. Especially do they resent interference with their possessions, having to do what they are told to do, or having someone, including other children, disturb their play activities.

In an older child, the thwarting of desires, interruption of activities in progress, constant fault-finding, unfavorable comparisons with other children, teasing, or "lecturing" will lead to anger. Likewise, the older child becomes angry when he makes a mistake or is inept; when he feels that he or his friends are unjustly reprimanded or punished; or when he is slighted, neglected, or ridiculed by other children. As the older child's world expands outside the home, the sources of annoyances may increase to include being blamed for something he has not done, reports of cheating and unfairness, getting low grades, being with teachers who have pets, having mother come to school, and having teachers whom he dislikes. The older child frequently sets goals beyond his abilities and then becomes angry when he fails to reach these goals.

Dimensions of Anger. We all vary in "frustration tolerance"—the level of tension below which a person can think rationally and behave effectively. Hence, some children can withstand anger-provoking stimuli much better than others. In a specific child, the eliciting of anger will vary according to the need that is being blocked, the child's physical and emotional condition at the time, and the situation in which the anger-provoking stimuli occur. Some of the factors that are significant in children's patterns of anger are the *home environment* and the *school environment*, the *type of discipline* and *child-training methods*, the *child's need for power and dominance*, and the *child's need for affection*. When a child wants to be successful and fails to be so, when he wants to be socially accepted and is rejected, or when he craves love and receives less than he wants, he will become angry and resentful. Feelings of hostility are especially strong in children with authoritarian self-concepts. Such children perceive people and things as hostile and react with anger to them as threats to their self-activity.

Certain patterns of anger are somewhat typical of different developmental levels. The baby cries, screams, kicks, struggles, and twists his whole body; violent outbursts of anger, or *temper tantrums* are characteristic of young children. As they grow older children add new responses, including language reactions, to their repertoire of angry behavior, and gradually much of the typical temper tantrum is replaced. Generally speaking, as children grow older and increase their ability to meet needs and their understanding of why they are denied certain things, they have fewer tantrums and less violent outbursts.

Although older children continue to fight, kick, push, tease, poke, throw stones, and bully, they gradually substitute other anger responses that meet with less social disapproval. Verbal attacks—name calling, ridicule, sarcasm, swearing, boasting, threats, rudeness, and sauciness—eventually tend to replace bodily attacks. If an older child is angry at one of his peers, he may refuse to speak to him or exclude him from group activities. He may also vent his anger on animals, smaller children, children against whom he is

prejudiced, or even his parents and relatives. In his anger, the older child may refuse to do things he is expected to do, or he may do them as badly as possible, out of spite. Punishing parents by receiving low school marks is a frequent behavioral pattern of rather consistently angry, hostile children and adolescents. Some children show their anger by displaying hurt feelings, acting sullen, feeling abused, being sorry for themselves, threatening to run away, or even inflicting physical pain upon themselves.

Jealousy

Jealousy is a normal response to actual, perceived, or threatened loss of affection. As an outgrowth of anger, jealousy is manifested by overt signs of hostility or negativism, generating an attitude of resentment directed toward people. This emotion may be expressed in angry outbursts or in behavior that obscures or hides the resentment the person feels. Because the jealous person feels insecure in his relationship with a loved one and is afraid of losing status in that person's affection, there is some fear combined with anger in the jealousy pattern. Jealousy may take many behavioral forms, but whatever its form, unhappiness, either temporary or permanent, may be a result.

A certain amount of jealous behavior is natural in children as they perceive older or younger siblings receiving more attention or special privileges. Continued jealousy, however, may indicate a fundamental insecurity or basic need that is not being satisfied. Many times, jealous behavior is associated with oversolicitude, overindulgence, and inconsistent discipline by parents, especially the mother. A child's security and self-esteem may be threatened by discord between parents, nagging, and comparisons with other children, and jealousy may be the by-product. We must remember that jealousy, in action, is a protective device for the person involved. Expressive affection, an outburst of anger, rejection, gossip, rationalizations, or other manifestations of jealousy are expressions and disguises of intense, but conflicting, self-feelings. Jealousy is a type of emotional malnutrition—a starvation for confidence, esteem, and a sense of worth.

As a child enters school, possibilities for being jealous increase, for he is confronted with many new situations that threaten his sense of autonomy and self-maintenance. The child has one of his first experiences with a large social group in the classroom. Here he discovers that he must share some aspects of his world, including the teacher's attention, with many other children. If he has a lack of self-confidence, better-coordinated classmates may disturb his self-image. When confronted with such realizations, the insecure child often displays jealousy. An understanding and empathic teacher will try to prevent jealous behavior by preventing excessive competition and trying to offer each child opportunities to succeed at his own

level of competency. Teachers can help jealous children not only by providing them with success experiences but also by unconditionally accepting the child as worthy in his own right, which may help him realize that other children deserve the same consideration. A teacher must rely upon her own emotional competence to foster wholesome relationships that will feed the hungers of the jealous child.

Joy and Happiness

Joy, which in its milder forms is "pleasure," "delight," or "happiness," is a positive emotion, giving satisfaction to the person who experiences it. Although joy may arise from situations in the phenomenal field, it often comes from the satisfactory expression of our inner strivings. Unlike fear, anger, jealousy and other specific emotions, joy is generalized and undifferentiated. However, joy is readily recognized because of the overt expression of smiling, laughing, or similar responses. Even in its mildest form, this emotion seems to elicit an expression of satisfaction upon a child's face that indicates how he feels about himself.

Differences in Expression. For the most part, there are definite predictable age trends in the amount of joy children experience as well as in the stimuli that give rise to joy and elicit smiling and laughing. Among babies the pleasant emotions of joy, happiness, and delight come from physical well-being. The preschool child's pleasure comes mainly from activities in which others are involved, primarily children, being particularly strong when his achievements surpass those of other children. He is pleased by new discoveries, overcoming obstacles, initiating fun games, introducing humorous elements into play, teasing others, playing pranks, and putting animals or other children in predicaments that give him a feeling of superiority.

As children grow older, they receive pleasure from physical well-being, incongruous situations, play on words, slight calamities, and sudden or unexpected noises. In addition, the older child responds with laughter to situations in which he feels superior, especially those that offer him an opportunity to achieve success. Pleasant feelings are experienced with a release from the strain of pent-up emotions, such as fear or anger; these are generally more pronounced when the individual is in a group than when he is alone.

The older child derives keen pleasure from mild dangers, particularly when he is successful in doing something that he has been told not to do—the pleasure coming mainly from a feeling of superiority. Similarly, although he enjoys all jokes relating to people in predicaments or to incongruities, he seems to receive special satisfaction from humor relating to such forbidden subjects as sex and elimination. Practical jokes, especially

when older children or adults are the victims, are enjoyable because they give him a feeling of superiority. A similar feeling of superiority is derived from eating forbidden foods, tasting liquor, or smoking if he does these activities "on the sly" and is not caught.

Children express their joy in many ways ranging from a quiet, calm, and self-satisfied contentment to a bubbling-over exuberance. Boys, in general, tend to be more overtly expressive of their happiness than girls; children in lower socioeconomic groups express their pleasurable emotions more openly, whereas those in the middle and upper groups are expected to maintain more emotional control. Children whose home, school, and neighborhood environments are pleasant have many more happy experiences than those who must live, work, and play in unpleasant physical and social climates. Other factors that affect the pleasurable emotions are the general physical and emotional tone of the child, level of aspiration in relation to ability, standards of social expectations, and approved patterns of expressing happiness.

Affection

Affection is an emotional reaction directed toward a person, an animal or a thing. The expression of affection indicates a warm regard, friendliness, sympathy, or helpfulness through either physical or verbal behavior. Learning plays a significant role in the development of affection in a child and in determining the *particular persons or objects* to which the child's affection becomes attached. In general, the child tends to like more those people who like him and are friendly in their relationships with him. In such a reciprocal relationship, the *empathic* dimension of an emotional, affective linkage between the child and significant people in his world asserts a tremendously positive force in self-development.

Because affection evolves from pleasant experiences with particular people, a child learns to have affection for those who take care of his bodily needs, who play with him, and who are responsible for giving him pleasure and satisfaction. In other words, the child's affection is concentrated upon those who give him an opportunity to express his love for them. Hence, his affection for different family members and other people in his world will depend upon the way they treat him, whether his associations with them are pleasurable, and whether they meet his needs. A child's affections develop primarily in relation to people and only secondarily in relation to animals and inanimate objects; these are "love objects" used as substitutes for a human object of affection. How much affection a child has for others and how he shows it will depend upon many factors, but mostly upon how much affection he receives from others and how it is shown. As Garrison has emphasized:

Love seems to be a two-way affair and grows best when it is both given and received. A constant rejection in the home may leave the child's capacity for giving forth affection undeveloped, or may cause him to seek affection from individuals outside the home. Overaffection and indulgence may have such undesirable effects as lack of affection or rejection. . . . There is, therefore, the danger that overaffection for one or both parents will tend to exclude affection for children of the child's own age level.⁵³

LOVE AS A CREATIVE SELF-EXPERIENCE

Viktor Frankl, the distinguished Viennese existentialistic psychiatrist, has said, "Love is the only way to grasp another human being in the innermost core of his personality [self]. No one can become fully aware of the very essence of another human being unless he loves him."⁵⁴ Love, then, is the experience whereby one *unique* and *special* self attempts to *understand* and to *appreciate* the very *uttermost inner being* of another equally *distinctive* and *unique* self. We are not saying that the two selves become one, which, in reality, cannot and should not happen if each is to maintain a valid and authentic self-identity. The dynamic act of loving enables an individual to recognize the essential aspects of the self in the beloved person; even more significantly, he realizes that which is potential in the other—that which has not yet been actualized but ought to be. By his love, the loving person enables these potentialities. By making the loved one aware of what he can be and of what he should become, he makes these potentialities come true. Montagu captures this very essence in answering the question, "What is love?"

Love is the communication to another person of one's deep involvement in that person's welfare, of one's profound interest in him as a person, demonstrated by acts that support, stimulate, and contribute to the realization of his potentialities and fulfillment . . . Love satisfies the most important of all needs: the need for love. The need to be loved and the need to love others are learned and developed in only one way—by being loved. . . . Without love no need can be adequately satisfied. No need can be satisfied by bread alone. It is love that best satisfies the need for fulfillment.⁵⁵

Multiple Views of Love

We have been implying that love, in its general sense, is the only sane, safe, and satisfactory approach to human existence; the only way for emotionally healthy people to live, then, is to understand, to appreciate, and to relate to other human beings through the dynamic process of love. Actu-

ally, love is the only way for strangers to break down the human walls between them, the walls that surround our inner private worlds to keep them hidden and to prevent our exposure of self to the outer world of human threat and danger. What, then, is this powerful thing we call love? In recent years, behavioral scientists have studied love with its variety of manifestations and have attempted to define it and to determine some of its characteristic aspects. In this section, we shall explore some of love's multiple meanings.

Maslow. Abraham Maslow⁵⁶ believes that the core of the description of love must be subjective and phenomenological, rather than objective or behavioral. By this he means that no description, no words can ever communicate the full quality of the love experience to one who has himself never felt it. Love consists primarily of a feeling of tenderness and affection, with great enjoyment, happiness, satisfaction, elation, and even ecstasy if the love relationship is stable at the moment of experiencing. The beloved person is perceived in many desirable and pleasurable ways, with characteristic feelings of generosity, of wanting to give and to please. Most common among lovers is the desire for a fuller knowledge of one another, a yearning for a kind of psychological intimacy and proximity and of being fully known to each other.

Reik. Theodor Reik⁵⁷ has defined one characteristic of love as the absence of anxiety. In a love relationship of actualizing people, there is a tendency toward more and more complete spontaneity, the dropping of defenses and of roles, of trying and striving within the relationship to understand each person as a unique human being as he is. As the relationship continues, there is a growing intimacy, honesty, and self-expression, a deep appreciation of two humans communicating their inner world of feelings. This honesty allows one's faults, weaknesses, and physical and psychological shortcomings to be freely recognized and accepted by the love partner. Rogers has described this phenomenon of feeling psychologically naked, yet still feeling loved, wanted, and secure:

"Loved" has here perhaps its deepest and most general meaning—that of being deeply accepted and deeply understood. . . . We can love a person only to the extent that we are not threatened by him; we can love only if his reactions to us, or to those things which affect us, are understandable to us. . . . Thus, if a person is hostile toward me, and I can see nothing in him at the moment except the hostility, I am quite sure that I will react in a defensive way to the hostility.⁵⁸

Menninger. Karl Menninger⁵⁹ views love as an implicit aspect of our hoping and believing, which has the power to transform the impulse to work or play. Love, as such, is capable of modifying the hate impulses and

bringing them within the range of social acceptability and usefulness. Hate, then, represents a frustrated and thwarted love experience, rather than one of encouragement, in essence we might think of hate as 'backfired' love. Menninger sees love in three forms: (1) its absorption in the partial or complete neutralization of the destruction instinct, (2) its expression in diffuse extensions of love to nonsexual objects, and (3) the expenditure of love upon objects that must be called 'sexual' in any meaning of the word.

Menninger believes that love is less impaired by the feeling that we are not appreciated than by a dread that others might see through our masks of self, the masks of repression that have been forced upon us by convention and culture. This feeling of dread leads us to shun intimacy, to maintain friendships on a superficial level, and to avoid the appreciation of others lest they come to know us too well. Love has the power to break through these human walls of defense by identification and mutual understanding. Menninger describes the processes as follows:

Love is experienced as a pleasure in proximity, a desire for fuller knowledge of one another, a yearning for mutual identification and personality fusion. Thus we show to one another by our efforts to be understood, and by indulging the less imperious longing to understand. To be understood means, of course, that some of our worst impulses as well as our best ones are recognized by our friend, who knows all about us and likes us anyway. Once this mutual understanding and identification are established, friendship merges into love.⁶⁰

Bonner — Hubert Bonner⁶¹ believes that love is neither a function nor a reaction between human beings but that it is a searching, a reaching out for the person of another, a creative encounter with the other 'as he is'. This loving encounter is free of manipulation and exploitation. Man's sensibility, his sensitive regard for the dignity of the other person, impels him to participate in the latter's being without trying to change it. Nevertheless, Bonner thinks that there will be change because the mutuality of such a creative encounter absorbs something of the life of each, so that each is to a degree modified by the other. He sees this tempering of one by the other, as well as the attenuation of the loneliness induced in man by his uniqueness, as an eloquent testimony to love's creativity. Basically, love as a creative encounter is the expression of care, responsibility, faith, and sacrifice. Faith, as he sees it, is the unconditional belief in the sanctity of the human person. Faith strengthens the unifying power of care, responsibility, and sacrifice, the vital and dynamic qualities of love, and represents then fullest expression. Love, then, perpetuated by faith as the psychic "glue" of these other actualizing feelings activates every individual as a recognized unique person. In speaking of the nature of love, Bonner says

Love is the giving of oneself to another, an act that implies limitation of one's self-affirmation. At the same time self-actualization, the realization of one's inner life, can be achieved only through communication with another. Alienation, while never completely transcended, because of every man's uniqueness, is made bearable by man's relatedness to others. Through love, through sensibility, or the power of comprehending another person sympathetically, the unique and solitary individual can at least surmount the psychic wall that separates him from the being of another. The creative power of love lies essentially in this vitalization of the lonely individual by creating for him another individual. . . . In love, two individuals see the world separately, because each is unique, yet they share it in common. Each dignifies the other by sharing with him his precious personality. Each rescues the other from the indignity of anonymity by personalizing him. . . . Love so conceived is neither function nor a reaction, but an act of concern.⁶²

Tillich. Paul Tillich⁶³ speaks existentially of an ontology of love, believing that all problems concerning the relation of love to power and justice, individually as well as socially, become insoluble if love is basically understood as emotion. He views life as being in actuality and love is the moving power of life, in essence, the ontological nature of love. The nature of man's life becomes manifest in his experience of love, because love is the drive toward the unity of the separated—self from self. Because every self is self-related and a separate being an independent, indivisible individual—love has the power to triumph, to fulfill, and to reunite the most radically separated beings, two individual persons. Even with the power of love, we remain unique beings, but now more actualized in our quest for meaning in our lives. In describing his ontological definition of love Tillich notes:

But there is no love without the emotional element. . . . One can say that love as an emotion is the anticipation of the reunion which takes place in every love-relation. Love, like all emotions, is an expression of the total participation of the being which is in an emotional state. In the moment in which one is in love the fulfillment of the desire for reunion is anticipated and the happiness of this reunion is experienced in imagination. . . . Love is a passion: this assertion implies that there is a passive element in love, namely the state of being driven toward reunion. The ontology of love is tested by the experience of love fulfilled. . . . Fulfilled love is, at the same time, extreme happiness. The separation is overcome. But without the separation there is no love and no life. It is the superiority of the person-to-person relationship that it preserves the separation of the self-centered self, and nevertheless actualizes their reunion in love.⁶⁴

Fromm Erich Fromm⁶⁵ believes that love develops from man's awareness of his separateness and his need to overcome the anxiety this separateness brings by achieving union with someone or something. He stresses the point, however, that the only healthy union is one in which the integrity of the individual is not threatened. Man can achieve a feeling of union through dependence upon another individual or through conformity to the group, but in so doing he surrenders his own individuality. Likewise, man can achieve union through dominating others, but in this process the self-structure of others suffers. Only through love, Fromm feels, can the needed sense of union be achieved without the loss of individuality and integrity on either person. Basically, immature love says, "I love you because I need you," whereas mature love says, "I need you because I love you." Fromm describes mature love as

Union under the condition of preserving one's integrity, one's individuality. Love is an active power in man, a power which breaks through the walls which separate man from his fellow men, which unites him with others, love makes him overcome the sense of isolation and separateness, yet permits him to be himself, to retain his integrity. In love the paradox occurs that two beings become one and yet remain two. The active character of love always implies certain basic elements, common to all forms of love. These are care, responsibility, respect, and knowledge. Love is not primarily a relationship to a specific person, it is an *attitude*—an orientation of character which determines the relatedness of a person to the world as a whole, not toward one "object" of love. If a person loves only one other person and is indifferent to the rest of his fellow men, his love is not love but a symbiotic attachment, or an enlarged egotism.⁶⁶

Thus, according to Fromm, there needs to be, beyond our continuing close personal love attachments, a valuing of all human beings and an eagerness to form new bonds with others. Fromm describes this relationship with one's fellow men as one of the most basic kinds of love—*brotherly love*. "the sense of responsibility, care, respect, knowledge of any other human being, the wish to further his life."⁶⁷ Unlike the love of man and woman or mother and child, brotherly love is in no way exclusive, being oriented to all human relationships in the biblical sense of "Love thy neighbor as thyself."

There has been a widespread belief that loving others is a virtue, but loving oneself is a vice and leads to egocentricity. Self-love, according to this theory, not only reveals a shameful lack of humility but also prevents love for others. Fromm has given us some significant clarification on this dimension of love. Actually, because love implies care, respect, responsi-

bility for, and knowledge of its object, self-love becomes a necessity for emotional competence and participation in the love encounter. We all have a need for self-acceptance and self-esteem, and only if these needs are met can we be free to love others. As it were, a selfish person cannot love others, but he has no love for himself either. Fromm emphasizes that selfishness and self-love, far from being identical, are mutually contradictory. Thus, the person who is able to love productively loves both himself and others. Self-deprecation and self-rejection interfere with both self-growth and healthy social relationships.

Experiential Characteristics of Love

We have described the nature of love, relevant to a basic feeling-need from multiple viewpoints, as a dynamic experience in man's continuing search for the meaning of life through identity and relatedness to self and to others. Love, we have said, is the human phenomenon that tends to alleviate man's basic separateness, aloneness, and alienation and to perpetuate self-maintenance and self-actualization through personal awareness and human commitment. Through love, man discovers and participates in his authentic, unique self, which he can then share with others because he is a free, open, caring, and responsible human being, who need not defend himself from his own phenomenal field of social interactions with people.

This section will explore the dynamic characteristics of love as an experiential encounter in creative human relatedness. Significant aspects of the experience of love will be enumerated as they have been noted in the phenomenological-humanistic views of psychological literature.

1. *Love is the dynamic experiencing of another human being in his own uniqueness.* Through love, we come to know, to understand, to appreciate, and to accept the dignity, the worth, the integrity and the special, distinctive aspects of another person, the very essence of his being, which we call the self. Through love, we are able not only to share that self but also to actually participate, through personal awareness and commitment, in another individual's being and in his becoming what he can become.
2. *Although the loving person seeks to participate intimately in the life style of the loved one, he has a nonpossessive respect for his selfhood.* In love, we desire to behave in maximal ways that contribute to the welfare, happiness, and development of the beloved. We must, however, accept fully his uniqueness and individuality and accord

him full freedom to experience, act, and become what he desires to become.

3. *Love involves varying degrees of empathy with the loved one.* A person who loves actually enters into the feelings of and shares intimately the experiences of the loved one and the effects of these experiences upon the loved one.
4. *A loving person is deeply concerned for the welfare, happiness, and development of the beloved.* This concern is so deep, is to become one of the major organizing values in the self-structure of the person who loves.
5. *One who loves finds pleasure in making his resources available to the loved one.* Strength, time, money, thought—all resources—are offered happily to the loved one to enhance his welfare, happiness, and development. A loving person is not merely concerned about the beloved's welfare and development; he becomes committed to a program of action.
6. *Erotic love, in the best sense of the word, is not infatuation.* Infatuation may come suddenly and is based upon several appeals, mostly physical, whereas love is based upon many components. In infatuation the person is in love with love, whereas in love the person is in love with another person. In infatuation the other person is thought of as a separate entity and employed for self-gratification. Infatuation produces feelings of insecurity and wishful thinking, whereas love produces a sense of security. Love lasts, but infatuation may change quickly.
7. *Love and sex are not synonymous.* In our culture, except for those who have experienced mature erotic love, love tends to be confused with sex. Sex is a biological need, bound to the body, which originally is objectless, whereas love is an emotional relationship between two unique selves. The aim of sex is the disappearance of a physical tension, whereas the aim of the desire we call love is the disappearance of a psychical tension. Sex wants satisfaction, love wants happiness. Sex appears to be a phenomenon of nature, love is the result of cultural development. Love is always a personal relationship, whereas sex can be casual about its object. The object of love is always perceived as a person and a distinct self; the sexual object has to have certain physical qualities that excite or arouse one. In essence, sex is a passionate interest in another body, love a passionate interest in another self and in his

growth and actualization. In love you cannot possess another person, you can only belong to another person by sharing his being and becoming. You can force another person to sexual activity, but not to love; love comes from the deepest desires of self-fulfillment.

8. *All love craves unity.* When a person loves anything, he sees it as fulfilling a need and seeks to incorporate it within himself; in love and in friendship, the other person is loved as another self or, possibly, a part of one's own self. One seeks to do the same favors for the other person as one would do for oneself, and thus intensify the bond of union between them; one inheres or exists in the other. Aristotle has quoted Aristophanes as saying: "Lovers would wish to be united into one, but since this would result in either one or the other being destroyed, they seek a suitable or becoming union, to live together, speak together, and share the same interests."
9. *Love is interpersonal learning; everyone has capacities to love, but they develop only in response to love from others.* Love is no simple feeling but a constellation of many psychosomatic perceptual responses to valued persons; it arises from learned attitudes and sentiments in positive relationships with other people. Without love no love can grow. A loving society is the nourishing soil of a loving person. Love begins where persons appreciate each other and express their affection in social interaction that communicates love. Where love is absent in the family or larger society, an individual is deprived of essential security and satisfaction. In place of love, suspicion and hostility will then flourish. Love comes from love! Love is not in the person as a complete unit in himself. Even self-love is a perceptual reaction to other persons who teach an individual to love and to recognize the value of himself and others by their attitudes toward him. Thus, the loving person is created by love, and he, in his own way, creates a loving society where mutual responses of love establish relationships of interest, appreciation, and responsibility.
10. *Self-actualizing love relationships foster the dropping of psychic defenses and permit the growth of the self-structure.* Healthy, mature love is in part an absence of defenses—an increase in spontaneity and in honesty. The healthy relationship tends to make it possible for two people to be spontaneous, to know each other, and still to love each other. One of the deepest satisfactions of a

mature love relationship is that it permits the greatest naturalness of behavior, a maximum dropping of personal defenses and protection against threat, and spontaneous interaction. When, in such a relationship, two persons do not have to be guarded, to conceal themselves, to try to impress each other, to feel tense, to censor their words or actions, to suppress or repress feelings, they can be themselves without feeling excessive demands or expectations. Under these conditions, the persons involved in an actualizing love relationship are in the best possible position to participate dynamically in the being and the becoming of each other.

DIMENSIONS OF LOVE

Love has many outlets and takes on many dimensions as we learn to love and grow in our love relationships with people. Psychologists have identified numerous facets of love as we may experience it in our love life. Two such dimensions, brotherly love and self-love, have already been presented; in this section we shall discuss briefly other manifestations of love before exploring the ladder of love development.

1. *Motherly (parental) love.* In discussing this dimension of love, Fromm⁶⁸ emphasizes the parent's unconditional affirmation of the child's life and needs. Parental love involves care and responsibility for the child's well-being and growth, together with a willing acceptance of the fact that his life is his own—true motherly love is nonpossessive. The parent assumes responsibility for a life entrusted to his care and finds his happiness in seeing that life fulfilled.
2. *Erotic love.* Erotic love, which finds its culmination in the framework of marriage, is described by Fromm as "the craving for a complete fusion, for union with one other person. It is by its very nature exclusive and not universal."⁶⁹ In erotic love, we can see exemplified the greatest investment of self in the happiness and well-being of the other person. Genuine erotic love grows out of shared experiences of many kinds. The climate of a happy marriage is not necessarily one of complete harmony at all times; but it is one in which the bonds of love are deepened by shared problems as well as happiness, and one in which both partners can continue to grow as individuals. In such a climate of mature, fused love, we feel the most complete freedom to be ourselves and to express our deepest aspira-

tions as well as frustrations. Erotic love, like brotherly love and parental love, nurtures the growth of the loved one as a self, for love that feeds upon dependency is likely to destroy itself.

3. *Jealous love.* The theme of jealous love is emotional behavior filled with possession—a jealous lover is like a child hugging his toy so closely that no one else can see it, touch it, or have it. Jealousy is almost always a mark of immaturity and insecurity. As we grow confident of the nature of love and of our loved ones, we learn not to be jealous. As we mature in love relationships, we tend to generate faith in our ability to hold the love of other lovable persons, so we need not cling to them so desperately. Jealousy is common during the adolescent years, when we are not quite secure within ourselves or sure of our ability to hold another person's devotion. As faith in self and the loved one grows, the love relationship depends not upon possessive bonds, but rather upon a mutual confidence in each other and in the quality of the love involved.
4. *Passionate love.* Passionate love is vigorous, rough, insistent, and urgent without particular regard for the selves of the people involved. Passionate love enters into the sexually focused relations of boys and girls and of men and women; it is driven by nature's desire to be fulfilled biologically. This dimension of love, if it may be called by that name, operates without rhyme or reason as far as the two personalities are concerned. Passion alone can be painful and inconsiderate. By itself this kind of love experience is tempestuous and exhausting; blended with other love forms it can be exhilarating and fulfilling.
5. *Tender love.* In sharp contrast to passionate love, tender love is happily satisfying. Not only is it beautiful in itself, but it increases the loveliness of the lover. When we love another tenderly we feel warm and outgoing, we have the other's welfare foremost in our minds, our faces glow with affection, and we look as well as feel loving. For example, this is the radiance that appears on a mother's face when she loves her baby. Tender love is the phenomenal miracle that transforms a plain face into one of beauty when it belongs to the beloved; this is a protecting, kind, solicitous, and sympathetic love. Tender love plays a significant part in many of our love relationships, and as we become more mature it becomes an increasingly familiar and satisfying accent in our love life.

6. *Hostile love.* Love and hate are closely related in our emotions. Hostile love is a dimension of love that raises its voice in anger against the beloved. When we love someone, there may from time to time be real feelings of hostility against him. Psychologically, this tendency to hate those whom we love is called *ambivalence*. This phenomenon can be explained by recognizing that although some characteristics of a person are lovable, others may be actually irritating. If we love somebody too ambitiously or possessively to accept his or her limitations, we become annoyed when this person does anything that frustrates or displeases us; our love takes on a hostile quality.
7. *Anguished love.* Anguished love is characterized by aching frustration. If our love is not returned, we lash about in the emotional agony of unfulfilled, unrequited love. Anguished love is one that seems to have no future, only despair. Our first reaction is usually one of hopeless pain, sorrow, and a loss of interest and zest in life. As we begin to work through the feeling, we may mobilize ourselves with a burst of energy that may vent itself against the source of the problem. This is the emotional experience illustrated by the statement, "Hell hath no fury like that of a woman scorned." Or we may come out of this experience with energy focused upon attaining success in some other way. Some students who throw themselves into academic life with a reckless and wholehearted zeal may be motivated partly by their need to escape the hurt of unfulfilled, unreciprocated love feelings from their peers or parents. Although anguished love can go on indefinitely, more often with the maturing of the self it is replaced by more satisfying and fulfilling forms of love.

The Developmental Sequence of Love Experiences

Love is a product of social learning from experiences with people within our phenomenal field. Just as with any form of learning, learning to love progresses sequentially. Thus, there is an ongoing process of love development that reaches from the cradle to the grave. You started to love soon after you were born; you have progressed through several stages of love development as you have learned more and more about loving and being loved throughout the years. Now, if you have developed the ability to love and to be loved, you feel attracted to and have affection for many kinds of people in many different situations. Your emotional development is unique for you, and proceeds at the maturational pace that is right for you. Although one person's capacity for love may be ahead of, behind, or similar

to that of others of his age, psychologists have identified a sequential pattern of love development. Duvall⁷⁰ suggests eleven steps in a ladder of love development, starting with self love and continuing to a mature love for others. These facets of developmental love experiences will be presented briefly as a summarizing view of love as a creative self experience.

1. *Self love* Because small babies have not had enough life experiences even to be aware that there are other persons to love, they at first are capable of loving no one but themselves. This stage of love involves the enjoyment of the body and the pleasure derived from the satisfaction of basic needs fulfilled by loving parents. Babies are self centered, demanding impatiently and insistently that their every desire be fulfilled. As a little child begins to be aware of himself as an individual, some self love is natural. Again, at adolescence when the changes occurring in the developing body focus for a time upon one's own maturation, a certain amount of preoccupation with oneself is usual. If, however, this stage recurs throughout life, we term it *narcissism*—love of self—the continuation of this love manifestation may interfere with a healthy progression to later stages of development.
2. *Love for mother* Babies learn to associate feelings of satisfaction with mothers. When they are hungry and cry, mother brings food and comfort. Hence, babies learn to respond with affection as love feelings grow out beyond themselves to include mother as well. In infancy, a baby's love is very demanding. If mother pleases, baby responds with affection, but if mother does not give enough attention, baby may scold and become angry. The love for mother becomes so strong in the early years that sometimes dependency patterns are formed that carry over into later life. Mothers may also keep on loving children as if they were still babies, thus making it difficult for children and adolescents to break away from their first childish love of mother. Identification with mother is important as a child searches for his own sex role in later development. Girls first learn their feminine role from mothers, boys learn about the roles of women from mothers. If there are problems of rejection, possessiveness, or dominance by mothers, both boys and girls may have difficulty in identifying with people of their same sex or opposite sex in later love relationships.
3. *Love for father* As the infant explores his world of people and love experiences, he or she identifies with father

Very early in infancy, a baby discovers that someone else loves mother, father loves her also. This situation may elicit jealousy when the baby realizes that father is a rival for mother's attention. As girls identify with their fathers, they learn about men and may seek someone like their fathers to love at a later time. Boys identify with or love their fathers in a different way. From fathers, boys learn their masculine role, but also they may perceive fathers as rivals for the mother's love. If there are siblings in the home, they normally are rivals for the attention and affection of the parents. Although *sibling rivalry* is common in childhood, normally these childish jealousies are outgrown as people mature in their love experiences.

4. *Love of other relatives.* As children learn adequate and satisfying ways to love both parents, they are ready to reach out into a world of more advanced affectional relationships. Attachments that children develop for lovable grandparents or other relatives is an important part of their love development. From these experiences they may learn to have faith in loving people outside the immediate family. Older relatives often offer to children a special sense of security, of quiet understanding, and an affectional perspective that young parents have not fully achieved.
5. *First loves outside the family.* As children grow large enough to explore the world outside their home, they find many new opportunities for love experiences among their playmates of their own age. Sometimes these first loves outside the family are of the same sex, sometimes they are of different sexes. Childhood sweethearts are important in our love development. They help to wean us from the close attachments within the family that can become very binding. When we are young they give us the faith that people outside our own families are lovable and to be trusted. Later in life we can relate to outsiders with some degree of confidence that it is safe to love them.
6. *Same sex, same age.* Probably sometime in the elementary school years, you had a very close buddy or pal of your own age to whom you were devoted. You were inseparable, and there was little that you would not do for each other. You did everything together and had an intense loyalty for each other. You may have worn the same kind of clothes, shared your most precious interests and confidences, confided your innermost secrets, and planned

your lives together. These early friendships between persons of the same sex offer a special sense of emotional security at a time when one is hungry for companionship, yet not quite ready to broach the mystery of relating to friends of the opposite sex. As a part of our love heritage, these experiences often carry over to the more mature friendships of later years.

At this point, hidden fears of the other sex may halt one's love development. An attachment to members of one's own sex in preference to persons of the opposite sex is called *homosexuality*. This type of love experience is normal during certain periods of childhood, and even for a while in early adolescence. Later homosexuality may be a cause for concern because it may indicate that a person has stopped in his love development. Normally, persons of the other sex soon claim one's attention and interest, and we become involved in the complex processes of exploring *heterosexual* love experiences.

7. *Same sex, older age.* During your later childhood or early teens you quite possibly adored some older person of your own sex. Boys worship G-men, cowboys, sports heroes, or significant people in their lives; girls may identify with the hair or clothing styles of movie actresses. Both sexes have epidemics of hero worship that are normal at this stage of development, dreaming about growing up and doing just what their hero or heroine of the moment was doing. Many times we have identified with projected vocational plans in areas relating to our heroes—coach, athlete, movie queen, actor, schoolteacher, nurse, or airline stewardess. These attachments help to wean us from our too close dependence upon our parents and teach us to love and to emulate others outside the family circle. Because such feelings are intense and sometimes prolonged, they may become a cause of concern to the people who care about us. Most of us, however, mature with time and patience, so that we move into the next levels of development.
8. *Other sex, older age.* Did you ever have a crush on an older person? Do you remember how it feels to be so involved in your own mind with some older man or woman that you could hardly stand it? This is a common stage in the process of love development. Girls at this age are often attracted to men old enough to be their fathers; boys of their own age are “childish” and “stupid,” whereas older men seem to be men of the world, experienced, romantic. Girls who were somewhat father-hungry in

their early childhood may become particularly susceptible to the love of older men. Boys who were unable to establish a satisfactory mother-son relationship may seek the attention of older women. Normally, this phase passes as one becomes involved in the complexities of heterosexual love at the same age level.

9. *Other sex, same age* The level of love development that involves persons of opposite sex and the same age is, of course, the most interesting of all. Erotic or romantic love starts with a general interest in the other sex and continues through dating, going steady, becoming engaged, and getting married. Love between members of opposite sexes of about the same age normally begins somewhere in adolescence and continues through all the rest of life. Heterosexual love forms the basis of mature love relationships between men and women, providing the setting for home and family. A great deal of the future of an individual depends upon the success of this stage of development.

All other stages in the development of love feelings lead up to this one. Into your love for members of the opposite sex go many of the feelings, attitudes, and behavioral patterns of loving that you have already experienced in your earlier love development. Even the kind of girlfriend or boyfriend that most appeals to you is influenced by your previous loves. If a boy is having trouble weaning himself from the intimate attachment he has to his mother, he may choose as a love object a girl closely resembling her, just as a girl who still feels an early hostility to her father may select boyfriends who differ greatly from her father.

This love of the other sex usually begins with a generalized admiration for almost any and all members of the other sex, including a series of rather intense infatuations. Later there is a tendency to focus more specifically on one person, which develops into "going steady," and then to getting "pinned" with its understanding of "being engaged to be engaged." The next step is the engagement leading to marriage. This developmental process, taking place over a number of years, offers opportunities to explore and to experience love feelings, which form the basis for growing into mature marital love.

10. *Love for children* With marriage and a deepening permanent love relationship comes a nurturing, protecting type of love that can grow into love feelings for children. When a young couple starts their family fairly soon, this

love for children finds a ready outlet in child rearing. If the coming of the first child is delayed for some reason, this maturing parental kind of love is often funneled into a love of pets or a protective devotion to each other. Young, happily married people sometimes take an active part in community programs, channeling their parent-like love feelings into an interest in children generally.

11. *Mature love for others.* An adult who has been quite successful in the sequential pattern of love experiences may develop a maturing love that affects not only his own dear ones with whom he is in closest contact but in addition many people whom he has never met. He has faith and confidence in the dynamic power of love and is concerned with his responsibility to mankind. Involved with these feelings of *brotherly love*, he is committed to promote human welfare. Such an adult perceives love as a powerful influence in his style of life and in his own growth toward maturity. He receives strength from an inner peace and confidence in self and people, which enables him to meet, solve, or accept life's problems, as he works toward personal fulfillment.

Our Capacities to Love and to Be Loved

If we have had normal, wholesome, successful love experiences in our sequential patterns of development, we can continue our efforts to love more widely and to reap the rewards in self-actualization and fulfilling human relationships. Love is a strange phenomenon—the more love we give, the more love we seem to have to give. We do not share love, *we multiply it*.

Growth in love development, like physical growth, however, does not come inevitably. Some people become *fixated* on some one rung of the ladder and stay there. There are those who never quite outgrow their love of themselves. Others remain tied emotionally to their mothers. Some become so attached to members of their own sex that they have homosexual tendencies. Love for members of the other sex can become fixated on a permanent playing-of-the-field basis, so that a person cannot find a mature, happy marital love. Mothers sometimes become so devoted to their children that they find it difficult to let them grow up or are themselves restricted in their marital love or in wider love relationships.

Growing up in our ability to love is a lifelong process; we may never attain complete maturity but are probably in a continual state of becoming. Even the person who continues to grow up emotionally may from time to time slip back to an early stage of love feelings. When we are tired, fright-

ened, or angry, or feel depressed, unloved, or unwanted, we all may be tempted to regress to a time in our growing up when we felt loved and wanted. This is quite understandable because maturity vacillates somewhat with our perceptions of ourselves and of the people and situations in our worlds. In fact, during much of our lives many of us move up and down the ladder of love development, being quite mature at one time and rather immature at another.

Are all individuals capable of love? All people are born with the capacity for love, but like all other capacities, it requires stimulation and training. The only way one learns to love is by being loved by those who are responsible for one's upbringing. Those persons most capable of love are those who were most loved in their years of dependency upon others. Children who have not been loved grow up to be unloving personalities, craving love but unable to return it, much as they may want to do so. The unloved child is the child most in need of love. If he is unlovable, it is because he is in need of love, and the same is true of the unlovable adult.

All individuals, then, are capable of love if they are given the opportunity. Those who have been deprived of the opportunity are usually incapable of love, unless they make a serious effort to learn how to love—a never ending learning experience. The need for love and the capacity for love cannot be destroyed, even though they can be seriously retarded or deformed. For example, a child who has not been adequately loved during his first five or six years becomes an affectionless self, suffering from "affect hunger," the need for love. Not having learned to love, such a person—as a child, adolescent, and adult—behaves as an unloving individual. He is a "cold fish," so to speak—insensitive to the feelings of others, yet extremely sensitive himself, unable to give affection, yet abnormally dependent upon others for affection. The one thing, love, that he craves and needs most he does not understand, and because there are few others who understand or appreciate his unloving behavior, he is unlikely to receive the affectional attention he needs. Thus, *without love no need can be adequately satisfied - love best satisfies the need for self fulfillment*.

What are the behavioral consequences for the person who is incapable of love? The fundamental consequence to, and characteristic of, the individual not capable of love is his *inability to relate himself harmoniously and creatively toward others*. Not having learned how to love, he is unable to exhibit love; he is lacking in psychological warmth within self and with other people. An unloving person is capable of violent, often excessive, expression of emotion, but is incapable of tenderness in its expression. He is awkward and incompetent in his relations with others and is therefore, more often than not, considered "socially difficult."

When the person incapable of loving offers anyone a token of esteem or affection, he does it awkwardly; therefore, his behavior is often rejected.

Thus, the frustration he experiences because of the rejection of his affectional attempts forces him into the vicious circle of hating those whom he wants to love because he does not know how to love. He is aggressive, selfish, unable to share the feelings of others, and incapable of entering into any but the most superficial emotional relationships. Such a person finds it as easy to divorce as to marry, or because he is so afraid of being left alone, he may cling to his spouse with a complex and aggressive dependency. This starvation of love shows itself in his emotional emaciation and in the aridity and one dimensionality of his feelings. Because the unloved person rarely understands what is wrong with himself, he often behaves as if the rest of the world is wrong and he alone is right. Psychotherapy, with its goal of self understanding, is one of the best means by which the individual who has been damaged in his capacity for love may learn to recover the ability to love.

TOWARD EMOTIONAL BECOMING

Emotional maturity is an ongoing process of becoming—a continual state of arrival. Thus far in this chapter we have discussed the emotional and feeling self in reference to emotional deprivation, the nature of emotions, dimensions of emotional competence, developmental characteristics, patterns of emotional expression, and love as a creative experience. In this last section, we shall explore succinctly the dynamic factors involved in the emotional maturity of the self—a process that never ends, but continues to become.

A significant part of the emotional becoming of the self involves the differentiation and the control of emotions and the meeting of our emotional needs in successive stages of development. Although we have interwoven the emotional needs of the self throughout this chapter, and the last one, the discussion has included them as a general consideration in the emotional, feeling, and motivated self, rather than focusing upon specific needs at recognized developmental levels. If the reader wishes a more specific and detailed orientation of special emotional needs relevant to the developmental tasks of early, middle, and later childhood, preadolescence, and adolescence, he should consult D'Ivelyn⁷¹ and Jenkins, Schacter, and Bauer.⁷²

Briefly, the emotional growth of the self involves a recognition and control or constructive channeling of the unpleasant disintegrative emotions, the productive encouragement of the pleasant integrative ways of expressing our feelings in relation to emotional problems, and meeting our emotional needs at successive stages of development. All of these processes should be focused on the maintenance, enhancement, and actualization of the self as it continues to experience, to perceive, and to mature in a world of

people and things. Although emotional control is only one aspect of emotional becoming, we should look at it before going on to other facets of emotional maturity. Emotional control enables us to experience strong feelings without permitting them to divert our behavior into inappropriate channels. This self control involves the ability to keep our heads in stress situations, to perform a task or to behave appropriately regardless of the inner turmoil we may be experiencing. The control of our emotions enables us to tolerate frustrating interruptions or barriers that block immediate progress toward our goals.

Emotional Growth and the Phenomenal Self

The self concept, as we have described it, is an organization of self meanings or ways of seeing self, varying in importance and dimension within a given individual. The basic overall need of each of us for becoming is to maintain and to enhance this self. Maturing people have achieved a considerable degree of such need satisfaction. They see themselves more frequently in enhancing than in destructive ways. In our society this usually means that adequate actualizing people see themselves, among other things, as liked, wanted, acceptable, able, and worthy; they perceive themselves as persons of dignity and integrity who belong and contribute to the world in which they live and become. Their phenomenal selves are, for the most part, defined in positive ways as adequate to deal with those aspects of life paramount to the achievement of need satisfaction in their culture. *A significant aspect of the emotionally mature person is the basic positive orientation of the self.* This is not to say that adequate personalities are incapable of negative self-perceptions. (This aspect of self-development will be discussed in Chapter 12 in relation to personality dynamics of the self.) On the contrary, adequate people may well have some negative concepts of self, but they are essentially oriented to a positive view of self.

The positive view of self as a significant aspect of emotional becoming has evolved from the self's interaction with people, things, and situations within the world of its experiences. As it were, the self "looks out" upon this surrounding world largely in terms of its own enhancement or defense, tending to extend in the direction of that which promises to meet its needs. At the same time, the self withdraws from that which seems likely to endanger it. If the self is going to reach out toward facilitating factors and withdraw from endangering ones, it is to have a base of operation. Some kind of boundary, a selective screen, is therefore essential to the maintenance of the self and the management of the affairs of living and becoming. As viewed from this protective screen, *the more facilitating the environment, the less need for protection.*

The more endangering the environment, the greater need for self-pro-

tection. Thus, under adverse conditions the self's screen develops into a shell, so that very little is admitted. If this process is continued over a long period of time, *boundaries* of the self then *become barriers*. *Protection becomes isolation; the self becomes a prisoner shut off from experiences with people and things in the surrounding world*. When the fearful person withdraws within his psychological shell, communication with the world is terminated. Because the psychological self feeds upon experiences with people, the self becomes less adequate emotionally and socially, and the whole person loses his ability to do, to explore, to venture, to create, and to become. Thus, the individual comes to see himself as psychologically impoverished, but he is not able to do much about it by himself.

On the other hand, a person who is emotionally becoming through an enhancing view of self and his world has, by consistent openness, rather than excessive protection of self, organized a self-concept congruent with many positive self-definitions. These numerous positive self-perceptions give the individual a "bank account" of emotional security, a feeling of adequacy and confidence, that provides him with a great resource for dealing with the vicissitudes of life. Such a person approaches the events and people in his life in an essentially positive and assured manner that generates open and facilitating experiences with a presumption of success that is likely to foster success—*positive self-perceptions are conducive to positive experiences*.

The positive self-perceptions characteristic of the adequate person act also as a reservoir against which negative, damaging experiences are perceived in a more accurate and realistic perspective. Because the self is overwhelmingly defined in positive terms, most negative self-perceptions can be readily assimilated in such a reservoir with little or no disturbance to the whole self-structure. Negative events can be accepted and taken in stride. Feeling fundamentally self-confident, the adequate person is not disturbed permanently by unhappy circumstances and events. Instead of being consistently disorganized and distraught by minor, or even major, self-damaging experiences, negative percepts are evaluated against the larger mass of basically positive experience, in which perspective they seem far less important or overwhelming.

Because adequate personalities do not feel deprived, they have far less need to defend the self against external attack; assaults upon self do not seem crucial or overwhelming. Rather they seem well within the capacities of the self to cope with and even, if they are minor attacks, may be perceived by the adequate person as exciting and challenging opportunities to test his convictions about the self. As such, self-testing can be an exciting, enhancing, and actualizing experience. The possession, then, of a large reservoir of positive self-experiences provides the person with a vast emotional

security to be used as a firm foundation for meeting even the more difficult aspects of life with courage. Thus, this fundamentally positive self-organization seems to be significantly characteristic of the person who is on his way to becoming emotionally mature. Psychological health seems basically determined by the adequacy of an individual's self definitions. Effective and mature living is closely allied to personal feelings of dignity and integrity, to feelings of worth and self actualization.

Emotional Maturity and Mental Health

The assumption underlying this chapter is that emotional maturity is the major component of mental or emotional health. Therefore, we shall assume that the greater the emotional maturity of a person, the greater is his ability to live a happy, useful and effective life and to withstand the disintegrating stresses of the frustrations and anxieties in his world. Furthermore, an emotionally mature person is able to live with his emotions without being dominated by them or finding it necessary to be continually at war with them. He has learned to use his emotions constructively and effectively without injury to himself or offense to others. To be more explicit, a person is emotionally mature to the extent to which he can restrain himself, to the extent to which he recognizes his feelings and censors them before expressing them, to the extent to which he can express his emotions in wholesome, constructive ways, and to the extent to which he can carry heavy emotional burdens without "cracking up" psychologically under them.

We must recognize that we mature physically at one age, mentally at another age, socially at another age, and emotionally at yet a different age. According to Franz Alexander,¹ adolescents are young men and women who are biologically full grown but are still children in many respects. Alexander mentions that adolescence is characterized by excessive competitiveness and a necessity to prove oneself as an adult. When the adolescent falls short of what he considers to be adult standards, he feels inadequate and insecure, attempting to compensate for or overcome this feeling by boastfulness, aggressive behavior, and competitiveness. In contrast, the essence of a mature self, according to Alexander, is the conquest of insecurity and the ability to take oneself for granted. Presumably, because the mature adult has tested his abilities against the realities of life in adolescent competition, he knows what his capacities are. Thus he has proved himself to others and to his own satisfaction. As such, he is not so preoccupied with himself as is the adolescent and is able to turn his attention outward, toward his social and physical environment.

Alexander further characterizes the mature person as creative, productive,

and altruistic. In relation to altruism, Jersild⁷⁴ believes that compassion is an emotional state that represents the highest form of emotional maturity, for compassion draws to the fullest extent upon all of a person's resources for feeling. To be compassionate, a person must be able to feel everything any human being can feel, and then go one step further to enter into a fellowship of feeling with others. To do this a person must be able to realize the meaning, quality, and intensity of his own emotions in such a manner that he can be compassionate with himself. For unless a person can be compassionate toward himself, he will not be able to feel compassion for others. Compassion, then, involves a capacity for a certain degree of emotional identification with the totality of another's emotional state.

Finally, Alexander sees the mature person as one who is flexible and adaptable, who can face the facts of the outside world and accept his own limitations realistically. The adult who cannot accept the fact of changing conditions and who adheres to behavior patterns that are no longer appropriate lacks some elements of emotional maturity. Thus psychological or emotional maturity, unlike physical maturity, is something that must be achieved, worked for, a process of continuous becoming. Many adults never become emotionally mature, their attitudes and behavior remain fixed at an adolescent or even a childish level. They are excessively shy, chronically irritable, belligerent, or exclusively pleasure-seeking, exhibiting behavior that tends to interfere with happiness and emotional health. Coleman⁷⁵ offers these strategies for improving emotional competence: (1) understanding and accepting emotions, (2) functioning with emotions instead of fighting them, (3) finding constructive ways to express feelings, (4) keeping a sense of humor, and (5) accentuating positive emotions.

Emotional Maturity as Self-growth

The development of emotional maturity may be described as a process whereby we are able to achieve growth in our ability to understand, tolerate, accept, and respect ourselves and others, as well as growth in our capacity for self-reliance, self-direction, responsibility, productivity, and love. We are using the term *growth* here to identify and to emphasize the gradual and sequential nature of the changes that occur in our attitudes and behavior. The subsequent sections of our consideration of emotional maturity will examine significant aspects of our growth toward psychological or emotional becoming.

Growth in Understanding. Understanding plays a key part in emotional maturity. Through understanding we are enabled to have better insight into our own actions and feelings as well as those of others. We become more realistic about ourselves and others and develop a better grasp of the

causes and effects of human behavior, including our own. It takes understanding to solve the problems that arise in our lives as a result of misunderstandings; understanding helps protect us against misinterpretations that threaten our peace of mind and security and our relations with others.

Emotionally mature people are likely to have a good grasp of the realities of everyday living, whereas the emotionally immature person is inclined to misinterpret or distort the meaning of the events and the relationships that are a part of his life. Whereas relations with persons in positions of authority might induce fears and anxiety in an emotionally immature person, the mature person can cope with persons in authority on a more rational basis; he knows what his rights and privileges are, and he does not undervalue himself merely because he is dealing with someone who has more power, authority, or status than he. An emotionally immature person is unlikely to be aware of his tendencies to depreciate himself and to assign special meanings to the behavior of persons in authority; thus he is likely to become the victim of his own unreasonable fears. In contrast, emotionally mature persons have a greater understanding of the relationships between themselves and others (including authority figures) and are in a better position to cope with life's problems on a realistic basis.

Understanding requires flexibility, a quality in itself of emotionally mature persons. Flexible behavior includes or implies the ability to look at an object, event, or person from a number of different points of view. The emotionally immature person tends to see people and events only in reference to what he expects from himself and others. Although flexible self-understanding is a basic starting point for progress toward greater emotional maturity, it is in itself certainly no guarantee of adequate emotional becoming. Some people who seem to be able to attain a good psychological understanding of their own behavior also seem unable to apply this knowledge to the improvement of their behavior. In fact, self-knowledge for them becomes an intellectualized psychological defense against improved relations with others. Thus, if we are to grow toward emotional becoming, an important requisite is not only understanding our behavior but also maturing sufficiently to take the responsibility for changing it.

Growth in Tolerance. In order for understanding to play a significant part in the maturity of an individual, it must be translated somehow into behavior that affects his relationships with others. Each of the steps toward emotional becoming that we have indicated—understanding, tolerance, acceptance, and respect—involves a somewhat greater emotional involvement or risk. To understand, we must open our minds to a variety of viewpoints in studying and reacting to behavior. This decision involves some emotional risk because it raises the possibility that we might have to change some previously fixed concepts. Thus, tolerance involves more risk than understanding,

because it requires us to suspend judgment in dealing with certain problems that previously aroused our hostile or defensive behavior. To suspend judgment under these conditions takes *self-discipline*, another characteristic of *emotional maturity*.

The ability of an individual to be tolerant is largely dependent upon his freedom from unreasonable fears. If a person is involved in such fears, he finds tolerance difficult because he tends to see threat or danger where none exists. Hence, the emotionally mature person finds it easier to be tolerant because his more realistic approach to life enables him to reject feelings of being threatened as unreasonable and unrealistic, unless there is an actual basis for these fears.

Growth in Acceptance. Tolerance being a neutral state, it implies neither acceptance nor rejection. But presumably a person who has arrived at the state of not feeling defensive about others is now ready to learn that he needs people and that they need him. Thus, acceptance is more emotionally involved than tolerance. The accepting individual is one who has generated compassion and understanding that exceeds the live-and-let-live philosophy of the tolerant person; he must take positive steps toward people.

When we characterize the mature person as "accepting," we do not mean that he is uncritical of others or himself, nor do we mean that he likes everyone equally well. Such a person is able to discriminate between a person and his behavior, that is, he accepts the person but not his behavior. For example, a mature person may be able to accept a certain person as an interesting, understandable individual with some likeable qualities but also an unfortunate tendency to dominate his associates' lives as well as their conversations. The mature person would be less likely to bear any real animosity toward such a domineering, interfering individual. Because he understands some of the latter's problems, he can accept him as a *person*, without approving of his annoying behavior. Because a mature person can accept such an individual as a person, he is in a strategic position to be realistic about his faults and at the same time to appreciate his good points. Edwin Markham may have captured the essence of the accepting, mature person when he wrote:

He drew a circle that shut me out
Heretic, rebel, a thing to flout
But Love and I had the wit to win
We drew a circle that took him in.

Growth in Respect. As the psychologically maturing person learns the real meaning of understanding, tolerance, and acceptance, he also comes to appreciate and to value himself and others. He becomes aware that, in spite

of the qualities that make us different from one another, we resemble one another in many ways. First of all, we are all human beings with capacities for love, cooperation, creativity, psychological becoming, and social growth. When people behave in ways that appear to be irrational and neurotic, they are probably behaving the best way they know how to in view of their self-structure at that time and place, although we may find it difficult to remember at such times that they possess positive qualities. Being able to respect others, as well as oneself, even when some negative behavior is involved, is not an easy task, but then emotional maturity is not a goal that is easily attained.

The mature person possesses a growing appreciation of the common problems and trials that confront human beings as they struggle through their developmental cycle, and he is aware that these experiences—how we perceive them and how we assimilate them into our self-structures—make all of us, to a large degree, the kinds of persons we are. He works at the task of developing sensitivity to and empathy for the kinds of experiences in people's everyday living and an appreciation of a person's ability to maintain integrity and purpose in spite of frustrating and conflicting pressures.

As one might expect, the next step in this sequence of understanding, tolerance, acceptance, and respect is love. Dr. Smiley Blanton, the noted psychiatrist and author of *Love or Perish*, states that

Love, in our psychic life, is the great combining force *that seeks to join all parts together*. It is the organizing element in our emotional structure. It is the power that reaches out to build and construct. Love is the immortal flow of energy that *nourishes, extends and preserves*. Its eternal goal is life.⁷⁰

The mature person is genuinely fond of himself as a person. As mentioned earlier in the section on love, this does not mean that he is self-centered or completely wrapped up in himself, as we usually view people who are imbued with the egocentric type of self-love; it does mean that he has a sincere liking for himself. The person who hates, despises, or continually deprecates himself is psychologically immature. Because a mature person can like himself and enjoy his own company, he can also like others and enjoy their company. Because he can love himself, he can also love those in whom he has invested something of himself—his spouse, his children, his intimate friends, and his associates at work. In the ultimate sense, he can feel love for mankind and for life and living creatures and things generally.

Growth in Capacity for Self-direction. In the preceding sections we have continually referred to "self" and "others" as the objects of the attitudes

or processes that characterize maturity. Because we are often expected to practice self-denial and humility, the idea that psychological maturity rests, in part, upon our ability to understand, accept, respect, and love ourselves may seem paradoxical and arouse skepticism or even some concern on the part of the reader. Yet the intimate relationship between the attitudes we have toward ourselves and the attitudes we have toward others has been repeatedly confirmed by research as well as clinical observation. A person who consistently despises himself (unconsciously or consciously) will despise others (unconsciously or consciously); and a person who consistently likes others similarly likes himself. In essence, one tends to behave within himself as he behaves with others, and attitudes toward others tend to be reflected in self-attitudes. A person who has keen insight into his own behavior and motivation tends to have keen insight into the behavior and motivation of others.⁷⁷ For example, a person who consistently finds other people unpredictable and stupid is likely to consider himself, subconsciously at least, unpredictable and stupid.

As we become more mature emotionally, we find ourselves more open and free to develop our capacities for self-direction, self-reliance, responsibility, and production. Similarly, as we become more self-directive—that is, as we come to rely upon our own ability to gather facts and to evaluate them and, as a result, are freed from dependence upon the opinion and direction of others—we find ourselves in a better position to understand, tolerate, accept, respect, and love ourselves and others. As we come to grips with the realities of life and learn how to cope with its problems, we become increasingly self-directive and better able to take more responsibility for our own actions and our relations with others.

Psychologically Becoming. Seen in the light of the preceding discussions, psychological maturity is not a state that one attains but rather a *direction* of development. This would mean that the mature person is not one who “has arrived,” but one who is *continually arriving*. One of the major characteristics of maturity is the ability to continually arrive—a process of ongoing becoming. In this sense, the psychologically immature person is either *fixated* at one stage of emotional development or is *retrogressing* rather than arriving.

The mature person uses his emotional life constructively to become the person he can become and to reach for the elusive self-fulfillment that he can never quite reach, but for which he can always strive. In essence, Lehner and Kube⁷⁸ see the basic characteristics of psychological maturity as (1) a sense of individuality, (2) a sense of independence, (3) self-confidence, (4) acceptance of self and others, (5) a sense of security, (6) a sense of responsibility, (7) goal-orientation and a sense of direction, (8) a sense of time perspective, (9) an acquisition and understanding of personal values and a philosophy of life, (10) a problem-solving attitude.

Thoughts on Emotional Becoming or Not Becoming

The Mature Person:

1. Has friends among both sexes
2. Controls his temper.
3. Tries to see the good in others.
4. Is objective in judging himself and others.
5. Is willing to wait for things he wants.
6. Sees the other person's point of view.
7. Has confidence in himself.
8. Enjoys other people's successes
9. Accepts responsibility for his mistakes.
10. Is adaptable.
11. Respects his parents' judgment, but is relatively independent of his parents
12. Lives in a world of reality
13. Accepts the moral codes.
14. Sees sex in its proper relationship to life.
15. Has a sense of humor—can take a joke.
16. Gets along with his parents and friends.
17. Is relatively free from jealousy
18. Does not resent criticism.
19. Is able to see a job through to a finish.
20. Looks to the future rather than the past.
21. Profits by his mistakes.
22. Is guided by reason.

The Immature Person:

1. Is jealous of others.
2. Wants what he wants when he wants it.
3. Does not control his temper.
4. Belittles the accomplishments of others.
5. Is inquisitive about other people's affairs.
6. Lives in a dream world.
7. Blames others for his mistakes.
8. Plays jokes on others but cannot take a joke on himself.
9. Is dependent upon parents and others.
10. Believes that people are against him.
11. Enjoys other people's failures.
12. Is boastful
13. Defies moral codes.
14. Is aggressive and domineering.
15. Is self-centered.
16. Has unhealthy or unwholesome attitudes toward sex
17. Shows lack of consideration for others.
18. Lack confidence in himself.
19. Is argumentative.
20. Wants to get even with people and holds grudges.

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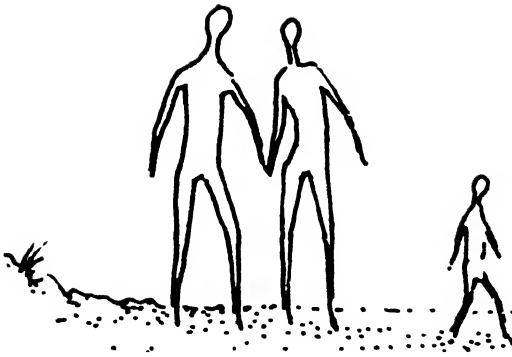
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6

The Socio- Cultural



No man is an Island, intire of it selfe, every man is a peece of the Continent, a part of the maine; if a Clod bee washed away by the Sea, Europe is the lesse, as well as if a Promontorie were, as well as if a Mannor of thy friends or of thine owne were, any mans death diminishes me, because I am involved in Mankinde; and therefore never send to know for whom the bell tolls, It tolls for thee.

—John Donne

No man is an island, entire of itself. Man, as such, is no abstraction but a social human being. Only in the interactive merging of the social situation and the uniquely human condition—in the awesome human predicament—can the essential nature of the human self be understood and its unity developed. Erich Fromm has captured the essence of the human predicament in stating, “Human existence is characterized by the fact that man is alone and separated

from the world; not being able to stand the separation, he is impelled to seek for relatedness and oneness.' ¹ Fromm concurs with John Donne that "I am involved in Mankind" in believing that one individual represents the human race. Although he is an individual with his peculiarities and in this sense unique, he is at the same time representative of all characteristics of the human race. As such, his individual self is determined by the peculiarities of human existence common to all men. Man's dignity and worth then stem not from his having been given a favored place in the universe but from the fact that although his existence is contingent upon the world around him, his life is his own creation. As Bonner said, "There is no human world without perceptive man . . . man creates his world." ²

The last two chapters explored the private world of the self in relation to man's motives, needs, feelings and emotions. Although phenomenology implies that 'man creates his world' from the experiences around him as he perceives them, the self as we have indicated, feeds upon experiences, especially with people, within its phenomenal field. Even though man gives birth to himself as a distinctive human being, the developmental process of continual becoming must occur in a sociocultural milieu. Becoming a self then is inherently a social product; only by the self-other process can man achieve his distinctly human attributes. No one is born a self, nor is selfhood merely a matter of internal maturation; *selfhood has to be achieved*. Man alone has been able to achieve selfhood, and the process of achieving it is an extended one involving many complexities of behavior. This selfhood can be achieved only and necessarily in a social milieu, with the surrounding culture entering essentially into the process of developing a unique self within a setting common to many. The purpose of this chapter is to explore the many dimensions of the sociocultural influences in recognizing that selfhood is inextricably composed of both self and others in constant interaction within an experiencing, perceived life space.

DEVELOPMENTAL SELF AND THE PHENOMENAL FIELD

From one viewpoint, major components of the child's phenomenal field or social environment may be the family, the peer group, the church, the school, and other social groups, each playing a significant role in the socialization of the self. From this perspective, the social environment is composed of overlapping social groups and social institutions, each with its own demands and expectations of the child. In a previous chapter, we explored an array of physical and psychological needs in human behavior. The behavior that will suffice to satisfy any need must be organized with constant reference to the milieu in which the individual has to operate; this milieu includes factors of both environment and experience.

Human behavior cannot be explained purely upon the basis of needs. An individual's behavior is immediately determined by his experience, and this, in turn, is derived from his contacts with his environment. Between the natural environment and the individual there is always interposed a human environment that is vastly more significant. This human environment consists of an organized group of other individuals, that is, a *society*, and of a particular way of life that is characteristic of this *group*, a *culture*. The nature of these two concepts and their influences upon the developing self will be presented in subsequent sections of this chapter.

The Concept of Life Space

From another point of view, the social environment of the developing child or adolescent can be viewed in terms of the life-space dimension. The concept of life space, as viewed by Havighurst and Neugarten,³ involves at least three different elements: physical space, the objects contained within that space, and the people who inhabit that space. All three are socially defined or socially determined. As the self develops, all aspects of its life space expand with the experiencing and perceiving of new objects and people within the environment. Havighurst and Neugarten in their studies discovered that the nature and size of the physical space—the space in which a child knows his way about—varied by age, sex, and social class.

These same researchers found that the social life space of children and adolescents expanded with age and development in that the objects and the people become more numerous and more varied, and the human interactions become more complex. Some of the variations in the social life space of children were related to type of community and size of community. Havighurst and Neugarten also observed that a person's life space was related to his own feelings and personal meanings. Some of the social influences that operated in allowing restraint and freedom in the life space, as perceived by the children, were the "population" of the life space, regulation within the family, the atmosphere of the neighborhood, the effect of the wider society, and the function of the school. The significance of these sociocultural factors upon the developing self will be discussed in later sections of this chapter.

Field Forces and Behavior

The life space of the phenomenal self plays a significant role in motivating our behavior. Much of our behavior is induced by external factors within our environment. Virtually any action to meet an inner need involves some interaction with objects or people around us—the forces within our phenomenal field.

Goals and Activities to Meet Our Needs The most obvious ways in which external factors affect our motivation is by providing certain goals and activities through which we can meet our needs and by not providing certain others. These provisions are both physical and cultural and vary greatly from one place to another and from one society to another.

Some cultures offer rich opportunities for psychological satisfactions and the fulfillment of potentialities, others are limiting, repressive, and rigid. Some provide fulfillment opportunities for certain groups but not others—the leaders but not the followers, the wealthy but not the poor, the men but not the women. But in any group both the goals that a person learns to seek and the means by which he learns to achieve them depend upon his own role in the group. These goals are chosen from among those possible in accordance with the rules and values of the groups to which a person feels loyalty, although, because man is an evaluator rather than a rubber stamp, there will also be the impress of individuality in his goals and means.

Because our choice of goals is channeled by the standards of our own group, incentives that have a high value in one social group often have no value at all in another. People everywhere learn which goals and which behavioral sequences will enable them to meet their needs for acceptance, approval, and status in their own social group. Sometimes the goals and action sequences we learn seem paradoxical, we adopt them because they have the sanction of our group. In following customs that we perceive as unrealistic to our personal value systems, we may find ourselves under the same compulsion as the adolescent who feels he must play “chicken.” Thus, the goals and means prescribed by our social group are usually the ones we must adopt if we want the approval of that group. These invisible forces operate within our phenomenal field to influence our behavior.

Arousal and Reduction of Strivings The external field affects not only the goals we can readily choose and the means we can use for achieving them but also the arousal and reduction of the drives themselves and the relative strength of different strivings. In the socialization of an individual and the later control of his behavior, each sociocultural group tends to inhibit certain strivings and to encourage certain others.

Most societies, for example, assert controls on physical aggression and sexual behavior that tend to inhibit these particular drives. Groups differ, also, in their encouragement or inhibition of other strivings, such as those for love and relatedness, security, and fulfillment of individual potentialities. The end result of continuing social inhibition of some strivings and the encouragement of others is the production of somewhat uniform motive patterns among the members of a given group. As a group they may be warlike or peaceful, friendly or suspicious, energetic or indolent. The social setting not only influences our characteristic motive patterns but also tends to increase or reduce individual motives in our everyday behavior.

Societal Forces as Demands and Expectations External forces not only channel the individual's own strivings and affect their strength but also present him with certain demands to which he responds. A person is not only active but also reactive, his behavior is instigated jointly by his own strivings and the demands made upon him by his societal field. Such demands are of two main kinds. First, there are the needs of other people who, like us, are also continuously trying to meet their own needs. Social living involves a constant give and take with mutual efforts to help one another.

Second, there are the needs of the groups to which we belong. Sometimes the demands of the groups with which we identify are not compatible to our own needs. Other times there is no conflict, and the action that serves the needs of others and advances the goals of the group also moves us closer to our own goals. Demands made upon us from outside are not usually followed automatically. Sometimes they are simply ignored or even not recognized, sometimes they are actively rejected. When we choose to accept them, we may transmute or redefine them to make them more appealing. When we do follow them, we may do so because of fear, because of the self-esteem or social approval that will result, because we have identified ourselves with the person or group making the demands, or simply because we see something in a situation that becomes important for us to do. In any case, if we accept them, our behavior takes on directions it would not take if we were powered only by strivings toward personal maintenance and development.

The external situation, then, influences motivated behavioral patterns by (1) determining what goals and means are available for meeting our needs, (2) encouraging some drives and inhibiting others, and (3) making demands of its own upon the individual. The phenomenal field, however, is always perceived and interpreted from the individual's own frame of reference. He accepts, rejects, adapts, or defends himself against these field forces as they fit in with or threaten his own purposes and values. All these channels of influence create differences in people's motive patterns and behavior, yet the underlying similarity of their strivings remain more striking than the differences. The differences are only in the means they have learned for meeting their needs as human beings and in the demands made upon them by their field forces.

SOCIOCULTURAL BASES OF BEHAVIOR

The self has a character that is different from that of the physiological organism proper. The self has a development, it is not initially there at birth, but arises in the process of social experience and activity, that is, develops in a particular individual as a result of his relations to that process.

as a whole and to other individuals within that process. We tend inevitably at a certain level of sophistication to organize all experience into that of a self.

Although the discussion in this chapter may imply a passive role of the individual in his development as we explore the shaping influences of cultural and social factors, the sanctity of the individual will be preserved. No matter how carefully a person has been indoctrinated into a society, he remains a distinct organism with his own needs and with capacities for independent thought, feelings, and action. His integration into society and culture will go no deeper than his learned responses, and although in the adult these include a significant part of what we call the personality, there will still be a great deal of the self left over. Even in the most closely integrated societies and cultures no two people are ever exactly alike. The purpose of this section is to set the stage for a discussion of social and cultural influences upon the developing self to be presented throughout the chapter.

Ruth Benedict said, "Culture is that which binds men together."⁴ Although culture may bind men together, the human culture also offers learning opportunities for the intellectual, emotional, and social development of the self. The way in which a child *grows* even mentally and physically, is probably affected as much by the opportunities he has to learn, and by the richness and emotional atmosphere of his sociocultural environment as by his sensory-neurological and muscular equipment. As Newcomb clearly stated, " . . . every human infant enters a society which is already a going concern " .

Parents and other people in the human environment of the infant are part of a total social entity operating in a way of life that is more or less well known to them and whose constituents behave in relatively predictable ways. These ongoing ways are the culture into which the infant is born. Ullman defines culture as " . . . a system of solutions to unlearned problems as well as of learned problems and their solutions, all of which are acquired by members of a recognizable group and shared by them " .⁵ In a similar vein Ullman defines society as " that recognizable group that shares solutions to unlearned problems as well as learned problems and their solutions " .⁶ Thus, by these working definitions society is people, and culture is some of the things they do.

Society and Need Satisfaction of the Self

Societies are formed as the products of human interaction in seeking need satisfaction. Survival requires the gratification of basic needs. The biological organism survives by meeting the physiological needs of food, water, oxygen, and protection from extremes in temperature. The cultural system

survives through continuity in the actions of those who participate in the system. The social system survives through maintenance of the patterns of interaction that characterize it. In all three processes, the behavior of persons form and maintain the system. For the person, the culture, and the society to survive, individuals must be motivated to behave in a manner consonant with survival. Persons, then, are the mediators of social and cultural systems. Their motives and strivings provide the dynamic energies that enable each of these systems to operate—human, society, and culture.

The crucial issue in the impact of culture and the social system upon the individual is the interaction of the individual within his social milieu as he works toward need gratification. Learning to take into consideration the needs and expectations of those with whom one interacts has an effect upon the organization of motivated behavior. Sensitization to others and to self-strivings is a product of such learning. Interaction, however, involves only certain persons within the society and only certain aspects of behavior. Thus we must consider the selective nature of interaction and the resulting differentiation among persons in their access to various parts of the culture.

As we move to larger and larger social units, we see that the range of common interests becomes more limited and that the number of similarities among members of larger social units is fewer than among members of small units. We proceed, then, from the individual to the society from the neonate "personality" to "national character." In order to visualize the extent and nature of the problem of learning to be a member of a society enacting a particular culture, we must view the individual as a need-seeking learner in relation to his cultural and social systems. Ullman has captured the essence of this process in saying, "Culture is a system of solutions to problems faced by members of a recognizable group or category of persons and shared by them."⁸ In this sense, the process of developing a self is one of learning acceptable solutions to problems. Hence, two of the greatest impacts of society and culture upon the developmental self are learned motivation and the regulation of need gratification.

Although culture serves in part to provide opportunities and techniques for need gratification, it also interferes with gratification as discussed in a previous section of this chapter. Typically, restrictions are placed upon the direct satisfaction of basic needs. Other needs are created in the individual that may be compatible with or that run counter to the basic need system of the individual. In discussing the implications that human motivation has for understanding human societies and the relation of the individual to the social group, Combs and Snygg offer the following four general principles:

1. *Individuals tend to seek adequacy through identification with people seeking need satisfaction in ways similar to their own.*

2. *Persons banded in groups for the mutual satisfaction of need find their group purposes most effectively advanced by the development of group organization*

3. *People tend to withdraw from groups whose approval they are unable to win or which no longer satisfy need*

4. *Identification of an individual with a group leads him to adopt and defend the standards and behavior of that group⁹*

On Becoming a Social Being

The self is essentially a social structure and arises in social experience. Awaiting every new baby is a world consisting of more than physical things—an environment of ideas, feelings and beliefs and patterns of related behavior. This is the infant's human environment, the sociocultural world, consisting of the ways of people. Each child develops within a specific social setting. The nature of the specific life space has an influence upon his learning experiences and how he feels about them. Each culture and, to an extent, each group to which an individual belongs provide a set of expectations and relationships that influence the continuous development of social skills, roles, behaviors, and attitudes that constitute the self-structure of the individual.

Social contact and interaction is necessary for normal human development. The child develops through the social stimulation he receives from experiences with other people. Thus *human behavior is learned* in the daily interactions with parents, siblings, peers, and eventually more "significant others" in the child's world. Socialization is the process by which the child learns to interact with the expectations and obligations of various groups. Essentially, socialization or becoming human is learning and living the culture of the group to which one belongs. Man is a social being, his interactions with people are what make him distinctly human.

The child, unlike an animal, cannot depend upon instincts to survive but, instead, is dependent upon the significant adults in his life to learn to be human. As described by Davis¹⁰ when children are socially isolated and raised with a minimum of human contact they will manifest few, if any, human capabilities, behaviors, and attributes. These cases of feral children indicate that the individual becomes 'human' in his behavior through the development of his social relationships. Without an opportunity to live with other people in a sociocultural setting, his human potentialities remain unrealized. The basic needs of all children are essentially the same. The differences between societies can be noted in the way in which children are taught to manage their needs. Thus, children are expected to learn behaviors consistent with the standards of a particular society.

One of the most significant tasks that each human being must face is that

of adjusting to others. The child must learn ways of developing effective social relationships with a variety of individuals within his environment; he must develop some capacity to differentiate, to empathize, and to understand before he can function effectively in the social world. Such is the nature of the relationship by which the persons who are close to the child envelop him in a way of life—a “culture”—that he cannot but assimilate, and that tends to assimilate him if self-development does not progress effectively. Benedict has expressed the shaping influence of society upon the individual as follows:

The life history of the individual is first and foremost an accommodation to the patterns and standards traditionally handed down in his community. From the moment of his birth, the customs into which he is born shape his life experience and behavior. By the time he can talk, he is a little creature of his culture, and by the time he is grown and able to take part in its activities, its habits are his habits, its beliefs are his beliefs, its impossibilities are his impossibilities. Every child that is born into his group will share them with him, and no child born into one on the opposite side of the globe can ever achieve the thousandth part.¹¹

In this book, we have constantly emphasized the freedom of the unique individual to give birth to himself as a distinctive self. This self-being-in-becoming must necessarily develop within the influential milieu of the sociocultural field that is a significant part of a person's world. Although we have the freedom, to become that which is our potential, the developmental processes feel sharply the impact of the culture. In a discussion of the cultural influences upon the millions of babies born in America each year, Alpenfels illustrates this point aptly:

Like most immigrants to our country, these four million new citizens must learn in a very few years how to behave in the organized and accumulated heritage we call American culture. . . . The infant is nonsocial and “cultureless” at birth. Yet, he is already an individual. He is unique in his physical make-up, a bundle of almost infinite potentialities. The crisis of his birth is his first contact with the realities of culture that slowly shape him into a social human being.

As the child grows, he will share the experiences of those close to him. He will take on the attitudes and behaviors of those whom he will learn to love. He will find no freedom from his culture anywhere in the world. It will mold his ideas and direct his actions, dominate his choice of life goals, and provide the stepping stone that leads to the fulfillment of the self.¹²

Thus, the individual will find no freedom from his culture, but must develop as a human self within that context. Although this apparent domi-

nation of culture appears to be very deterministic, actually, as we have noted before, society and culture provide the means, the "stepping stones," for the fulfillment of the self in the becoming process. Man still has the precious freedom to become what he can become within the framework of the sociocultural foundations for living and developing. The preceding quotations express forcibly the roles that culture and society play in the development of an individual's style of life. *What precisely is culture; what is society?* The nature of these two significant concepts, as contributors to the human and social attributes of man, will be explored in the next two sections. In subsequent sections the socialization aspects of society and culture in relation to the self will be discussed.

THE NATURE OF CULTURE

Students of human behavior, whether at the individual or the social level, have developed a considerable understanding of the phenomena of man and his world and an increasing awareness of the close functional interdependence of the individual, society, and culture. Although the individual has been assigned to Psychology, society to Sociology, and culture to Cultural Anthropology, it is safe to assume that in the future a science of human behavior will emerge, which will synthesize the findings of these disciplines and emphasize their functional interdependence. Such an attempt is being made in this chapter. The *individual*, his needs and potentialities, lies at the foundation of all social and cultural phenomena. *Societies* are organized groups of individuals, and *cultures* are, in the final analysis, essentially the organized repetitive responses of a society's members.

The vast proportion of all individuals who are born into any society always assimilate the cultural patterns and assume the behavior dictated by that society, whatever the idiosyncrasies of its sociocultural institutions. Benedict¹³ maintains that most people are shaped to the form of their culture because of the enormous malleability of their original endowment; they are plastic to the molding force of the society into which they are born. Although this viewpoint would imply a deterministic antagonism between the role of society and the individual, society and the individual are partners, in reality, not antagonists in the important business of living. In all cases, the culture of his society provides the raw material of which the individual makes his life. Society in its fullest sense is never an entity separable from the individuals who compose it. No individual can arrive even at the threshold of his potentialities without a culture in which he participates. If he perceives the culture as meager, the individual suffers; if he perceives it as rich, he will have the chance to rise to his opportunities.

Culture as a Way of Life

The term *culture*, as it is employed in scientific studies, carries none of the evaluative overtones attached to it by popular usage. For the social scientist there are no uncultured societies or even individuals. Every society has a culture, no matter how simple it may be, and every human being is cultured in the sense of participating in some culture. Actually, culture, as viewed by the social scientist, refers to the total way of life of any society. Culture, as he uses the term, represents a generalization based upon the observation and comparison of a series of cultures. Individuals must be studied within the culture of a particular society. A society is an organized group of people—a collection of individuals who have learned to work and to live together. A culture is an organized group of behavior patterns. From the investigations of the anthropologists and other social scientists, many definitions of culture have evolved. The purposes of this section will be to explore some of the more popular connotations of this multifaceted concept.

Cultural behavior is man-made, locally determined, greatly variable, and it tends to be integrated. Within each culture, characteristic purposes evolve that are not necessarily shared by other types of societies; the people within this cultural setting tend to consolidate and to perpetuate unique human experiences so that culture becomes more than the sum of their traits. Benedict captures the essence of this dimension in saying, "A culture, like an individual, is a more or less consistent pattern of thought and action."¹⁴

Culture and Society

Social entities are arranged in a meaningful fashion in that they form a system. In this sense *society* could mean the totality of social facts projected onto the dimension of relationships and groupings, whereas *culture* could be the same totality in the dimension of action. In recent anthropological literature the terms *society* and *culture* are accepted as referring to somewhat different things; or more precisely, as Nadel has indicated, "to different ways of looking at the same thing."¹⁵

Although, as we can see, society and culture are deeply interrelated, many behavioral scientists hold a conviction that it is useful to explore society or the social system, independently of culture. The commonalities of the two will be explored in this section, whereas a separate consideration of the nature of society will be presented in a later section. There are major areas of conceptualization that do not clearly belong either to society or to culture. As an example, a particular formal arrangement of roles within a

group may be considered part of the group's social system. We may suggest, however, that the arrangement exists because members *feel* that this is the *right solution* to the problem of this group's organization. Therefore, we may reason that social organization is part of the cultural system, and probably the personality system. Maybe the most useful approach, as Nadel has suggested, is to recognize that society and culture are different ways of looking at the same thing.

If we follow Nadel's suggestion, the problem involved is of deciding what are the different ways of looking. Two distinguished behavioral scientists, anthropologist A. I. Kroeber and sociologist Talcott Parsons, collaborated in an effort to achieve consensus on the meaning of culture and society. Their thinking is as follows:

We suggest that it is useful to define the *concept* culture for most usages more narrowly than has been generally the case in the American anthropological tradition: *restricting its reference to transmitted and created content and patterns of values, ideas and other symbolic-meaningful systems as factors in the shaping of human behavior and the artifacts produced through behavior.* On the other hand, we suggest that the term *society* or more generally *social system*—be used to designate the *specifically relational system of interaction among individuals and collectivities*.¹⁶

In a separate source, two definitions by Parsons are helpful in indicating the interdependence of society and culture. In essence, he defines social system with the help of 'a system of culturally structured and shared symbols,' and he uses social systems to help him define culture. Thus, Parsons has defined social system (society) and culture as parts of a total action system, which includes personality as well, in stating:

A social system consists in a plurality of individual actors interacting with each other in a situation which has at least a physical or environmental aspect: actors who are motivated in terms of a tendency to the 'optimization of gratification' and whose relation to their situations, including each other, is defined and mediated in terms of a system of culturally structured and shared symbols.¹⁷

Later in the same book, Parsons offers a behavioral definition of culture as he notes:

Culture consists in patterned or ordered systems of symbols which are objects of the orientation of action, internalized components of the personalities of individual actors and institutionalized patterns of social system.¹⁸

Culture and Behavior

When we look at the problem of society and culture from the viewpoint of the individual, we see that a person occupies a position in a social system. Thus, he stands in particular interactional relations to other persons. What he does as a behavioral participant of this position is significant because a *position* is a *recurring* juxtaposition of persons in particular kinds of interaction. His behavior, then, becomes predictable in that situation by virtue of its personal and societal consistency. In Kroeber and Parsons' terms, the "individual actor" behaves in accordance with a pattern of "values, ideas, and other symbolic-meaningful systems," which he has learned from other members of his society who know the expectations of members of that society with respect to feelings and actions in the situation. In the language of defining culture we have been using, members of the society teach the neophyte to be properly motivated in that situation and to respond with the proper behaviors; that is, they present him with a problem and teach him to solve it. Obviously, the problem is internalized before the problem-solving behavior is elicited. So what was part of the cultural system now becomes part of the personality.

In describing the historical development of the culture concept, Spiro suggests that culture, rather early in its history, referred to both cultural heritage, "the invented culture of the preceding generations,"¹⁹ and to the behavior of members of a society. In this context he asks

Is the culture of a given society its social heritage—that complex whole which is thought of as independent of its acquisition by man? Or is the culture to be identified with the behavior of members of the society? In other words is culture to be located outside of behavior or is its locus *in* behavior?²⁰

Spiro answers this question by making a significant distinction, from the viewpoint of cultural determinism, between one's heritage and his actual behavior. According to Spiro, students of culture usually have taken any one or a mixture of three positions regarding the nature of culture. The culture realists "hold that culture is external to the organism and is *not* to be identified with behavior."²¹ In this sense, Spiro wonders how, if culture is independent of persons, it can influence their behavior. Cultural idealists, representing a different position, view culture as consisting of ideas about the way one ought to behave. Spiro believes that the idealist view can have no power to motivate behavior because culture lies outside the person.²² The third position, nominalism, sees culture as "a logical construct abstracted from human behavior and as such, it exists only in the mind of *the investigator*."²³ Actually this view represents a statistical statement of central tendencies in behavior. Spiro criticizes this point of view

on the basis that a thing cannot be a cause of itself; therefore, the nominalist position leaves no possibility for cultural determinism of behavior.

In his paper Spiro emphasizes that at least a part of human behavior is determined by some form of cultural phenomenon in recognizing what he calls "man's extracultural human nature." He believes that certain characteristics of man, such as his ability to symbolize, make it possible for him to invent, transmit, and learn culture. Spiro summarizes his position as follows:

Thus I have attempted to demonstrate (a) that an extracultural human nature is a necessary condition for the phylogenetic invention of culture and for the ontogenetic acquisition of the cultural heritage; and (b) that the ontogenetic acquisition of culture assumes the existence of a cultural heritage which can be acquired to form the personal culture. If these two propositions are valid, one may conclude (c) that the development of personality and the acquisition of culture are one and the same process.²⁴

Culture and Personality

In the preceding section, we have recognized that the development of personality and the acquisition of culture are similar processes, if not the same process. To discuss culture and personality it becomes necessary to offer a working definition of personality, even though this concept will be explored in considerable detail in a subsequent chapter. The major problem involved in the definition of personality is one of delimitation. The individual and his sociocultural environment constitute a dynamic configuration, all of whose parts are so closely interrelated and in such constant interaction that it is difficult to determine where to draw lines of demarcation.

For the purpose of the present discussion, a brief definition of personality by Linton will be used: "Personality is the organized aggregate of psychological processes and states pertaining to the individual."²⁵ If we examine Linton's definition of culture we recognize the interdependence of personality and culture in that his use of *configuration* implies that the various behaviors and results of behavior that compose a culture are organized into a patterned whole. Linton sees culture as "the configuration of learned behavior and results of behavior whose component elements are shared and transmitted by the members of a particular society."²⁶

One of the most recognized definitions of culture is Tylor's:

Culture . . . is that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society.²⁷

If the word *personality* were substituted for *culture* in the above quotation and the phrase *the individual* for *man*, it would serve as a passable definition of personality

In a similar comparison of the nature of these interrelated concepts, Wallace defined culture as

those ways of behavior or techniques of solving problems which, being more frequently and more closely approximated than other ways, can be said to have a high probability of use by individual members of society ²⁸

Wallace acknowledges that personality, in this context, would be simply

those ways of behavior or techniques of solving problems which have a high probability of use by one individual -¹

The influences that culture exerts upon the developing personality are of two quite different kinds. On one hand we have those influences that derive from the culturally patterned behavior of other individuals toward the child. These begin to operate from the moment of birth and are of paramount importance during infancy. On the other hand, we have those influences that derive from the individual's observation of or in the patterns of behavior characteristic of his society. Many of these patterns do not affect him directly, but they provide him with *models* for the development of his own consistent behavioral responses. These influences are unimportant in early infancy but continue to affect him throughout his process of becoming a self. The failure to distinguish between these two types of cultural influences in studying developmental behavior can lead to much confusion.

As we have noted, if culture and personality are not basically the same concept from a different perspective, they are certainly highly interrelated in the dynamic development of the self. Culturally patterned behavior directed toward the child may serve as a model for the development of some of his own behavior patterns. This factor becomes operative as soon as the child is old enough to observe, perceive, and remember what other people, "personalities," in his world are doing. This section has explored briefly the concept of the functional interdependence of culture and personality. More detailed and sophisticated facets of these interrelated phenomena will be presented as we discuss the socialization of the self in this chapter and the development of the personalized phenomenal self in Chapter 12.

Multiple Views of Culture

As we have already seen, no one concept of culture is universally accepted or universally useful in understanding the impact of sociocultural factors upon behavior. We should recognize that dozens, if not hundreds, of respectable definitions exist in the literature. The purpose of this section will be to present some of the more popular connotations as noted by well-recognized behavioral scientists (in addition to those views already presented by outstanding authorities).

According to Honigsmann, *culture*, in its technical sense, is a short way of saying many things. As he expresses it:

The word points to two classes of phenomena, namely (1) to the socially standardized behavior—actions, thoughts, feelings—of some enduring group and (2) the materials, products, of, or aids to, the behaviors of that group. . . . The term means to designate that these referents are bound together in some kind of a system or whole. . . . Culture suggests several levels of phenomena. It includes observable actions and material things.³⁰

In a similar vein but elaborating somewhat, Kluckhohn sees culture as

. . . a way of thinking, feeling, believing. It is the group's knowledge stored up for future use. . . . Since culture is an abstraction, it is important not to confuse culture with society. . . . A "culture" refers to the distinctive ways of life of such a group of people (society). . . . A culture constitutes a storehouse of the pooled learning of the group. . . . Every culture is designed to perpetuate the group, and its solidarity, to meet the demands of individuals for an orderly way of life and for satisfaction of biological needs.³¹

In emphasizing culture as a symbol system, Davis³² views it as the sum total of all thought and behavior that is handed down from generation to generation by *communicative interaction*, rather than by genetic inheritance. As such, we must not limit the idea of culture to artifacts produced by people in a society nor equate it only with people's ideas, beliefs, wants, values, and so on. The crux of the above definition, which contains the expression *communicative interaction*, is the idea that through speech, gestures, art, writings, and artifact people express their ideas, beliefs, wants, and values.

Thus, oral, written, or other kinds of interactive communication *symbolize* a people's thought and behavior. These symbols, surrounding the

individual as a member of a given society, provide him with an interpretation of life, as it is to be lived in his society. The symbols that operate in the closest association with his efforts to satisfy his own evolving needs are, by and large, those that shape his style of life. It would seem that the above approach to culture and the following functional definition offer the most feasible way of viewing a human being phenomenologically as he continuously experiences, perceives, and behaves in the process of becoming a self. Since communication is the keynote to learning, and learning is the crux of developmental becoming, the following working definition by Ullman is presented to conclude this section:

Culture is a system of solutions to unlearned problems as well as of learned problems and their solutions, all of which are acquired by members of a recognizable group and shared by them.⁴³

THE NATURE OF SOCIETY

Although, in the previous section, we have recognized that culture and society are highly interrelated concepts, a society is not a culture. Culture is socially transmitted behavior conceived as an abstraction from concrete social groups. Two or more *societies* may have the same *culture* or similar cultures; one society may be composed of groups with some marked differences in culture. To some degree, two different societies may possess overlapping personnel and even structural elements without losing their identity as distinct societies. To be considered a society, a group need not be self-sufficient with respect to resources; the structure of action must be self-sufficient. In this sense, the United States is a society, even though imports and exports are necessary to its maintenance, since arrangements for foreign trade are part of its self-sufficient structure of action. According to Ullman,⁴⁴ when a social aggregate is not capable of providing a structure, structures, or parts of structures that can meet the functional prerequisites for socialized action, it is not considered a society.

Any society selects some segment of the arc of possible human behavior, and insofar as it achieves integration and commonalities of experience, its societal institutions tend to further the expression of its selected behavioral segment and to inhibit opposite expressions. The possibilities for individual variations in behavior are almost infinite. When several persons react in the same way to a particular situation, the causes may be revealed in the experiences such individuals have in common. Obviously, this fund of general *common experience* will be much greater for the members of a single society than for members of different societies. Thus, to understand the behavior of the individual, it is not only necessary to relate his personal

life history to his endowments as assessed against an arbitrarily selected normality, but it is also imperative that his behavioral responses be considered in the framework of his sociocultural institutions

Definitions of Society

Much of our difficulty in understanding human behavior in a sociocultural context exists because many behavioral scientists fail to distinguish clearly between a society and its culture. Emlen, although recognizing the close interdependence of the two concepts, makes the following distinction:

A society is an organized group of people; a collection of individuals who have learned to work together. A culture is an organized group of behavior patterns, and so forth. Although the interrelations of a society and its culture are close and numerous, the two things are distinct and represent phenomena of different orders. In spite of this, many sociologists describe societies in terms of institutions and use the term *social structure* to refer to the interrelations of institutions. Actually, an institution is a configuration of culture patterns which, as a whole, has certain functions, and the interrelations of such configurations belong primarily to the areas of culture organization or integration. The institutional approach to society, although useful for certain purposes, tends to ignore the relation between institutions and individuals.³

In discussing the functional prerequisites of a society, including these four conditions terminating the existence of a society: (1) the biological extinction or dispersion of the members, (2) theopathy of the members, (3) the war of all against all, and (4) the absorption of the society into another society, Abertle, Cohen, Davis, Levy, and Sutton identify a society as

a group of human beings sharing a self-sufficient system of action which is capable of existing longer than the lifespan of an individual, the group being recruited at least in part by the sexual reproduction of the members.³⁶

Thus the identity and continuity of a society inhere in the persistence of the system of action in which the 'actors' participate, rather than in a particular set of 'actors' themselves. Hence there may be a complete turnover of individuals, but the society may survive. The individuals may survive, but the society may disintegrate. A system may persist in a situation while its component relationships change. By this view, the persistence of the society depends upon the *integrity* of the human beings involved, not

in its fixity or unalterable character. The heart of the definition is "self sufficient system of action."

In discussing the cultural factors in personality, Kluckhohn, an anthropologist, views society as a "group of people who interact more with each other for the attainment of certain ends."³⁷ He recognizes that you can see and count the individuals who make up a society, whereas culture is an abstraction involving a "way of thinking, feeling, believing."³⁸ As such, culture refers to the distinctive ways of life of such a group of people. Not all social events are culturally patterned, some arise from the needs and actions of the members of a society. Lundberg, a sociologist, sees a human society as "a relatively self sufficient unit that consists of a number of persons carrying on a common, interdependent life that has continuity through successive generations."³⁹ Recognizing that, in the course of social living, new modes or patterns of behavior are sometimes created in society, Ullman defines society from a problem solving viewpoint as *that recognizable group that shares solutions to unlearned problems as well as learned problems and their solutions*.⁴⁰

Behavioral scientists have recognized that no one person enacts the entire culture of a people. If the society is a great civilization involving large numbers of persons and a wide variety of roles, its individual members may come in direct contact with only a small part of it. Even if the society is small enough for each member to effectively know all other members, one cannot enact all its roles, nor is he expected to do so. The problems facing him, the solutions that are possible, the models for emulation, all are dependent upon his position in the network of relationships that characterize a society. Linton recognized this issue as follows:

Although a culture and a society are always associated, they are phenomena of different orders. The relation between them is established through the medium of the individuals who compose the society and express the culture in their behavior. However, each individual expresses only part of the culture, never the whole. No one person is ever familiar with the entire culture of his society, yet the organized group of individuals who compose the society are jointly able to know and practice the whole culture. They have enough common knowledge to understand and predict each other's responses, but the fact that they are members of a society makes it possible for them to be specialists.⁴¹

Characteristics of a Society

Several times we have mentioned that societies or social systems have common attributes, although they differ in the people involved in that social group and in the culture that represents the way of life. The purpose

of this section will be to explore the basic characteristics of a society as viewed from the perspectives of (1) common features, (2) functional prerequisites, and (3) the "good" society.

Common Features Whatever the genesis of human societies may have been, regardless of the unique people constituting the societies and the distinctive cultural patterns influencing the behavior of these individuals and groups, all of them have certain features in common. Ralph Linton, a noted cultural anthropologist, has suggested four basic characteristics common to all societies.

First and perhaps the most important of these features is that *the society rather than the individual has become the significant unit in our species struggle for survival*. A *second* characteristic of societies is that *they normally persist far beyond the life span of any one individual*. *Third*, *societies are functional, operative units*. In spite of the fact that they are made up of individuals, they work as wholes. As such, the interests of each of their component members are subordinated to those of the entire group. *Fourth*, *in every society the activities necessary to the survival of the whole are divided and apportioned to the various members*.⁴² The presence of these common factors perpetuates a system of organization that makes it possible for the society to persist throughout time.

Functional Prerequisites The performance of a given function is prerequisite to a society if it is to remain solvent and provide for its perpetuation as a social system. Some requirements are more stringent than others; however, the nonfulfillment of certain functions normally will foster one or more of the conditions, discussed earlier, negating a society. No specific action pattern is a prerequisite to the existence of an "ideal typical" society. Aberle and others, concerned with *what* must be done in a society, not with *how* it is done, offer the following list of functional prerequisites of a society:

1. Provisions for adequate relationship to the environment and for sexual recruitment.
2. Role differentiation and role assignment.
3. Communication
4. Shared cognitive orientations.
5. A shared, articulated set of goals
6. The normative regulation of means
7. The regulation of affective expression.
8. Socialization.
9. The effective control of disruptive forms of behavior.⁴³

Although these prerequisites are merely listed here, the implications of the more significant ones will be discussed in some detail during subsequent sections of this chapter.

The "Good" Society

What is a "good" society? How does the good society enable individuals to fulfill their potentials, to self-actualize, and to live the good life? These are philosophical questions and problems that have confronted philosophers and behavioral scientists for years. Combs and Snygg,⁴⁴ in considering these issues, suggest that the purpose of society and of social institutions is the satisfaction of human need. In their minds, the basic human need is the preservation and the enhancement of the phenomenal self.

In postulating these two assumptions, Combs and Snygg assume a culture-free criterion by which they proceed to describe the comparative goodness of societies. The following quotation expresses their basic view of a good society:

A society is good to the degree that it enables its members and neighbors to live with health, security, self respect, and dignity. It is good in the degree to which it aids its members to the development of selves adequate to deal with the world that surrounds them. A society is bad to the extent that it fails to provide these things for its members or removes them from its neighbors. The inadequate self will feel threatened and will threaten others in turn. . . . One criterion of a good society is the extent to which it makes less necessary the use of techniques for satisfying needs like domination and aggression which give satisfaction to one member only by depriving others. . . . A society which fails to satisfy the needs of its members is therefore not only not good for them; it is also a source of danger to its neighbors. In a good society there can be no unimportant members. The criterion of a good society is the amount of self actualization it succeeds in fostering in its members.⁴⁵

THE AMERICAN CULTURE

The preceding sections presented major characteristics common to cultures and societies in general, as revealed by the sociological and anthropological literature. Much of the discussion was concerned with theories and abstracts as they related to social systems and culture. If we are truly to understand the developmental behavior of the American child, we cannot study him in theoretical abstraction, but must view him in the cultural setting of his country- in the "real" culture in which he behaves and internalizes the way of life.

The Concept of Real Culture

As we have mentioned previously, the lack of differentiation between cultures as they exist through time and cultures as they exist at a particular

point in time has been a source of endless trouble not only to psychologists and anthropologists, but also to other behavioral scientists who have attempted to deal with the culture concept. Psychologists in their studies for the most part are concerned with the brief segment of a culture continuum that corresponds with the life spans of those being investigated. Ralph Linton has helped clarify this problem of a two faceted concept by coining the term *real culture*. According to Linton,¹⁶ the real culture of any society consists of the actual behavior and way of living of its members. As such, it includes a vast number of elements, no two of which are identical. We know that no two persons ever react to a given stimulus in exactly the same way, and even the same person will react to stimuli in his world differently at different times. Hence, every individual bit of behavior differs in some particular from every other bit.

Ultimately, the innumerable items of behavior that constitute a real culture can be sorted out upon the basis of the situations that normally evoke them. Each generalized situation will be linked with a particular series of behaviors, all of which have numerous features in common. Behaviors that fall within the effective range of social sanctions will be considered as normal and those that fall outside of it as deviant. Such a range of normal responses to a particular situation may be designated as a pattern within the real culture. According to Linton, the real culture may be conceived of as "a configuration composed of a great number of such patterns, all of which are, in greater or less degree, mutually adjusted and functionally interrelated."¹⁷ We must remember that each of the *real culture patterns* is not a single item of behavior but a series of behaviors varying within certain limits. As we explore the distinctive characteristics of the American way of life, we should do so in the framework of a real culture concept.

Behavioral Characteristics of the American Culture

What are the collective behaviors of the American people that constitute the culture of the American society? Former President Lyndon B. Johnson may have given us a clue when, in his inaugural address, he said of the "Great Society":

. . . It is the excitement of becoming—always becoming, trying, probing, falling, resting, and trying again—but always gaining.

. . . In each generation—with toil and tears—we have had to earn our heritage again.

. . . If we fail now, then we will have forgotten in abundance what we learned in hardship: that democracy rests on faith, freedom asks more than it gives, and the judgment of God is harshest on those who are

most favored. If we succeed, it will not be because of what we have, but what we are; not because of what we own, but what we *believe*.

One of the key words in the preceding quotation in relevance to the behavioral aspects of culture is *believe*. In a phenomenological sense, a person and groups of people behave as they believe. This entire section will explore the beliefs, values, and behaviors of American people; this is their "real" culture. Of the many cultures and subcultures throughout the world, two divisions have been mentioned in connection with heredity—the two-way division based upon the sexes and the three way division based upon race. Race is also included in the more comprehensive division of ethnic culture, which includes people grouped according to their religious faith, geographical locations or nationality, system of government, caste system, and so forth.

The United States is composed of a great variety of ethnic cultures, this division being one of its distinctive characteristics. Each subcultural ethnic group, as might be expected, has its individual behavioral culture patterns, manifested in child-rearing practices, food habits, recreational preferences, language expressions, religions, and attitudes and beliefs toward different governmental, economic, and social problems. In the American "melting pot," more than fifty ethnic cultures are represented within one of the country's major regions, which in turn have cultures distinctive to them. New England, the Deep South, the Middle West, the Mountain States, the Southwest, the West Coast, and the Alaskan and Hawaiian communities all have different historical backgrounds, traditions, climates, resources, language patterns; and major religious and occupational groups within the regions are, of course, the community and the family cultures, and all the cultures derived from various classifications of socioeconomic status, or social class. These latter cultures have such a significant and immediate influence upon the child's behavior, learning, and personality that they will be discussed in separate sections of this chapter.

The culturally induced behaviors a child learns are deeply ingrained into ways of looking at himself and his world. All members of a cultural group share and are influenced by the cultural heritage of that group to such an extent that certain behavior patterns are sometimes mistakenly regarded as inborn. For example, we speak of Yankee ingenuity, Southern hospitality, Midwestern industriousness, and the Western mode of casual living. If we were to examine the nature of this apparent inbornness, we would find that the respective cultural pattern has been internalized to so great a degree that it is completely integrated into the lives and personalities of the group members and, as such, is passed on generation after generation through attitudes, overt behavior, and symbolic communication. As we can imagine, these deeply internalized subcultural behaviors are not

easily uprooted, supplanted, or fused, they must mingle with the essential cultural features of the American society as a whole in the observable, developmental behavior that characterizes the ongoing maturation of American youth

Distinctive Features of the American Way of Life

As we have indicated, the influences of subcultural ethnic, regional, and socioeconomic factors will permeate the developing behavior of America's children. What are the basic distinctive features of the American way of life that will be woven throughout the proximal internalizations of the more primary culture-inducing groups? What are the common factors of the American culture? Numerous behavioral scientists both in America and abroad have studied the American way of life and have suggested some broad behaviorally oriented concepts that are distinctive to the general culture of our society. We shall explore some of the major features as viewed by some of our authorities.

As viewed by Psychologists Baller and Charles,⁴⁸ psychologists, suggest the following major distinctive features of the American way of life: enterprise, independence, humanitarianism, cooperativeness, and honesty. *Enterprise* is a trait that many students of American culture have placed high in their descriptions of the typical American. Historically, the trait doubtless has definite associations with the need, especially in the behavior of pioneering Americans, for venturesomeness, daring, and courage. As long as there are frontiers to challenge us, whether we see them as geographical, industrial, scientific, intellectual, or otherwise, we are likely to value the enterpriser in our midst. One paramount motivational value in our society is the urge to "get ahead," to make something of ourselves.

Independence is a characteristic that the great majority of us in this country believe to be descriptive of us. Like enterprise, it has long been associated in this country with the spirit of the hardy pioneer and also the freedom-loving immigrant to this land.

Humanitarianism has, especially in recent years, been a feature of our own self-image and, fairly consistently, a feature ascribed to us by our friends in other countries. No people in all history have been more sensitive to appeals at home and abroad on behalf of needy and underprivileged persons. We emphasize this human quality to our children by many acts of kindness and generosity. Brutality in any form is usually regarded as obnoxious to our culture.

Cooperativeness has won a place in the American way of life by being so essential to the survival both of the individual and the group in our pioneering society. At the same time that we value the entrepreneur, we commend a productive group effort. We tend to view enterprise and cooperativeness

as mutually supportive behaviors that should be learned and valued by every individual.

Honesty is not only the best policy in our society; it is required of all who measure up to the image Americans have of themselves. Sometimes teachers and parents strive so energetically to inculcate this trait in youth that we defeat our purposes by failing to demonstrate the need for another virtue, trustfulness, which is a necessary ingredient of the learning situation in which honesty is developed. Sometimes with the tremendous pressures upon American youth to be enterprising and successful in their academic achievements in relevance to parental expectations or unrealistic goal-aspirations, they find themselves in a conflict of values regarding honesty and the competitive struggle for personal survival. Nevertheless, honesty is regarded as a characteristic valued in America by Americans. We need only to ponder the variety of ways in which we depend upon other people's integrity in carrying on our way of life to realize the extent to which this value has been assumed to be assimilated into our style of life.

As Seen by Sociologists. In discussing some salient characteristics of the American society with special reference to their effect upon youth, Talcott Parsons, a distinguished sociologist, emphasizes industrial productivity, economic development, military growth, legal and political expansion, educational and scientific advancement, urbanization, societal organizations, geographical and social mobility, structural differentiation in the magnitude and complexity of social organization, and *instrumental activism*, which implies that its cultural grounding lies in moral and (eventually) religious orientations deriving directly from Puritan traditions.

Parsons⁴⁹ describes the basic moral pattern of Americans as fundamentally individualistic, tending to maximize the desirability of autonomy and responsibility in the individual. Yet this is an institutionalized individualism, in that it is normatively controlled at the moral level in two ways. *First*, it is based on the conception of human existence as serving ends or functions beyond those of physical longevity, or health, or the satisfaction of the psychological needs of the self apart from these value commitments. In a sense, then, it is the building of the "good life," not only for the particular individual but also for all mankind—a life that is accounted as desirable, not merely desired—including commitment to a good society. *Second*, implementation of these moral premises necessary for the autonomous and responsible achievements of the individual needs to be regulated by a normative order—at this level, a moral law that defines the relations of various contributions and the patterns of distributive justice.

The American society, then, has a dual meaning, from this moral point of view. On the one hand, it is perhaps the primary field in which valued achievement is possible for the individual. Insofar as it facilitates such achievements, the society is a good one. On the other hand, the building

of the good society (in terms of its progressive improvement) is the primary goal of valued action, along with such cultural developments as are intimately involved in social progress. To the individual, therefore, the most important goal to which he can orient himself is a contribution to the good society. Parsons summarizes his views concerning these significant value patterns in the American society by saying:

To sum up, we may state that both the nature of the American value pattern and the nature of the process of change going on in the society make for considerable difficulties in the personal adjustments of individuals. . . . Our type of activism, with its individualistic emphasis, puts a heavy responsibility for autonomous achievement on the individual. . . . It subjects him to important limitations: he must not only be regulated by norms and the necessity of working cooperatively, in collective contexts; he must also interpret his own responsibilities and the rules of which he is subject. Beyond that, ours is a society which in the nature of its values cannot have a single clear-cut societal goal which can be dramatically symbolized. The individual is relegated to contributions which are relatively specialized, and it is not always easy to see their bearing on the larger whole. Furthermore, the general erosion of traditional culture and symbols, which is inseparable from a scientific age, makes inadequate many of the old formulae once used to give meaning and legitimation to our values and achievements. This is perhaps true in particular of the older religious grounding of our values.⁵⁰

Respect for individual integrity, for what we have called human dignity, and the autonomous nature of the individual have long been tenets in American culture that have been emphasized as paramount values in our way of life. The implications of these values for developmental behavior are that the growing child should have the freedom to explore, to move, to behave, to act, to undertake responsibility, and to become the individual that he is potentially capable of becoming within the framework of the social structure of our society. Dorothy Lee emphasizes this traditional American trait in some detail while defining the modes of American freedom.⁵¹

David Reisman, an eminent sociologist, in systematically describing the impact of industrialization and urbanization upon the everyday living of people, indicates that the main consequence of technological change is the transformation of the model American character from inner-direction to other-direction. If you are interested in exploring the impact of our changing American culture upon the individual integrity and autonomy of Americans in our modern society, you should read Reisman's *The Lonely Crowd*⁵² or Lipset's "A Changing American Character,"⁵³ an evaluative critique of Reisman's views in this area. Fromm⁵⁴ suggests conscious relatedness among men to capture the power of individuals to shape their own

character and destiny in the face of the organizational impacts of our modern technological culture

Through the Eyes of an Anthropologist Margaret Mead, one of our most distinguished anthropologists, has captured the essence of the modern American culture and the problems facing our diversified and changing society in her book *And Keep Your Powder Dry*.¹ According to Mead, one of the major problems facing us is that of creating peacetime contexts within which an equal and sufficient commitment will be made upon all youth and periodically, upon every member of our highly diversified society. She indicates that whatever form these behaviors may take they must have some national significance and must add to the dignity and worth of every individual. Mead believes that today we are making a conspicuous sacrifice of those older adolescents who have left school and are unemployed, of the poorly educated people in middle life who struggle for identity, of all of those who because of skin color or ethnic origin lack the opportunity to acquire or exercise their skills, and of the women who having given their early adult years to child rearing find themselves uncommitted to meaningful productivity.

Mead² thinks that many people in our society in an effort to chase the elusive concept of success as a status symbol in our culture tend to "keep up with the Joneses," are working too hard to enjoy the real values of living. She sees us as much more materialistically oriented in the consideration of success than we should be to release our energy for the zest and enjoyment of living; we need to take stock of ourselves. According to Mead. Basically, she thinks that our general national character has not changed in recent years, but that we find it less easy to fit ourselves into a new position in the world as an affluent society and an economic and political power. What, then, should we expect of ourselves as a nation? Mead suggests that like those for whom the price of affluence and wealth is increased responsibility, we should use our economic inheritance for the benefit of those who are in need of education, medical care, and social protection. Many Americans have opposed the preceding idea for one reason or another. Mead indicates that currently there are many welcome signs of a changing climate of American opinion.

The key to the change lies in a renewed capacity for self-criticism and self-evaluation, a renewed ability to look within and not always to the enemy for an explanation. Those who express doubt as to the individual's ability to control his own destiny nevertheless believe that power over one's destiny is a good thing. Those who question the future and recoil before a world that appears to have become too large, too omnipresent, and too complicated for comprehension nevertheless welcome the statement that the world can be made comprehensible and that it is possible to intervene in the course of history. Essentially,

what we need today is what we have needed in the past, that is, a stirring belief that there is a tremendous job to be done that Americans can do—if it can be done by anyone.⁵⁷

Thus, as an anthropologist sees our society and our national character we are not a hopelessly confused and lost social system, but a nation of maturing people who should make hope, rather than cynicism, our paramount value in working toward, as we always have in the past, the American Dream—the productive fulfillment of the lives of our people. Former President Johnson, in his address on United States policies in Vietnam, may have been referring to the American Dream—this generation's dream—in saying:

It is a very old dream. But we have the opportunity to make that dream come true. For centuries, nations have struggled among each other. But we dream of a world where disputes are settled by law and reason. And we will try to make it so. . . .

For most of history, men have hated and killed one another in battle. But we dream of an end to war. We will try to make it so. . . .

For all existence, most men have lived in poverty, threatened by hunger. But we dream of a world where all are fed and charged with hope. And we will help to make it so.

Our National Character

This section has explored some of the distinctive aspects of the American culture as related to our way of life. We have discussed selected aspects of our national character as viewed by psychologists, sociologists, and anthropologists. As we study the developmental behaviors of youth, we should consider the influential nature of these features upon the internalization of those experiences provided by the sociocultural setting. Other traits descriptive of the American pattern of life might be listed such as God-fearing, loyal, clean (where will more varieties of soap be found than in our supermarkets?), and friendly. Our culture teaches and preaches law-abiding behaviors, respect for one's elders, and moral respectability. These are the acceptable behaviors most insistently and universally emphasized by the responsible culture-imparting agencies of our society, which will be described in a subsequent section. These expected behaviors are the good—the "ideal"—features of our social life.

To be realistic we must recognize that not all the forces at work in our society are governed by—or in harmony with—the ideals and values just described. In our society paradoxical behaviors exist in terms of selfishness as well as humanitarianism, ruthless individualism as well as cooperativeness and socially motivated enterprise, payola as well as honesty, and much group behavior where we would hope for responsible independence. In the

multitudes of subcultures, defined in relevance to geographical areas, ethnic backgrounds, and religious beliefs, we may find many conflicts of values as compared with those we have identified as typical of the American society. Also, as we explore two other aspects of our national character, the changing American community and the cultures of the social classes, wide diversity of behavior and values among American people will be noted.

CULTURAL INFLUENCES OF COMMUNITIES

The society in which American children grow up is highly diversified and complex; it consists of many different groups of people, with characteristically different ways of life. A complex social system such as modern American society has both an over-all culture, a way of life shared by all Americans, and a set of subcultures, ways of life that differ from one subgroup to another. Whenever a smaller group of people within a society has certain ways of behavior, certain attitudes and beliefs, that constitute a variant of the major culture, we say it has a subculture of its own.

Most Americans share a common language, use the same system of money, weights, and measures, dress somewhat alike, and share certain political principles in common; at the same time there are a number of subcultures based upon ethnic or national factors (German, Polish, English), racial factors (Negro, Mongoloid, white), and various religious groups, each with their somewhat different beliefs and attitudes. People of a certain subculture share certain common behaviors, beliefs, or attitudes that are not manifested within other American groups. Variations in general food preferences, religious practices, and speech patterns are illustrative of characteristics that might indicate subcultural groups within the common American culture. Various sociologists have chosen to highlight one or another dimension of social subcultural living in America. One area that has been emphasized a great deal is the investigation of the social structure and the dynamics of living in a variety of communities.

Studies of Social Life in Communities

Since about 1930, a number of studies of American communities have been made by sociologists and social anthropologists to explore the dynamics of their social structure and to identify the subcultural impact upon social behavior in these social groups. The investigations have ranged from small towns through small cities to large metropolitan areas, in regional areas from East to West and North to South within the United States.

If you are interested in the findings of these studies, Havighurst and Neugarten⁵⁸ offer a rather complete summary in Chapter 1 of their book *Society and Education*. Some of the most quoted of these community studies,

in relation to their impact upon developing youth, are those that have been conducted by Warner and associates⁵⁰ (Jonesville), Hollingshead⁶⁰ (Elm-town), Warner and Lunt⁶¹ (Yankee City), and Davis, Gardner, and Gardner⁶² (old city in the Deep South). An examination of the preceding studies or similar ones will reveal some pertinent information concerning the developmental behavior of youth in these subcultural communities. If you are interested in the distinctive subcultural society of adolescents as investigated in ten representative communities, see Coleman's *The Adolescent Society*.⁶³

Culture and the Changing Community

Another aspect of our national character and a significant influence in the developmental behavior of youth is the changing American community in our society. Within almost every community we can find a wide diversity of occupations and religious and social organizations, developed to fill the needs of a complex way of life and molded largely by the culture of the people living in the community. The ways in which the social structure affects the developing child depends upon his family's position in relation to the total community, whether it occupies a majority or minority position.

The child whose father is an unskilled or semiskilled worker will quite likely live in a large industrial area, where his peers will be from the same sociocultural level as himself, the families large, the playground and park facilities public, and the youth organizations oriented toward some civic or religious groups. On the other hand, the child of a professional man might live in a college town or comparable community, where his peers are from the middle class, the families of average size, the playgrounds and parks few, the cultural emphasis on concerts, libraries, lectures, and art museums, and the religious affiliations casual.

If, however, children of far different family backgrounds find themselves living in somewhat the same areas or attending the same schools, adjustments regarding the relative sociocultural roles and positions of families will be determinants in their developing behavior. Furthermore, the child's adjustment to a particular culture is made more difficult by the fact that each type of community is constantly changing. Continuing advances in technology have assured us that few, if any, social units of American society will remain static or become stable.

Urbanization. For several centuries, America was predominantly rural, with scattered towns serving as trading centers. Formerly, the child reared in a small rural area experienced, almost exclusively, social contacts of an inbred nature—within his church, school, and grange groups, rarely outside his particular community. His peer group was small and stable, and he had far more interactions with adults than with children.

In recent decades there has been a tremendous population shift from rural to urban areas, bringing children into much closer contact with each other and involving them in a basically urban culture rather than a rural one. The advent of increased transportation facilities, the consolidation of schools, the construction of community centers, and the universal presence of radios and television in the home have greatly reduced the differences in educational and recreational opportunities between children in rural and urban homes. The rapid growth of urbanized sections, accompanied by a rapid decline in the population of rural areas, has not only changed the sociocultural complexion of many communities but has increased the complexities of living for the people in these communities. Instability among people, conflicts in values, emotional insecurity, and economic dependency have been some of the results of the continuing urbanization in our society.

Suburbia. Modern suburbia is a relatively recent sociocultural development evolving from our affluent society and improved standards of living. Its culture is primarily one of segregation in that the housing developments that are an integral part of suburbia have been designed for certain income levels. Thus, the children experience a segregation from the rest of society according to their social class, in the home, the school, the church, and in their recreational pursuits. Within suburbia, which is predominantly middle class, there are strong pressures for conformity. Parents are normally preoccupied with "keeping up with the Joneses," and they expect their children to behave in the ways that will enhance their own reputation and self-esteem.

In a sense, the adults in suburbia are building a whole new set of values centered around leisurely living. As a result, their goals are indistinct, obscured by the newness of their way of life, and the cultural heritage under which they were reared has, in many cases, been left behind with the extended families—the kinship—who remain the older, more stable, portions of the country. To a marked degree, suburbanites are as young as their communities. Much of the population is composed of young parents, children, and adolescents, the grandparents and older relatives seldom living in close proximity or within the same household. Hence, the children are isolated from the past family culture, growing up in an environment that is protective and permissive, rather than one characterized by the more traditional restraint and discipline. In many ways, these children view themselves as privileged individuals who have been turned loose in a huge amusement park to enjoy themselves. By the time they have reached adolescence, they have adopted the attitudes, values, and patterns of behavior of the adults of the community—conformity, insecurity, confusion of goals, and competitiveness for economic and social positions.

"Culturally Disadvantaged" Areas

In the last several decades, a great deal of concern and interest has been focused upon the "culturally disadvantaged" areas within our society. With the advent of immigration, technological changes, industrialization, urbanization, population shifts, and increased social mobility, slum districts have arisen within our large cities, and "cultural disadvantaged" areas have grown up in some of our rural areas, such as Appalachia, as economic opportunities have lessened with changing and shifting industrial and occupational trends. Some families have migrated to metropolitan areas to end up living in slums; others have remained at home in an economically and socioculturally sterile community.

The poverty and the lack of educational opportunities for these people and their children, both in the inner-city slums and in other far-reaching areas of our society, is one of the major problems facing our nation today. How can we help culturally deprived youth develop somewhat normally, so that they can have a commitment to themselves and to society in becoming what they could become? Currently, many programs are going on, and numerous books have been written discussing possibilities and solutions for enriching the sociocultural and educational aspects of the children's lives in these areas of our society. One such book in which you may be interested is Frost and Hawkes, *The Disadvantaged Child: Issues and Innovations*.⁸⁴

CULTURE AND SOCIAL CLASSES

Although ethnic, racial, religious, and regional subcultures exist in our society, as we have mentioned, there is another type of social grouping that cuts across all of the others and refers to *social* class groups. In every American community there are groups of people who recognize themselves as being similar in many ways. They live in basically the same kind of dwelling, have similar eating habits, dress in about the same ways, have similar tastes in furniture, literature, and recreation, and have about the same amount of education. Even though people of these social groupings may come from different ethnic and religious backgrounds, they find that they have much in common in their way of life; such a group is called a *social class*. These social groups consist of people who mingle together freely, have rather similar social habits and values, and whose young people tend to intermarry. This section will explore briefly the sociocultural aspects of social classes in our American society as a background for viewing the developing behavior of youth. For more detailed discussions see Kahl⁸⁵ or Parsons.⁸⁶

The Social Class Hierarchy

The various social groups that exist in America are organized into one functioning society, a society with an intricate pattern of interrelationships between groups, but one in which an overall structure exists. This social structure can be described in terms of social classes and the hierarchy of social classes. The members of a given social class recognize more or less clearly that their class occupies a position at the top, near the middle, or at the bottom. We are not saying that one class is better than another in a moral sense, but that some classes tend to have more economic and political power and more social prestige than others.

Some people, when they first become acquainted with the concept of social classes, tend to deny their existence in America because they may feel that such social identification is undemocratic. Yet all of us in America are aware that differences in social rank exist in any community, regardless of the term that may be used, all modern societies, whether they are democratic, autocratic, or totalitarian, have social classes by one name or another. In a democracy, the social classes have equal political rights, and there is substantial movement from one class to another. This movement we call *social mobility*. The democratic ideal of equality of opportunity means, in our society, the opportunity to rise in the social scale; it does not, however, deny the fact that the scale exists. One of the tests of membership in a social class is that of *social intercourse*—actual or potential. The members of a social class tend to belong to the same social organizations, to entertain one another in their homes, and to recognize a great deal of similarity in their ways of life.

Dimensions of Social Class

In speaking of social classes, we have been using the terms *levels*, *hierarchy*, *structure*, or *ranks*; the sociologist normally uses the more general term *social stratification*. Much of social stratification in our country and others constitutes a significant area of sociological research and theory, with relevant implications for developmental behavior and child-rearing practices. We have been speaking of differences and similarities between groups of people in terms of attitudes and beliefs, ways of life, patterns of social interaction, economic and political power, and social prestige. In a fairly recent book Kahl delineates the following major dimensions or variables that underlie the social structure in studies of social stratification by sociologists: (1) prestige, (2) occupation, (3) possession, wealth, or income, (4) social interaction, (5) class consciousness, (6) value orientations, and (7) power, or the ability to control the actions of people.⁶⁷

These seven variables are interdependent, and though all of them, with the possible exception of number seven, can be studied separately from the others, they interact to form the basis of the social class structure. For example, a person is often granted prestige by others when only his occupation is known. Similarly, people with high incomes tend to be persons within certain occupational groupings; they tend to interact with people of recognition in the community like themselves; they are granted considerable prestige; and they tend to occupy powerful positions with regard to community organizations, civic, political, or economic. In essence, persons who are high or low on one variable tend to be high or low on the others; groups of persons can be differentiated upon the basis of these dimensions; such groups constitute different social classes.

Characteristics of Social Class

The social status of a child's family has a direct, profound and encompassing effect upon the child's entire developing self; the characteristics of his social structure influence his motivations, perceptions, emotional behavior, success in school, and acceptance by his peers, as well as the external presentation of his self—dress, language, and conduct. Such influences are brought about as a direct result of the child-rearing practices and parental expectations distinctive to the social class of which his family is a member. Social class has been defined by Warner and Lunt⁶⁸ as "two or more orders of people who are believed to be, and are accordingly ranked by members of the community, in socially superior and inferior positions."

Warner⁶⁹ has devised an Index of Status Characteristics that has been widely used to make case studies of communities. For its criteria the ISC employs (1) occupations, ranging from professional to unskilled workers, (2) sources of income, ranging from inherited wealth through salaries and wages to public relief, (3) house types, from large houses in good condition to houses in very poor condition and dwellings not originally intended for homes, and (4) areas lived in, from exclusive "Gold Coast" sections to slums. Other criteria most frequently used are amount of education and behavior. Behavior, which includes dress, language usage, and attitudes, is perhaps the most obvious characteristic of social status. The words a man uses, his interests, his regard for and relationships with both his immediate and remote associates, his hopes and aspirations, and his regard for the use of social amenities are all reflections of the class in which he was reared.⁷⁰

There may be only two or three social classes in some communities, whereas in others six may be distinguishable. The older and larger cities of the East Coast—those in which a shifting process has taken place over the years, and those that have changed more slowly—may have six classes.

Newer and more rapidly growing and changing communities may have fewer classes, and the demarcations may be less evident. To discuss briefly the characteristics of the different social classes, we shall present an adaptation of a five class categorization used by Havighurst and Neugarten.⁷¹ We must realize, however, that differences between classes are overlapping and continuous, and that the following arbitrary divisions are but rough approximations in terms of their behavioral aspects.

Upper Class The upper class consists of individuals who possess family wealth, have income from rents, stocks, and royalties, belong to exclusive clubs, are often the power behind the scene in politics. They behave 'properly' but not compulsively because there is no problem of 'keeping up with the Joneses'—they *are* the Joneses. Education is important to them, but the striving quest for advanced degrees is not assiduous. Their children may pursue careers in law, medicine, politics, or architecture, but seldom do they become teachers or social workers. Marriages, which are stable, occur at ages later than the national average, and typically there are only one or two children. Exclusive recreation is usual, and foreign travel is common. Their spacious homes, with well-kept yards and buildings, are located in exclusive areas; many times they have more than one home in different areas of vacation interest. The women are not employed outside the home and, as a rule, have domestic servants in the home.

Upper Middle Class Upper middle class people are engaged in business administration and professional work. Normally, they are individuals with a wide range of economic resources, which they have gained through education and diligent work. They are active in community and political affairs, living in new and expensive homes adjacent to the *most* exclusive areas. Marriages are stable, with two or three children in the family. The children are given opportunities for good books, travel, and special developmental experiences, such as dancing and music lessons. These families generally have memberships in clubs providing opportunities for recreational and artistic experiences. Parents and their children are recognized as having a compulsion for education.

Lower Middle Class The lower middle class is that part of our population that best fits the stereotype of the 'typical American'. The majority own their own homes, and families are somewhat larger than those of the upper middle class and upper class. Marriages are generally characterized by instability. Some of the mothers work outside the home to supplement the incomes of their husbands, who work in a variety of white collar jobs. The families make long trips by automobile, but foreign travel is unusual. Children are verbally encouraged to go to school, where they are obedient and hard-working students in the elementary grades and high school, however, parental example is such that only about one third of them go to college.

Upper Lower Class The upper lower class consists of the industrious blue-collar workers and their families. They live in small but well-kept houses near or on the 'wrong side of the tracks.' The women, when not confined at home by four or more children, may work in factories, restaurants, or retail stores. Frequently, parents or the grandparents are recent immigrants. A third of the homes are broken by divorce, separation, desertion, or death. These people strive consciously or unconsciously for upward mobility. Leisure time activities for the men consist of gathering in pool halls or taverns, watching baseball games, and talking. Men, women, and children tend to be avid television watchers. Husband and wife carry on independent recreation, and, at an early age, children are expected to take care of themselves. Neither the parents nor the children read books or magazines often for leisure time activities.

Lower Lower Class The lower lower class is made up of sporadic laborers, cropfollowers, and recluses. All the rest of society looks down upon this class. They are regarded as trash; they contribute disproportionately to delinquency, crime, and sexual promiscuity. Local concerns in this subculture include getting into and staying out of trouble, appearing 'tough' to family, friends, and authorities; being smart enough to impose on others; being one's own boss rather than accepting external authority; and being controlled by, rather than controlling. Parents in this group are likely to be 'passive and fatalistic about their status.' They work sporadically, move frequently, and live in the poorest dwellings. Mothers often supplement the meager income of their husbands and children by working as waitresses, dishwashers, or domestics. Although there is an average of over five children per mother, more than half of the homes are broken by separation, desertion, or death. The instability of marital status has led to the terminology *tandem marriage* or *serial monogamy*, meaning repeated successive marriages of the common-law or 'trial type. Many siblings carry different last names, and the rate of illegitimate births is high.

Many of the characteristics of the lower classes can be explained in terms of their most persistent behavioral trait: the placement of a high value upon the immediate gratification of needs and desires, rather than upon a delay of satisfaction for a possible greater good.⁷⁴ America's prevailing middle class culture regards as a mark of immaturity the inability to postpone the gratification of impulses; yet it seems virtually impossible for the lower classes to behave otherwise. Such a value as a part of the lower lower-class culture results in many of the unstable and impulsive behaviors we have described.

Early, unstable marriages, so prevalent in the lowest class, indicate a disinclination to hold sexual desires in abeyance, quitting school to go to work is clearly evidence of the inability to plan long term satisfactions. As we have mentioned, lower lower class persons frequently change jobs,

residences and spouses; in addition, they have a tendency to spend all their money as soon as they acquire it.

Social Class and Developmental Behavior

As has been implied from the foregoing discussion of behavioral characteristics of the different social strata, social class has a variety of influences upon the developing behavior of youth. What is the impact of social class upon children? Although the details of class influences upon child rearing will be discussed in some detail in Chapters 7 and 9, we shall mention a few effects at this point. The assertion that class means deprivation and hardship for some and privilege and opportunity for others becomes most convincing when we consider the impact that class status has on children.

For the lower-class infant, his chances of handicap before birth are greater because of lack of prenatal medical care and advice for the mother. Furthermore, the mother is often overtired from working outside the home and caring for a large family; she is usually under emotional strain resulting from health and financial worries and the turmoil that accompanies the leaving of one spouse and the adjustment to another. Lack of education to deal with life's problems is a common characteristic of the lower-class mother, and stress and anxiety are, to a marked extent, the chronic patterns of life for her and her children. These conditions affect the health and emotional stability of the child, for the mother whose major concern is mere survival has little time or energy to satisfy any but the most basic needs of food, clothing, and shelter for herself and her children. As we have seen in the hierarchical system of need fulfillment, these conditions would not be contributive to meeting some of the higher-level needs for self-maintenance and especially not those for self-actualization.

Obviously a family's socioeconomic status will have an impact upon the child, even during his early infancy. It will affect his amount of play space, his opportunities for broadening his experiences and his world by way of travel, his time and recreation with his parents, the style, variety, and cleanliness of his clothing, and his nutrition. All of these factors would tend to influence the total development of the self, physically, emotionally, and socially. Garrison, Kingston, and Bernard⁷⁵ indicate that according to considerable research in child development, the following variables are directly related to the impact of social class upon developmental behavior: (1) motivation and perception, (2) social acceptance, (3) emotional behavior, (4) child-rearing practices, (5) parental expectations, (6) education and organized social activities. These facets of developing youth relevant to social class differentiation will be discussed in subsequent chapters, as already noted. If, however, you are interested in a brief account of social class, child-rearing practices, and child behavior, read White.⁷⁶

THE BEARERS OF CULTURE

So far, we have cited numerous aspects and facets of culture that contribute to the sociocultural milieu of the developing self. Who are the bearers of culture? Through what social institutions and media is culture transmitted and, in turn, internalized by youth? This section will explore briefly the roles of the family, the peer group, and the school as culture bearers. Inasmuch as these societal agencies will be discussed in detail in subsequent chapters, relative to their roles in the development of the self, the emphasis here will be to highlight the functional elements of their culture. If you care to examine the family, peer group, and the school at this time, read Chapters 4, 5, and 6 in Havighurst and Neugarten.⁷⁷

The Family

The smallest environmental and cultural unit to affect the development of the child is his family. Through his parents and grandparents, the child inherits the basic structure that makes it possible for him to acquire and to modify his cultural heritage—a heritage directly transmitted by his parents and colored by their interactions with each other and with the larger society to which they belong. Parents function as mediators of the world to which the child is exposed, explaining and interpreting the life he experiences in their own inimitable fashion, and, in doing so, they impose their attitudes and behavioral patterns upon him, make certain demands of him, and expect specified behavior from him—all in keeping with the culture they have. A child's family and his home life establish the standards by which he lives, his perceptions of right and wrong, his values and attitudes toward himself and others. In essence, the home and its respective emotional-social climate and setting has the earliest and greatest influence upon the child's social development.

The attitudes of parents and their interest and ability to provide a favorable phenomenal field for the child's developing self depend upon many factors, the most significant of which is the parents' own family background. Of paramount importance to child rearing are the facets of familial-cultural heritage—how the parents of today's parents felt about them and dealt with them, what their parents considered of fundamental or superficial importance, and the values their parents held and passed on. Many of the young parents of today who are experiencing difficult adjustments to the rapidly changing patterns of family living are those very "latch key" children of the war and postwar years who experienced little if any positive family interaction because of fathers being away most or all of the time and mothers being employed in factories or defense jobs. Thus, the children,

left to care for themselves if they were old enough or in the care of substitute parents if they were not, found their home environment insecure, impersonal, and shifting. It is not surprising, therefore, that the modern parents interpret their roles as being somewhat similar to the behavioral patterns they observed in their own parents. Carrier⁷⁸ maintains that parents no longer manage the lives of their children: education and discipline are delegated to the schools, recreation and skills to youth groups, and ethical and spiritual guidance to the church.

Such being the perceived roles of modern parents, the child frequently finds himself forced to look outside the family for judgments regarding his behavior and to find greater satisfaction than ever before in the approval of his peers. Concerning the crisis of the changing modern family, Vaughan states:

The many agencies and institutions in our cities are not strong enough to make up the lacks in such things as security, love experience, direction discipline, and control and identification models. Children, who comprise our future adult society, live in the midst of a paradoxical situation—a life with material comforts and prerequisites never before known to man, but a lack of direction, of clear and definite purpose.⁷⁹

The Peer Group

The child grows up in two sociocultural worlds—one is the world of adults—parents, teachers, and significant others, the other is the world of his peers or age mates—his friends, play groups, clubs and gangs, and school groups. For any child, the peer group means a succession of specific groups of children with whom he interacts, the average child will interact with a variety of particular peer groups as he grows up. Each group has its own rules, implicit or explicit; its own social organization, and its own expectations for group members. Chronologically, the peer group is the second major socializing agency and culture bearer. Usually between the ages of four and seven the child's social world changes radically, from a small world centered in the family to an expanding world with a second center in the peer group. From this time on, the individual relates to and continually learns from his age mates, thus, the peer group has a significant stake in the social becoming of youth.

As a socializing agency, the peer group serves the child in a number of ways. Perhaps the foremost function of the peer group, and the one with which we are most concerned here, is to teach the culture of the wider society of which it is a part. Although a peer group may be said to have a subculture that is distinctively its own, most such groups, with the exception of organized gangs in conflict with adult standards, reflect the adult

society and reinforce most of the values held by the adult society. Any child living in America learns from his age associates what it is to be an American—to work, to play, to talk, and to think in ways that are characteristically American. A child learns through his peers the prevailing standards of adult morality—fair play, cooperation, honesty, responsibility—that, although they may be childlike versions at first, become more adult-like with increasing age.

The peer group teaches children their sex roles, building just as in other areas upon the earlier teaching of the family, but changing and elaborating that earlier teaching in complex ways. From his peers, a child learns what behavior is acceptable and admired in a boy and what is accepted and admired in a girl. Thus, the peer group is a powerful agency in molding the behavior of males and females in accord with current American versions of manhood and womanhood.

The peer group is also a significant source of information in areas other than social relations. Although the information he receives may sometimes be incorrect or distorted, the child nevertheless turns to his age mates for information and clarification of a never-ending array of problems and questions evolving from his everyday living. Because the peer group often decides what knowledge is important and what is not, only after discussion with his age mates do certain kinds of information take on value and become a part of children's intellectual equipment.

Certain areas of teaching and information giving have become the special province of the peer group, whether by adult intention or not. The peer group, in most cases, teaches a child by actual experience how rules are made, how they can be changed, and, concomitant with this, an understanding of the individual's responsibility in a group situation. Because other social agencies, including the family, have evaded the responsibility (although this situation is changing somewhat), it has been left to the peer group, by and large, to impart sex education to the child.

The peer group also teaches the adult subculture of which it is a part. Ethnic, religious, social class, and regional subcultures are transmitted through the peer group. A child who grows up in the slums of Chicago or another large city associates with other lower-class boys and girls; he learns from them, as well as from his family, the lower-class way of life. Naturally, the same would be true of children in the middle and upper classes. In most cases, the peer group acts to reinforce as well as to elaborate the teaching of the family in inducting the child into his society and into a given social-class position in the society. Even though these examples could be multiplied, perhaps they are sufficient at this point to exemplify the importance of the peer group as a socializing agent for teaching the culture and its content.

The School

Like the family and the peer group, the school is one of the agents of society that socializes the child and transmits the wider culture. Like the family and peer group, the school should be viewed as a self-contained social system with a unique organization and distinctive patterns of expectations that are binding upon its members. The school has a subculture of its own—a complex set of beliefs, values, and traditions, ways of thinking and behaving that differentiate it from other social institutions. The function of the school is education, and all personnel are present to further that education. Education in the school, as compared with that in the family or in the peer group, goes on in relatively formal and organized ways; even those activities that are the least formal are evaluated in terms of their contribution to the learning situation. Groupings are formal, not upon the basis of voluntary choice, but in terms of aptitudes for learning and teaching.

The culture of the school contains a great many different elements: the physical plant, with its advantages or limitations, the curriculum, with its great variety of ideas and facts; the school personnel and the ways in which they interact; and the moral values and principles that pervade the school setting. The following quotation from Waller, who describes the culture of the school, may serve to illustrate that the school has a culture of its own, different from that found in other parts of society, with its own rituals and ceremonies involving both children and adults:

Teachers have always known that it was not necessary for the students of strange customs to cross seas to find material. Folklore and myth, tradition, taboo, magic rites, ceremonials of all sorts, collective representation, participation mystique, all abound in the front yard of every school, and occasionally they creep upstairs and are incorporated into the more formal portions of school life.

There are, in the school, complex rituals of personal relationships, a set of folkways, mores, and irrational sanctions, a moral code based upon them. There are games which are sublimated wars, teams, and an elaborate set of ceremonies concerning them. There are traditions, and traditionalists waging their world-old battle against innovators. There are laws, and there is the problem of enforcing them. . . . There are specialized societies with a rigid structure and a limited membership. There are no reproductive groups, but there are customs regulating the relations of the sexes. All these things make up a world that is different from the world of adults.⁸⁰

The orientation of the American school is predominantly that of the middle class. Therefore, there is a strong emphasis upon the character traits

of punctuality, honesty, and responsibility, respect for property is stressed. There is a premium upon sexual modesty and decorum. Although both competitiveness and cooperation are valued to varying degrees, there is always stress upon mastery and achievement. These middle class values, along with many others, are expected to be binding upon both the children and adults in the school setting.

The culture of the school has a profound effect upon what children and adolescents learn and the ways in which they learn. There is a saying that children learn not what is taught but what is caught. Much of what is caught—attitudes toward learning, toward authority, values of right and wrong, and so on—comes not from the formal curriculum, but from the pervading culture of the school. In any case, we must take into account the culture of the school in understanding how it functions as a socializing agent in the internalization of the total culture of the developing self in interaction with the phenomenal field of experiences.

PHENOMENAL SELF AND CULTURE

A culture is learned by individuals as a result of belonging to some particular group, constituting that part of learned behavior that is shared by others. As such, it is our cultural or social legacy, is contrasted with our organic heredity. Our heredity at the time of conception determines the extensions and the limitations of our self-potentialities. Our cultural heritage represents the broad patterns of transmitted experience upon which the self can feed for maintenance and actualization.

Culture regulates our lives at every turn. From the moment we are born until we die there is, whether we are conscious of it or not, constant pressure upon us to follow certain types of behavior that other people have created for us, our cultural heritage. Some paths we follow because we know no other way, others we follow willingly, still others we deviate from or go back to most unwillingly. By more or less adhering to a system of related patterns for carrying out all acts of living, a group of men, women, and children feel themselves linked together by a powerful chain of values and expected behaviors. This may have been what Ruth Benedict had in mind in saying, "Culture is that which binds men together."¹

Self and Cultural Heritage

Considerable evidence suggests that the development of the *self concept*, one's attitudes and beliefs about oneself, is an extremely significant phenomenon in the developmental processes of becoming a human being and actualizing one's potentialities. The concept of self comes largely from one's ideas about his social roles, and the type, consistency, and clarity of

these roles depend upon the individual's interaction within his sociocultural setting, particularly in primary social groups. Primary groups, such as the family, peers, and school, have considerable influence in American society, as we have seen. These groups are characterized by intimate face-to-face contact, by mutual support of the individuals who belong, and by the group's ability to prescribe, constrain, or order a considerable proportion of the behavior of its individual members.

We have mentioned numerous times, in one way or another, the pervading influence of the culture upon the development of the self. Although one can find no freedom from a culture and the cultural heritage of a society, an individual does have the freedom to choose how he perceives experiences within a prescribed social system. Speaking metaphorically, the cultural heritage determines what any member of a society is to learn. But if the cultural heritage does determine what is learned, how can behavioral differences be explained? Do we have a homogeneity of behavior, even though throughout this book we have insisted upon the concept of uniqueness of the individual? Is that which is learned from society, the cultural heritage, the same for all members of society, or is it different for various members? Spiro,⁸² in a classic article, deals with the problem of preserving the cultural autonomy of the individual self by discussing at length the following propositions: (1) The cultural heritage of any one individual in a society is different from the cultural heritage of any other individual. (2) The cultural heritage undergoes considerable distortion in the process of becoming one's cultural heredity. (3) The cultural heritage and culture are to be distinguished, conceptually, as referring to different, though related, phenomena.

In discussing the internalization of the culture by the self, Spiro demonstrates that the individual child is not exposed to the society as a whole, but that his assimilation of his cultural heritage is what the members of *his* family wish to teach him, is a function of what *they* believe, what *they* know, what *they* do, and what *they* feel. Even with this segmentation of the total cultural heritage, it still undergoes considerable distortion in the process of becoming an individual's cultural heredity.

In being exposed to the selected aspects of the cultural heritage transmitted by the family, the individual must incorporate these attributes into a self system that depends upon perceptual experiences and differentiated personal meanings for internalization. Thus, a person's unique cultural heredity may differ considerably from the cultural heritage to which he is exposed. According to Spiro, "One's cultural heredity is a unique configuration of *those* elements he has incorporated from his cultural heritage; this configuration being integrated by the totality of *meanings* this heredity has for him."⁸³ Spiro summarizes the relationship of the self and cultural heritage as follows:

His cultural heritage is the culture of his parents. Through the interaction of his biological organism and his enculturated parents, his social heredity or superego is incorporated by a selective process that renders his cultural heredity both quantitatively and qualitatively different from his cultural heritage. But his biosocial structure or personality [self] is not merely the sum of his biological and cultural heredities. For by interacting with other individuals he is not only creating culture, he is also modifying his personality by incorporating the meanings of these interactions [culture]. These acquired meanings serve to modify his personality, so that it becomes a unique configuration [phenomenal self] of the meanings of all his interactions—both parental and nonparental, culturally patterned and idiosyncratic. His cultural heredity, then, becomes fused with his entire personality culture. These modifications serve to modify his subsequent interactions whose meanings, in turn, are incorporated to modify his personality culture, and so on. The totality of all his interactions—is an integrated product—becomes the cultural heritage he attempts to transmit to his children.

Personality and culture, then, are not different or mutually exclusive entities—they are part and parcel of the same process of interaction. Both personality and culture reside in the individual or, to put it differently, they *are* the individual as modified by learning. If it is nonsense to speak of national character or modal personality, it is equal nonsense to speak of society's culture—for culture too resides in the individual, and there are as many cultures as there are personalities [selves].⁸⁴

As we have indicated, the ways of life of a society are the product of an accumulated heritage handed down through customs, habits, and various media of communicative interaction and are directly responsible for the manner in which each society handles the problems revolving around such areas of living as health, survival, marriage and mating, rearing of children, education, socialization, recreation, religion, care of the aged, and death and burial. Because a child is born into a culture (and many subcultures) as well as a physical and social world, the practices and attitudes involved in dealing with these problems have a direct and intimate bearing on his ultimate development.⁸⁵ In order to be viewed as "successful" a child must behave in accordance with the ways of life distinctive to the society into which he is born. Thus, behavior and the developing self at all stages and ages are influenced by what is expected and demanded by way of sociocultural "norms" which become immediate individual pressures.

Biocultural Behavior

Whenever a mother does the laundry or prepares a meal, or a father cuts the lawn, or a small child plays, some genetically inherited body parts are utilized in ways and for purposes determined by the culture of their society.

These actions have been termed *biocultural behavior* by Titiev⁸⁶ and other anthropologists. Titiev describes four possible combinations of stimuli and response:

1. Both the stimulus and the response fall within the scope of inherited biological factors.
2. The stimulus to action may originate in culture but induces a biological response.
3. Stimuli which arise within the body are responded to in a culturally determined manner.
4. Both the initiating impulse and the response are determined by culture.

In each of these four types of activity, some aspect of the biological self is activated and is, except in the first combination, interrelated with a cultural environment. The child, at an early age, through interaction with the people in his world, is guided toward making these interrelationships. Throughout childhood, he is required to modify his behavior and concepts of self in accordance with the cultural demands for different age levels. Thus, the child acquires the desire to do what is expected of him through a variety of culturally induced reactions that indicate disapproval or approval of his behavior by those responsible for his rearing. When this stage of self-development is reached, we say that he has *internalized* the values of his society.

Enculturation of the Self

The internalization of cultural values, which is closely related to the development of a conscience within the self, is brought about in the child through maturation and learning. The process whereby he is taught the social behavior required for adequate adjustment to his environment is called *enculturation* in an anthropological sense. Through this process the child adjusts his innate characteristics to the prevailing cultural practices of his society. He is born with the potentials to do so—potentials for maturing and for grasping, at different developmental levels, his inherited society's language, ways of behaving, attitudes, and values. Milner captures the enculturation of the self in the following passage:

Since the major source for what we learn, including what we react to emotionally, is the human environment into which we are born, the core responsibility for the younger generation's progress toward humanity, individuality, and inner integration rests squarely on the shoulders of the older generations, who represent and reflect the society into which

the new generation is born. Whether we are aware of it or not, we teach our version of human-ness and our social values and practices to younger persons through our relations with them, *not through lip-service, word-magic, admonitions*—whether these relations involve direct personal interaction, or are indirect, as in the case of adult-controlled mass media.⁸⁷

Acculturation of the Self

We have stated that the child is born with the potentials for adjusting his inherited characteristics to his cultural heritage. He is also born with potentials for later reorganizing and remodeling his culture in harmony with the changed conditions and needs that frequently manifest themselves as one culture comes into close contact with a more advanced one. This process of modification is known as *acculturation*. We might say that acculturation occurs, to an extent, when a child (a primitive culture) internalizes the values and behavior patterns of his parents (an advanced culture). In this instance, the process can never be a total one, because the child throughout his life has contacts and interrelationships with numerous significant adults.

As a child enters public school and turns more often to his peers for approval, he finds himself faced with the problems of adjusting to many different ethnic, racial, religious, and social class cultures. Because America is a cultural melting pot with a highly mobile population, such situations occur with consistent frequency in overcrowded, concentrated areas, such as large cities or climatically popular regions, where literally hundreds of different cultures are represented in any one educational or recreational area. Thus, with these situations and many more (such as families living, studying or working abroad temporarily) children often accomplish a subtle form of acculturation, which results, according to Redfield, Linton, and Herskovits, "when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact, with subsequent changes in the original cultural patterns of either or both groups."⁸⁸

SELF AND SOCIETY

Since the publication of George H. Mead's classic book *Mind, Self and Society*⁸⁹ in 1931, behavioral-science literature has been replete with discussions concerning the relationship of the self and society. Two current books of note are Stoodley's *Society and Self* (1965)⁹⁰ and Sanford's *Self and Society* (1966).⁹¹ The purpose of this brief section is to establish the basic identification of the self in society to provide a framework for the discussion of socialization—the process of becoming a social self—to be explored subsequently.

The self has a characteristic attribute that differs from that of the person's physiological organism proper. The self has a development; it is not initially present at birth, but arises in the process of social experience and activities. A self, then, develops in a given individual as a result of his relations to the developmental process as a whole and to other people within that process. The individual experiences himself as such, not directly, but only indirectly, from the particular standpoints of other individual members of the same social group, or from the generalized standpoint of the social group as a whole to which he belongs.

A person enters his own experience as a self or individual, not directly or immediately, not by becoming a subject to himself, but only insofar as he first becomes an object to himself just as other individuals are objects to him or in his experiences. He becomes an object to himself only by taking the attitudes of other individuals toward himself within a social environment or context of experience and behavior in which both he and they are involved. The self then, as that which can be an object to itself, is essentially a social structure arising in social experience. So basically, the somewhat objective structure of a society provides a framework within which an individual's noninterchangeable and singular characteristics will develop, find expression, and be formulated into a unique and distinctive self. The origin of the self system can be said then to rest upon the character of the society.

Mead,⁹² in his classic book, addressed himself to the problem of how the multitude of selves or self-awarenesses becomes organized into a coherent cognition existing with a society. The concept of the 'generalized other'—an abstraction of all the individual's interactions within a society—is his solution to the problem. Thus, the learning principle of generalization plays a major role in organizing interpersonal experience into a unitary self and the cohesive others in society. Mead explains his position regarding the developmental self and society as follows:

. . . there are two general stages in the full development of the self. At the first of these stages, the individual's self is constituted simply by an organization of the *particular* attitudes of other individuals toward himself and toward one another in the specific social acts in which he participates with them. But at the second stage in the full development of the individual's self that self is constituted not only by an organization of these particular individual attitudes, but also by an organization of the social attitudes of the *generalized other* or the social group as a whole to which he belongs. . . . So the self reaches its full development by organizing these individual attitudes of others into the organized social or group behavior in which it and the others are all involved.⁹³

Thus the "social" aspect of human society is in reality simply the social aspect of the selves of all individual members collectively. Through a social

process, then, the biological individual of the organism proper gets a mind and a self; through society man, the impulsive animal, becomes a rational being. With the internalization of the culture of his society, the individual acquires a self capable of reflective thought and of living as a moral person in a common social and scientific society. Because of the emergence of such an individual, society is in turn transformed, receiving through the reflective social self the organization distinctive of human society. The individual fulfills his responsibility within this human societal setting by acquiring a social self, to perpetuate the close relationship of self and society, in the continuous processes of socialization and the transformation of society.

ON BECOMING A SOCIAL SELF

Among the earliest experiences that influence the development of the child's view of himself are those with other people. According to Sullivan,⁹⁴ the "self system" has its origins socially in interpersonal relationships, and it is influenced by the "reflected appraisals" of "significant" people in the child's life. If a child is accepted, approved, respected, and liked for what he is, he will be helped to acquire an attitude of self-acceptance and respect for himself. But if the significant people in his life—at first his parents and later his teachers, peers, and other persons who wield an influence—belittle him, blame him, and reject him, the growing child's attitudes toward himself are likely to become unfavorable. As he is judged by others, he will tend to judge himself. Furthermore, according to Sullivan's views, the attitudes concerning himself that he has thus acquired will, in turn, color the attitudes he has toward other persons. He judges himself as he has been judged and then, in turn, judges others as he judges himself.

Nature of the Social Self

In order for an organized group to endure, its members must correctly perceive the group's structure and be motivated to conform somewhat to their role requirements. The term *social self* refers to *the way a person perceives his role requirements and to the attitudes he adopts concerning his own roles of other persons*. Self, then, in this sense, designates systems of behavior that are acquired through processes of learning and social interaction. The purpose of this section is to explore the theoretical nature of becoming a social self—the process—socialization as a framework to study the phenomenal self in growth, development, and adjustment. The socialization processes of the self will be studied in some detail in the rest of this book. Because the multiple aspects of the functioning social self will be presented more meaningfully in context in subsequent chapters, the discussion here will be more theoretical and conceptual.

Self as a Cognitive Structure. Awareness of one's motives, which we shall consider to be the basic mechanism of the self, is an act of cognition by an actor in the social scene who appears in a variety of situations with a variety of behaviors expected by him and of him. Within recurrent social interactions there develop expectancies that an individual actor (social being) and others will behave in predictable ways. Such patterns of repetitive expectancies and resulting responses may be referred to as "social roles." In the course of a day, and throughout a lifetime, people enact many roles. Thus, the reflection of ourselves in those with whom we interact is not unitary and unchanging. In one social situation, involving certain persons, we become aware of certain behavioral impulses; in another situation, involving other persons, the repertoire of pertinent impulses is different.

These social situations raise the question of what the self can be if it is *only* reflexive and shifts continually when we change the content and personnel of interaction. For Mead, as we have noted, the answer lies in the development of the generalized other. Sarbin, however, speaks of cognitive structures organized about a central issue or problem that dominates the individual at a particular stage of his development. He calls these cognitive structures "empirical selves."⁹⁵ Sarbin posits five empirical selves, each representing a phase of development; the social self comes last in the process of maturation. He describes the development of social awareness within the self as follows:

The *social self* thus emerges as a new cognitive substructure. The child has a reference-schema with which he can organize perceptions and cognitions of the organized behaviors of other persons. Now he can differentiate not only *discrete acts* of persons, but *organized acts* or *roles*.⁹⁶

The Self and Role Behavior. Perceiving acts as roles involves a high state of generalization, including the capacity to perceive regularities or patterns of interactions as well as the capacities to classify a particular instance of interaction. But our need systems operate within a larger field provided by the social situations in which we find ourselves. As we go from one situation to another, the need system is altered according to each situation. These alterations require shifts to the appropriate selves or changes in the cognition of motives, together with the evaluative component of this cognition. This attribute of cognition—the feeling of liking and wanting or disliking and not wanting one's motives—provides the key to the organization of empirical selves into a generalized integrated whole, which we call *the self*. Sarbin describes the situation this way:

In a word, roles which are perceived as congruent with one's current self-organization are capable of enactment; roles which are incongruent with the self are distorted in enactment or delayed or rejected.⁹⁷

Self-image and Role Identity Sargent discusses the problem of role identity in almost the same way in saying

Another aspect of the ego, the self-image, is definitely based upon roles. The individual's more or less consciously formulated idea of himself depends upon his subjective roles—his conceptualization of his relationship to others. It may well be that a person has several self-images, depending upon his major group affiliations and attendant roles. Furthermore, it is quite possible that the clearer and more articulate the person's self-image, the more he becomes ego involved with the included role.⁹⁸

Thus, we see that those roles which do not articulate with the self-image are rejected and are not identified with the self. This notion of selection of situations or roles that are congruent with the existing self-image leads to the thought that it must take time and a multiplicity of interaction situations for a general self-image to emerge. Only in the person who has had a variety of role experiences with their correlated self-concepts, can there be a generalized self-image that has persistence and internal consistency. Enacting any role entails having positive or negative feelings about it. If a person has negative feelings about enacting a role he cannot avoid, the evaluative component of its enactment may be repressed.

Congruence and Consistency of Self-identity Ego involvement in a role requires a reflection of oneself in its enactment that is congruent with the existing self-image—the image that "I am one who does thus and so." Under these circumstances, if the role does not fit the self-image, the person is not ego involved in the role—that is, he performs it without accepting the evaluative component. As Miller has said, "The self is then a primary object of value—an object with attributes that must be kept consistent with the requirements of social positions."⁹⁹ Not only must our own feelings about a role or a variety of roles be internally consistent for us to be comfortable with them, but the images of ourselves reflected in our interactions with others move us toward consistency.

These comments on the necessity of maintaining a consistent self-image lead us to the consideration of a psychological phenomena called *identity*. As Erikson¹⁰⁰ and Hilgund¹⁰¹ have stressed, the notion of continuity of the self in one's memory is essential to identity. In Erikson's words, "this sense of identity provides the ability to experience one's self as something that has continuity and sameness, and to act accordingly."¹⁰² Much of a person's social behavior is directed toward protecting the consistency of his identity. He does this in two ways. First, he selects only those interaction situations that reinforce the existing identity. He wants to be with persons who treat him as if he is what he thinks he is, and he avoids those who do not. (Of course, if he does not like what he thinks he is, he may seek new

persons and experiences that will help him to change his self-image.) Another means of protecting the consistency of the identity is through the use of mechanisms of defense. These are psychological processes of altering one's perception of a situation and of oneself in it as a means of maintaining and protecting the self as one perceives it.

Acquisition of the Social Self

The self is acquired by the individual as a result of his participation in group life. Behavior systems and symbolic skills are learned through social contact, including the rewards and punishments meted out by parents, peers, social groups, and communities. "*The processes of interaction through which the individual learns the habits, skills, beliefs, and standards of judgment required for effective participation in social groups are called, collectively, socialization.*"¹⁰³

Every child is born into a social environment, he reacts from the earliest moment to the major aspects of his physical and social environment. *Survival depends upon care and affection provided by other persons.* The process of reaction to environment has been going on for about nine months before the individual is born. Words such as *growth, maturation, and learning* are commonly used to designate these reaction processes. *Maturation* refers primarily to the physical and chemical processes of development over which man has comparatively little control. *Learning* designates chiefly the social and symbolic processes, which can consciously and intentionally be controlled. *Learning* makes possible the socialization of the child, the development of symbolic skills, the acquisition of habits and patterned behavior, and the accumulation of culture.

Symbolic Basis of the Social Self The mechanisms of heredity place certain limits upon the adaptability of the human organism and its capacity for learning. However, the ways in which man's capacities and energies are expressed or directed are much influenced by culture. Symbols provide the connective tissue through which people influence each other, through which past experience influences present adjustment, and through which present experience is influenced by anticipation of the future. The use of symbols in these ways is a unique feature of human life and the social foundation of personality and human society.¹⁰⁴

The self is largely a result of the interaction processes by which standards of ethical judgment, belief, and conduct are established in social groups and communities. Whenever people talk, read a book, or engage in symbolic communication in any way, they are drawing upon cumulative experience and knowledge. Feelings of reverence, loyalty, and allegiance have evolved from experience and by the symbolic products of experience. Judgment of moral problems and issues, of "good" and "bad," is acquired

from the ethical standards that prevail in groups and communities and are transmitted to the self by symbolic communication. To understand human behavior and the acquisition of a social self, the interrelations between the behavior of the individual and the standards and norms that are maintained and supported by society must be recognized.

Social groups tend to reward conformity to the behavioral norms and standards that are held in high esteem. Groups and communities also discourage deviant behavior that is interpreted as a threat to sacred practices or desired goals. Symbolic communication is the means whereby these expectations for behavior are transmitted by the older people in society and perceived and interpreted by children. The degree of skill and efficiency exhibited in evaluating human experience and learning is largely determined by the symbols, language, and standards of judgment communicated as part of the social heritage. Accordingly, the individual learns to express in his own behavior the standards of practice generally accepted within his society and to seek the goals and values thereby prescribed. Thus, the self is, in large measure, a product of the symbolically communicated social pressures through which society produces both conformity and individuality in the behavior of the individual. A more detailed discussion of the relevance of symbolic communication to developmental behavior will be presented in Chapter 11, "The Learning Self."

Socialization. The function of socialization is to make the individual an effective member of his group and society. This is achieved when the child acquires the group's definitions of positions and roles and when his self-approval is based upon the group's approval of his performance. Socialization is a continuing process by which the group develops self-restraint among its members so as to minimize the need for external restraints. The child acquires the habits, attitudes, and beliefs of the group to which he belongs chiefly through contacts with other persons.

Most social contacts are mediated through the use of language. Language facilitates the types of communicative interaction that develop distinctly human traits within the child, traits similar to those of the people around him. With the acquisition of language, *social sensitivity*, upon which all distinctly social relations rest, begins to develop in the child. Even before he develops language, the child has already perceived that certain behavior on his part results in approving or disapproving reactions by the people in his world. But only with the development of language does he begin to respond to the *symbols* of such approval or disapproval. Children become susceptible to subtle indications of approval and disapproval at a very early age. They understand the significance of facial expression and tone of voice before they do that of language proper. They strive to attract attention and to elicit praise for their behavior; they are equally observant of attitudes of disapproval. In this way the child is constantly parading himself before the

series of social mirrors that constitute his primary group. These mirrors enable him to see himself as others see him. His interpretation of what he sees reflected in these mirrors determines the child's estimates of himself, his self-image.

One of the most lucid descriptions of the origin of the self and the rise of self-consciousness is Cooley's ¹⁰⁵ analysis in terms of sympathy and imitation. The child begins very early to imitate certain behavior of the primary groups, such as the family or the neighborhood play groups, to which he is first exposed. This imitation includes vocal behavior as well as facial expressions and gestures of every kind. From his interpretation of this behavior with reference to himself, the child secures his estimate of himself. This is the self he sees reflected in the behavior of others toward him or, as Cooley called it, "the looking glass self."

There is no other way in which he can have any opinion of himself—self-consciousness, self-esteem, or other self-feeling—except through this *imagined judgment of what others think of him*. What others think of him, actually, is not important in this respect. It is what he *thinks* others think of him that determines his estimate of himself and many of his social attitudes. In this sense, social consciousness and self-consciousness are inseparable. Thus, the primary group is the cradle and creator of human nature, the facilitator of socialization.

The social processes described here and many more that are a part of the socialization of the child are operative throughout life. Although we have described the processes of socialization in the primary groups because of the absence of complicating factors, similar procedures of self-assessment against group reactions continue to be influential. As the child's world expands to include membership in numerous groups outside the home or neighborhood, he can find bases for additional estimates of himself. He can parade before them and see in their attitudes toward him a different image of himself. Subtle communications from others surround each person. To the extent that these are correctly read, a person's self-estimate will correspond to the group's estimate. Thus, he has been socialized in that he is regarded as a well-adjusted, normal personality and an effective member of his group and society, making him so is the *function of socialization*.

TOWARD SOCIAL BECOMING

Social maturity, like emotional maturity, is a lifelong, ongoing process, a *state of continual arrival*. *Social development* means acquisition of the ability to behave in accordance with social expectations. It has been defined as the

process by which an individual, born with potentialities of enormously wide range, is led to develop actual behavior which is confined within a much narrower range of what is customary and acceptable for him according to the standards of his group¹⁰⁶

Hurlock¹⁰⁷ indicates that the basic essentials of socialization are (1) ample opportunities to socialize, (2) motivation in relevance to satisfaction derived from social contacts, and (3) learning methods adequate to achieve the desired results. Becoming socialized involves essentially three processes that, although they are separate and distinct, are so closely interrelated that failure in the development of one will result in a lower level of socialization than one might normally anticipate.

Processes of Socialization

The three processes involved in socialization are (1) proper performance behavior, (2) the playing of approved social roles, and (3) the development of social attitudes.¹⁰⁸ *Proper performance behavior* means that the child will behave in a manner approved by the social group. Because every social group has its own standards of what is "proper" behavior, the child must know what that behavior is and pattern his own behavior along the approved lines. A *social role* is a pattern of customary behavior that is defined and expected by members of the social group. Every social group has its own recognized patterns of behavior for members of the two sexes as well as for different ages of behavior. For example, in various groups there are prescribed roles for parents, children, siblings, grandparents, teachers, and many other people within a child's world.

The third process involved in socialization—the development of *social attitudes*—is that of becoming imbued with a sense of oneness, intercommunication, and cooperation.¹⁰⁹ A socialized person likes people and social activities; he is a friendly person who reflects his attitudes toward people in the quality of his behavior. In essence, becoming socialized means that the child behaves in such a way that he will fit into the social group with which he wishes to be identified and will be accepted by the group as a member.

Socialization, Conformity, and Sociability

On the surface, it may appear that socialization and conformity are synonymous—that a person must be slavishly conventional in his behavior and attitudes if he is to be an accepted member of the social group. Within limits, *this assumption is correct in childhood*. While the child is learning

how to become a social person, he must have a stable model to copy, and he must copy it with a minimum of variation. After learning what the social group expects of him, he may vary his behavior to fit his own needs, desires, and aspirations, provided he does not vary it too much or to the point where he disregards social expectations.

"A rugged individualist" is normally not an accepted person at any age or level of social maturity. If a person does not want to conform to the standards of the group, the group generally does not want to accept him as a member. A slight variation from the group by way of displaying individual uniqueness, provided the group regards it as superior to the accepted pattern of behavior, not only will be acceptable but also will be imitated; the members of the group will make this deviant pattern their own pattern.

A *social* person is one who conforms to the three criteria of social development discussed. He behaves in an approved manner, plays the role society prescribes for him, and has favorable attitudes toward people and social activities. Relatively few people (either children or adults) conform to all three of these criteria. Most, however, willingly create the impression that they conform in order to win social approval and acceptance. They do so by learning to use "fronts" to cover up thoughts and feelings that might be considered socially unacceptable.

A *nonsocial* person fails to measure up in one or more of these criteria. He may behave as the social group expects but have unfavorable attitudes toward people and social activities; he may like people and social activities but his behavior may not conform to standards essential for acceptance; or he may fail to measure up successfully in all three criteria. A child may be nonsocial because he is ignorant of what the group expects, because he willfully disregards social expectations, or both. A nonsocial person may, therefore, be either unsocial or antisocial. An *unsocial* child has not yet learned what society expects of him. An *antisocial* child, on the other hand, knows what others expect of him, but intentionally does the opposite. No child is born social or antisocial; he must learn social behavior through the processes of socialization.

Erickson's Stages of Socialization

A number of schools of psychological thought have formulated stages in the process of socialization. Currently, one of the more thoroughly developed and popular approaches is that of Erickson, who has developed a concept of eight stages through which man progresses in social becoming.

1 *Learning trust versus mistrust*. If the child is well nurtured he develops trust and security. If the infant can endure the mother's absence without becoming anxious, because he can depend upon his mother's

satisfying his needs, he has passed through this stage successfully. But if the child is inadequately handled, he becomes insecure and mistrustful.

2 *Learning autonomy versus shame* The second stage is reached during the Freudian's anal stage while the child is being toilet trained. If he is well managed, he comes out of this stage certain, rather than ashamed. During this period, the child learns to assert his will and becomes somewhat autonomous as a person.

3 *Learning initiative versus guilt* The next stage is when the healthy child learns to broaden his skills to cooperate, and to lead as well as follow. If he is fearful, he will continue to be dependent upon adults and be restricted in the development of social skills and imagination.

4 *Learning industry versus inferiority* Entrance into school coincides with this stage. At this time, the child learns to win recognition by being productive. Work becomes pleasurable, and he learns to persevere. If the child does not feel competent in his skills or satisfied with his status among his peers in work skills, then he may develop a sense of inadequacy and inferiority.

5 *Learning identity versus role diffusion* This stage is reached at the time of puberty when childhood is left behind and the transition to adulthood begins. The individual has to find a place for himself, an identity—a self-concept—that corresponds with others' ideas of him. He is seeking answers to the question "Who am I?" Role diffusion implies an uncertain confusion of one's place in his world, with an accompanying uncertainty of appropriate behavior.

6 *Learning intimacy versus isolation* When the individual has ascertained his identity, he is ready for the sixth stage. He is now capable of experiencing the intimacy of an enduring friendship or marriage. He is sure of his own identity so that he can completely abandon himself in situations that call for it without being afraid of losing that identity. Fear of self-abandonment results in a feeling of isolation.

7 *Learning generativity versus self-absorption* The seventh stage, in which a conflict occurs, is in outgrowth of the sixth. The goal here is generativity, which has been defined as parental responsibility, the interest in producing as well as guiding the next generation. The individual is able to work productively and creatively. When this interest is lacking and self-absorption becomes the way of life, the individual stagnates or may even regress to an earlier stage.

8 *Integrity versus despair* If the previous seven psychosocial crises have been successfully resolved, the mature adult develops the peak of adjustment—integrity. He trusts he is independent and dares to explore new experiences. He works hard, has found a well-defined role in life, and has developed a self-concept with which he is happy. He can be intimate without strain, guilt, regret, or lack of realism; he is proud of

what he creates—his children, his work, or his hobbies. In essence, he is in high gear, regarding his social becoming and the fulfillment of self. If one or more of the earlier psychosocial crises have not been resolved, however, he may view himself and his life with disgust and despair.¹¹⁰

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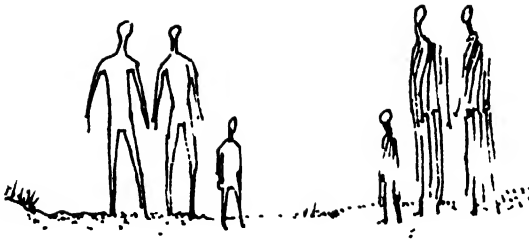
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7

The Attitudinal Self

*The world is a looking glass
and gives back to every man
the reflection of his own face*
Thackeray



As the preceding quotation implies and as Spinoza so aptly stated, *Man is a social animal*. Man becomes uniquely human through his 'reflected' interaction in a world of people and their ideas. In this milieu he develops a self structure consisting of many assimilated, experiential concepts, including values and attitudes. In this chapter we shall explore the basic nature of values and attitudes as they are formulated by social interaction within the family and society in general, which serve as "mirrors" for the self. Although the peer group is another significant source of attitudinal development, this area will be discussed in Chapter 13 in relation to validation.

There is growing evidence in psychological literature that man's fears and sufferings and the sources of his development problems arise not so significantly from his basic strivings, but from the realm of the human spirit in which values and meanings are warring with one another as reflected in the human predicaments generating from the social settings of human beings. As such, man's troubles spring not only from his sexual, marital, and vocational difficulties and failures, but equally if not more, from his self-frustrations as he attempts to become a social being. These frustrations arise in the *noosphere*, as deChardin¹ calls it—the sphere of consciousness and self-reflection—in which man struggles with the meaning and destiny of his own life within the social scene, as he attempts developmentally to assimilate the multiple aspects of the sociocultural attributes of his being-in-becoming.

THE SELF AS A SOCIAL BEING

Never can we forget that we live in a world of people, we not only are influenced by them but exert our own influence upon them. The accumulated ability to live with or to get along with others often is as important to an individual's happiness and self-realization as the intellectual behavior he displays in adjusting to his phenomenal field. The importance of social behavior—the process of relating and getting along with those with whom one lives, studies, plays, or works—becomes clear when we realize that effective social adjustment improves physical and emotional health, adds to enjoyment in play, encourages school success, and increases productivity in work—all significant aspects of our becoming. Basically, social behavior is a descriptive concept that encompasses the physical and psychological interactions of two or more organisms.² Traditionally, social behavior has been described and investigated at three different levels of organization: social perceptions and responses of the individual, social interaction within an identifiable group (group dynamics), and the social structure of organized institutions (family, school, church, and other socializing agents).³

The Child in the Social Scene

Each child develops within a specific social setting. The nature of the individual's phenomenal field, or life space, has a significant influence upon his learning experiences and how he feels about them. Social contact is necessary for normal development. Human behavior is learned in the daily interactions with parents, siblings, and eventually significant others both among peers and adults. Thus, each culture and, to an extent, each social

group to which the individual belongs furnishes a set of expectations and relationships that influence the eventual development of social skills, behaviors, and attitudes. *Man*, we have said, is a *social being*. His interactions with people are what make him distinctly human; therefore, analogies drawn from animal research are impractical and unrealistic.

From the time when his life begins, each child is very much a social being. Soon after birth, even while he himself is quite passive, strong ties are being established between him and other human beings. Interwoven with the child's earliest experiences and expectations, and intimately connected with his survival from day to day, are associations with other people and their activities. These ties accumulate as he emerges from the somnolence of the first few days of life, and they multiply during the ensuing weeks and months as he grows more alert to what is happening about him. Thus, these social ties, born of a child's complete dependence upon others only dimly defined in his earliest experiences, and taken quite for granted at a later time, are powerful influences as long as he lives. Through them his awareness of his humanity emerges; his relationships with others are the soil in which his existence as a separate self has its roots.

As time passes, the child becomes more independent and conscious of himself as a separate being, and as his powers increase, he becomes more self-assertive. His self-assertion may reach the point of apparent defiance of society and all its ways and functions. But whatever front he may assume, he is never completely weaned from his dependence upon others; he never becomes so self-sufficient that he is immune to the approval of other human beings or free from a desire for affection and security in his relations with them, for the process of *social development* - a continuous ongoing striving - means the acquisition of abilities to behave in accordance with social expectations.⁴

The story of social development is also a story of the child's struggle to be an individual in his own right, to assert and to express himself as an independent being. In the normal course of development, the child becomes more actively social as he grows older, builds ties with other persons, and acquires values and aspirations that have a social orientation. But along with this development he also learns to become more individual, to assert himself, to be independent, and to have a voice in the management of his own affairs of living. We sometimes speak of the "individual" and the "social" as though they represent two distinct and different spheres of existence. If we look to the emerging child, however, we find that this is not true. For example, the toddling child is very individualistic, but also very sociable. On the individualistic side we may notice at various stages his readiness to protect his own interests and to rebuff invaders, and his personal goals, aspirations, and desires. On the social side, we may note

that he is bound to others with a tie that is as essential to his psychological existence and growth as the umbilical cord was to his physical existence.

Self in the Society

The child, then, is a creature of the social life from which he draws his psychological nurture: society lives through him. But he is not simply a creature—he is also, in a sense, a creator of himself; from an early age he begins to assert a kind of independence. Although the child's selfhood is grounded in society, he is not like a reed bending to every breeze or like a sponge that absorbs everything in the social currents flowing about him. Beginning early in life there is much selection involved in the process by which an individual comes into existence and emerges as a separate self. What we have called the self comes into being as the child, with all his inborn potentialities and tendencies and all that is inherent in his make-up, comes to grips with the experiences of life. Thus, to study the process of socialization, not only do we need to consider the social environment in which the child lives and the social behavior he begins to manifest from an early age, but we also need to try to understand him as an emerging self within the social setting.

What, then, is the self? Although we have discussed the nature of the self in some detail during an earlier chapter, a quick review of the fundamental attributes of self will be presented here. According to Jersild, a leading proponent of self theory, the self, as it finally evolves is "a composite of thoughts and feelings which constitute a person's awareness of his individual existence, his perception of who he is, and his feelings about his characteristics, qualities, and properties."⁵ James⁶ sees the self as the "sum total of all that he can call his."

Jersild⁷ believes that the self includes, among other things, a *perceptual* component: the way a person perceives himself, the image he has of the appearance of his body, the picture he has of the impressions he makes on others. Included as a part of the self is a *conceptual* component: the person's conception of his distinctive characteristics, his abilities, resources, assets, lacks, and limitations, and his conception of his background and origins of his future, and of what he might become. There is also an *attitudinal* component of the self, including the feelings a person has about himself and his origins and background, his attitudes toward his present status and future prospects, his tendency to view himself with pride or shame, his convictions concerning his worthiness or unworthiness, and his attitudes of self-acceptance or self-rejection. As a person works toward maturity, these attitudes relating to self include also the beliefs, convictions, ideals, values,

hopes, and commitments that compose what we speak of as a person's philosophy of life.

We may think of the self as a person's total subjective environment in that, for the person himself, the self is the "center of experience and significance."⁸ Basically, the self constitutes a person's inner world as distinguished from the "outer" world consisting of all other people and things. Murphy⁹ has described the self as the individual known to the individual. Sullivan¹⁰ sees the self as the "custodian of awareness," and Wenkart¹¹ defines it as "the nucleus on which, and in which and around which experiences are integrated into the uniqueness of the individual." Although the self is a subjective phenomenon, from the point of view of the person himself it is both subjective and objective. When a person says, "This is how I feel," he expresses a subjective state of which only he has any experience. But he can also view himself objectively in the sense that he examines this feeling that he has, asks what is the nature of this feeling, and inquires what might be the reason he feels as he feels. So the self is a knower and something known, a perceiver and something perceived.

The concept of selfhood, constituting the private, intimate inner life of a person, which only he has access to and which only he can directly know, is *an essential concept for understanding the developing child*. We stress this point so that you will be constantly reminded of this as we explore the dynamic becoming of the self in the process of assimilating attitudes as the child interacts within himself and within the social scene. In viewing another person, it is difficult for a child or an adult to remember to visualize what the situation might be like from the inner world point of view of the person who is being observed. As the child matures, his selfhood becomes the sum and substance of his own existence as a human being. Unless we recognize the significance of the child's selfhood in working with him or studying him, we deal only with the visible surface and the external operations that appear in the form of overt behavior. These facets of behavior are important because they are the tangible features we must deal with as a key to try to understand what he thinks and feels.

As we explore the process of attitude development, we should remember that the child's views and attitudes regarding himself are essential features of his existence, whether or not they are consistent with the views others have of him. His perception of himself is significant, even if his perception is quite incongruous with the picture others have of him when they look him over from an objective point of view. A person's conception of his characteristics, his ability, and his prospects is an exceedingly important fact, even though his views may be quite unrealistic as judged by all standards other than his own. His attitudes concerning himself similarly represent a kind of essential truth, even if by any kind of evaluation other than his own these attitudes are wrong. If he is convinced that he is disliked,

unlovable, and bad, then within the dimensions of his own private world he is unlovable and bad, even if the 'chairs of heaven and the hosts of the earth' proclaim him to be a lovable saint

The Process of Socialization

Because the developmental details of socialization, as related to the acquisition of a social self, were presented in an earlier chapter, the purpose here will be to note briefly the basic rudiments of social development as a frame of reference for discussing subsequently the development of social attitudes and the home and society as attitudinal influences. *Socialization* is the process of learning to interact with people within the expectations and obligations of various groups in reference to their standards, mores, and customs. Essentially, it is learning and living the culture of the group to which one belongs. *Social development* then refers to the acquisition of the ability to behave in accordance with social expectations.

As Child has pointed out

Socialization . . . is a broad term for the whole process by which an individual born with behavioral potentialities of enormously wide range is led to develop actual behavior which is confined within a much narrower range, the range of what is customary and acceptable for him according to the standards of his group.¹²

According to Hurlock,¹³ the three processes involved in socialization are (1) proper performance behavior, (2) the playing of approved social roles, and (3) the development of social attitudes. *Proper performance behavior* means that the child will behave in a manner approved by the social group. A *social role* is a pattern of customary behavior that is defined and expected by members of the social group. The third process involved in socialization, the development of *social attitudes*, is that of becoming "imbued with a sense of oneness, intercommunication, and cooperation"¹⁴ that leads to approved behavior. In essence, becoming socialized means that the child behaves in such a way that he will fit into the social group with which he wishes to be identified and will be accepted by the group as a member.

ACQUISITION OF SOCIAL ATTITUDES

As the self is socialized from interaction with people within the phenomenal field, social attitudes are acquired. Research into attitudes and beliefs indicates that young people reflect faithfully the attitudes of their elders, but also they tend to modify these points of view as they grow older and are influenced by various individuals and agencies outside the home. Then

attitudes toward the members of various nationalities, races, and ethnic groups are compounded of those of their parents and teachers, plus those that grow out of current events. Certain aspects of the self and special background conditions tend to produce intolerance and prejudice, whereas contrasting influences tend to produce tolerance. Information, as such, does not seem to be an important factor in the development of attitude. Most prejudices are of emotional origin and may be merely projections by means of which an individual rids himself of emotional tension generated within his phenomenal field. In the fostering of social attitudes, we may want to cogitate upon the idea that "youth is a mirror which reflects all the blemishes of an adult society."

The Nature of Attitudes

John Ruskin once said, "The ennobling difference between one man and another is that one feels more than another." Every situation experienced by a child or older person is accompanied by a more or less pleasant or unpleasant feeling tone. An attitude develops from the kind of feeling tone that habitually is associated with a person, a thing, a condition, or a situation. We might think of an attitude, then, as a tendency, an inclination, or a readiness of the self to move toward or away from elements within the individual himself or external to him and reflecting his past perceptual experiences with them. The term *attitude* has been adopted to express a phase of development more complex than factual learning. Specifically, attitudes are inclinations, prejudices, or preconceived notions and feelings toward things, persons, situations, and issues.¹⁵

Although we speak of one's attitude toward racial or religious groups, or toward fundamental social and economic issues, attitudes become much more significant when viewed as a part of the personalized self. Even though attitudes may be more passive or more persistent than interests, they are extremely important in determining our actions. In this respect Newcomb offers a functional definition of attitude:

An attitude is not a response but a more or less persistent set to respond in a given way to an object or situation. The concept of attitude relates the individual to any aspect of his environment which has positive or negative value for him.¹⁶

Our attitude toward a situation or a person depends upon the extent to which inner stimuli motivate us toward or away from participating in an activity or associating with a person. Another dimension, then, of the attitudinal self is that "*an attitude is a predisposition to act in a positive or negative way toward persons, objects, ideas, and events.*"¹⁷ Like concepts, attitudes are *orientation processes*; as such, they provide *direction* for our

behavior. If we do not like Negroes or think that Jews are untrustworthy, we have a particular orientation toward them. Attitudes are also *preferential processes* by which we evaluate positively or negatively, persons, places, events or things. Our preferences reflect the *selective* character of attitudes. The fact that we think and feel in a specific manner means that we are *predisposed* to perceive specific people and events in certain ways. Thus, we are not neutral or indifferent, but we are *set, prepared, predisposed* to think and to feel in a prescribed manner, and our behavior will tend to be consistent with the way we think and feel.

Our attitudes are not taught in the sense that skills are; attitudes are a result of a perceptual understanding and appreciation of stimulating experiences and accompanying emotional response as we internalize the happenings within our phenomenal fields. Often a child is unaware of the attitude that motivates his behavior in a particular situation. An attitude may be present but temporarily inactive, becoming then an aspect of one's *disposition*. If the child's attitudes are accompanied by strong feeling tones, they are referred to as *sentiments*. The child's developing attitudes are specific at 1.5 years. They influence his thoughts, interests, and overt behavior; they vary with his changing interests and experiences. Hence they are the fundamental concomitants of his personalized self in relation to other people. Insofar as a child's attitudes show themselves in his overt behavior, they become the bases of judging the reputation of the self among associates.

Attitudes and the Self

To the extent that a person achieves awareness of what others think of him as a distinct and unique self, his attitudes are affected by this knowledge, either constructively or destructively. For example, a child who is accustomed to receiving approval of his conduct from his elders, especially parents and teachers, is likely to develop outgoing attitudes, accompanied by further efforts to obtain commendation for his actions. Another child, who consciously or unconsciously has engaged in adult disapproved behavior, may earn the reputation of being mischievous or uncooperative. If he is blamed continually, sometimes unjustly, for whatever goes wrong in his immediate phenomenal field, he is likely to perceive the situation as trying to please what he considers to be unreasonable adult requests. He may therefore assume an attitude of not caring what people think of him; he may engage consciously in irresponsible behavior, believing that since he has the name, he might as well enjoy the game.

As the individual matures, he learns more about himself than he does about external situations, because he tends to apply the general conclusions of his many learning experiences to himself. Actually, this conglomeration of experiences fostering self knowledge is called the self concept. The self

concept is actually a pattern of attitudes, rather than knowledge, and is learned in the same way as other attitudes. Thus, *the pattern of one's life is the living out of his self-image—it is his road map for living.* The self-concept is the integration of the individual's countless learning experiences that strongly influence his perception and motivation in new experiences or situations, and, in fact, it actually shapes these new experiences to conform to the already established behavioral pattern.

Attitudes as Anticipatory Behavior

An attitude is one kind of anticipatory behavior, but not all anticipatory behavior represent attitudes. A small child can anticipate his mother's displeasure if he drags mud into the house, but it is unlikely that he has an attitude about dragging mud into the house. If we are driving a car, we make numerous anticipatory responses, but such behavioral responses are not attitudes. According to McDonald¹⁸ the following characteristics differentiate attitudes from other kinds of anticipatory behavioral responses:

1. *Attitudes describe a general relation between a person and something else.* Anything that the person can distinguish as psychologically separate from himself can be an *attitude object*. We have attitudes toward groups of people, toward institutions, about particular people; we have attitudes toward physical objects, such as our home, our desk, our favorite book. Also an individual may have many attitudes toward himself. An adolescent may have an attitude toward his body—the fact that he talks about his physical make-up as “his body” indicates that to him, his body is an attitude object.
2. *Attitudes are directional orientations toward persons, places, or abstract ideas.* As such, we are for or against something; we prefer one group to another; we like and dislike. Normally, a person who has an attitude is not neutral toward the attitude object.
3. *In describing people's attitudes, we can conceive of them as having varying degrees of strength or intensity.* If a person's attitude is relatively weak, if he does not feel strongly about certain people or objects, we would predict that his observable behavior will not be greatly influenced by his attitude toward these subjects. On the other hand, if a person feels very strongly, either positively or negatively about certain people or things, we would predict that his observable behavior would be correspondingly more influenced by these attitudes.

4. *Attitudes are acquired.* A child is not born with a set of attitudes toward people and things in his phenomenal field. Attitudes require a *discrimination* and a *generalization* over many similar kinds of objects. An individual may or may not have an attitude toward a particular person of an ethnic group or a specific organization of a social institution, but if he has an attitude toward certain ethnic groups or social institutions, he has probably generalized his attitude to embrace any particular persons who fall into these categories. Thus, through the processes of discrimination and generalization, the individual develops a general pattern of response which we call an attitude.
5. *An attitude is a consistent way of interpreting and responding to one's environment.* As the self develops, we tend to perceive people, things, and events within the experiences of our phenomenal fields in reference to our attitudes. These perceptions of the moment become reality for us, and we will behave accordingly.

The Development of Attitudes

Attitudes depend upon experiential situations around us from which we have constructed multiple behavioral patterns and built up various images and concepts. Numerous observations of behavior indicate that physical and social contacts within our phenomenal field result in the establishment of conscious self-adjustments and reaction tendencies. The child born and reared in a social world is continually subjected to ever-changing social stimuli; socially, he becomes what he makes himself as he perceives social experiences within his environment. G. H. Mead points out that we learn who we are and the kind of a person we are from the reaction of other people to us.¹⁶ This learning begins at an early stage, so that by puberty the individual has acquired notions about *self* and others like and different from himself. Racial and religious attitudes, then, seem to be acquired as a part of the individual's attitude toward himself and as one of the areas of definition of his relationship with others.

Attitudes and beliefs are "soaked up" from the milieu in which the child develops. They are a result of all the physical and social stimulation he has encountered. As boys and girls mature, their attitudes develop and change, a result of the influence of their families, community mores, religion, peer culture, and school experiences. Clinical studies indicate that one startling, unusual, or traumatic experience can influence an individual's attitude for the rest of his life. Other attitudes are built up over a period of time; the individual has new experiences and interprets these and integrates them into his ways of thinking and feeling. A child of two or three

may have no strong attitudes toward school because he has had little experience with school or with teachers. When he starts kindergarten, he begins to react to the environment of the school, he develops some general self-perceptions and orientations toward schooling. As he progresses through school, some of his perceptions of school are strengthened positively or negatively. His reactions to and perceptions of one teacher may be generalized to other teachers.

Essentially, in self development, the child reaches a point where we can say with some assurance that he has a definite attitude toward school and teachers. Ideally, the modern school emphasizes the importance of initial and continuing pleasant and rewarding school experiences for the child. The modern teacher is encouraged to be warm, pleasant, and friendly, so that children may develop correspondingly positive attitudes toward him. The process of acquiring an attitude, such as a positive attitude toward school, is complex. We cannot be sure that a pleasant kindergarten teacher or a pleasant kindergarten experience or even a few years of a rewarding and agreeable school environment will result invariably in the acquisition of a positive attitude toward school. A pleasant school environment may or may not offset the influence of a parent who continually rewards expressions of his own negative school attitudes. Because attitudes are *sets* to respond to one's environment as perceived, the experiences to which one is responding during attitude development are significant determinants of the attitude that is learned.

The Assimilation of Attitudes Within the Phenomenal Field

A child's thoughts, interests, feelings, and actions constantly are being influenced (1) by his perceptual experiences in the home, school, and community and (2) by his exposure to media of mass communication. As environmental changes occur through the experiences of new perceptions, so may the individual's attitudes and behavior change from what they formerly were. His new attitudinal and behavioral patterns may be acquired consciously or unconsciously. The culture of a people is a potent influence upon attitude development. The child acquires his cultural attitudes first from his parents and later from others in his immediate environment. Children's feelings become ambivalent, and there may be a conflict of attitudes if the child is exposed too suddenly to attitudes that differ markedly from those common to his home culture, such as the different perspectives of the home and of the peer group.

As the child expands his phenomenal field, other cultural attitudes that may need to be changed with the widening of cultural horizons are food tastes, religious views, and attitudes toward ethnic background. Racial, national, and religious prejudices and definite political affiliation may be

experienced by the child who has lived with and absorbed the attitudes of adults who possess narrow self-satisfied attitudes toward people who differ from themselves in any of these respects. Sometimes, in spite of opportunities to appreciate the fundamental likenesses among people, an individual may carry into his adult associations with them those biased perceptions and attitudes that he acquired during childhood years. The preceding attitudes and many others are assimilated as the result of imitation and suggestion as perceived from the behavior of people in the phenomenal field. The attitudes and behavior of his parents, teachers, playmates, and other admired individuals exercise a potent influence upon a child's attitude. Without recognizing the reasons for his attitude, he reflects the likes and dislikes, the points of view or beliefs of those with whom he is closely associated. As the child experiences various relationships with the adults and peers in his environment, suggestions by word or gesture exert a powerful influence on his attitudes. The child's attitudinal repertory is formulated from his perceptions, whether correct or incorrect, of the behavior, attitudes, and beliefs of the people in his phenomenal field as he interacts with them—this is his real socializing world.

Attitudes and Developmental Stages

Infants and young babies experience simple feelings of physical well-being or discomfort. During his first year, the happy, healthy child displays outgoing, possibly affectionate, behavior toward those adults who form his narrow environment, but may be relatively withdrawing with strangers. From the ages of one through four, the child may develop an attitude of resentment toward attention given by his parents or close relatives and friends to other children. These are the years during which a child tends to develop a kind of negative attitude. In spite of seeming resistance, however, he may accede in action to suggestions that he apparently negates violently.

During the elementary school years, the child becomes more independent, he acquires definite attitudes toward himself and toward other individuals, conditions, and situations. Also he is more likely to appreciate his own attitudes and those of his teachers and schoolmates. He may develop strong likes and dislikes and continue to seek approval of his behavior, although his attitudes tend to be relatively specific. For example, the primary child knows that he should obey his father and mother, but he still may need to learn that he should have a similar attitude toward his teacher as a parent substitute. Some children identify with teachers so well that they acquire their teachers' dicta rather than their parents'. As adolescents, they even may be inclined to give greater consideration to the expressed attitudes of peer associates than they do to the opinions of their own family members.

By the time a child approaches adolescent years, he probably has developed many generalized attitudes, some desirable and others undesirable. These attitudes are not always understood by adults, who sometimes wonder how a young person who, as a child, was agreeable, cooperative, and amenable to suggestion, suddenly can develop such queer notions. These adults fail to realize that the preadolescent and early adolescent years constitute a struggle for increasing independence and self-realization. A young person's developing attitudes toward himself, his associates, and environmental regulations and restrictions are merely symptoms of this struggle. He either conforms or does not conform to expected patterns of behavior; he may view himself as a potential adult rather than as a child. Although the adolescent is driven by the physical and emotional changes that are taking place within him to want to behave as an adult and to be treated as if he were one, yet his relative immaturity causes him to become confused as he attempts to translate his growing attitudes into satisfying behavior.

Some preadolescents and adolescents become very much concerned about the problems of other people, wanting to participate in projects related to the amelioration of unfavorable living conditions, even beyond their physical or mental abilities to do so. Others have the urge to engage in adult activities such as smoking, drinking, or emulating adult social activities. Although these are expressions of the adolescent's growing up attitudes, often the behavioral realization does not fulfill his expectation, and the youthful explorer in adult living must search self to reconstruct his attitudes toward himself and his place in society. Because of adverse home conditions, some young persons unfortunately may need to assume attitudes of responsibility for family welfare long before their maturational patterns have prepared them for these responsibilities. Frequently, an adolescent, in his relations with adults, may perceive them as narrow-minded and intolerant, and think that he possesses a more understanding attitude toward conditions and situations, especially those in which he is involved. Incidentally, the preadolescent's or adolescent's attitudes can be extremely biased in favor of his own personal needs and desires. The resulting conflicts between the perceptions of adults and young people may take a heavy toll in the form of resentment, misunderstandings, or the development of antisocial attitudes by the adolescents.

THE HOME AS AN ATTITUDINAL AGENT

Currently, some psychological literature, particularly that in a humanistic vein, is viewing man as a self-actualizing person who becomes a unique individual through the developmental internalization of his dynamic human experiences. Distinctly characteristic of the human being is that he

is able to perceive his experiences and to evaluate them in relation to self. Because the self is probably the most important thing in the world to a person, the questions of what he is like and how he feels about himself engross him deeply. This process of self-involvement permeates the being-in-becoming of the individual as he develops within the home climate. This book assumes that the self-image, emerging from perceptual experiences, is central to the subjective life of the individual, largely determining his thoughts, feelings, beliefs, interests, attitudes, and behavior. The same theme of developmental behavior is paramount to our discussion of the attitudinal influences of the home.

Although some explorations of home influences report the impact of these phenomena upon the developing child with little recognition of the self factors, the current presentation will view the building of the self-concept as the central focal point. Illustratively, the child is raised in a family, whether broken or intact; he may have siblings in varying combinations; he has parents who have certain feelings toward him. From this ferment of social interaction a self-picture begins to emerge—the attitudinal self. This family lives in a neighborhood, belongs to a social class, usually identifies with a religious group, and derives from a national background. These social groupings impose upon the developing person a characteristic style of life, set of values, and system of beliefs and ideals that covertly, imperceptibly, unintentionally, but nevertheless powerfully, provide the bases for self-judgment. With a different background the developing self would be different and would see itself differently. The discussions of the attitudinal self in this chapter are based upon the assumptions that the social experiences during childhood and adolescence, relevant to home and family relations and general cultural influences, become significant factors in the development of the self image of an individual in reference to his perceptions of these experiences.

There is some evidence for the preceding assumptions in the numerous research reports of the self-concept critically surveyed by Wylie²⁰ and by the recent studies on the self-image by Rosenberg²¹ and by Gale.²² This literature, ranging longitudinally from 1911–1967, emphasizes the tremendous significance of self factors in the developmental processes. The Gale study, in particular, reporting the findings concerning an investigation of the developmental phenomena in the self-images of over two thousand college students, indicated the lack of a statistically significant positive correlation between self-esteem factors and faith in people, home climate, parental interest, and parental relationships.²³ These findings would tend not to support the conclusions of classic research studies, such as the Baldwin and others report²⁴ and the theoretical considerations of Horney,²⁵ Sullivan,²⁶ and Fromm²⁷ and others who emphasize the importance and the significance of people and social climates (especially parents and the home)

in determining idiosyncratic self factors during the development of a socialized personality. In general, the findings of the preceding study reported significant intrarelationships of self factors that emphasized personal perceptual and evaluative experiences within a social milieu including the home. Thus, as we explore the subsequent discussion based upon some of the classic psychological literature relevant to the socializing influences of the home, we should remember that how children perceive, evaluate, and assimilate their familial experiences, from the dimensions of self factors, may be significant in their developmental behavior.

The Nature of the Family in the Humanizing Process

Tolstoy once said, "*All happy families resemble one another; every unhappy family is unhappy in its own way.*" The preceding quotation may become very potent as we view the basic need of all people for adequacy and then translate this developmentally into the family as an attitudinal influence in the self-realization of the individual. Earlier, we have said that at birth the child's behavior is not truly "human," but that it becomes so as a result of social interaction and social learning of one's self within the phenomenal field. The family is the first social group in which the child holds a membership, and the family is, of course, the first socializing agency in the child's life. Thus, in the first years of life it is within the family that this "humanizing" proceeds. The mother, then the father, then siblings and other relatives are the first people with whom the child has contact and the first to teach him how to live with other people. Until the child enters school, he may be said, in general terms, to spend full time within the family unit; from that time until he reaches adolescence, about half his time in the family; in adolescence, about one fourth of his time. This is but one way of pointing out the significance of the family in the life of the child as a physical, emotional, and social atmosphere in which he perceives himself and his world and subsequently struggles for self identity upon a basis of these influential experiences.

Family relationships are of primary importance in the psychological self-development of the individual. Because, to quote Wordsworth, "the child is father of the man," we may say that the family is of primary importance in forming the personalized self not only of the child, but also of the adolescent and the adult that the child will become. The outstanding fact emerging from studies of child and adolescent behavior and personality is the extent of home influences. Ideally, the home provides not only for the physical needs of the growing child, but also for such psychological needs as affection, security, belongingness, status, models for behavior, praise, accomplishments, and, above all, a multitude of experiences, without which no learning can occur.

As a socializing and humanizing agent, the family is the primary influence in the child's life, because it is within this basic unit for human interactions—this miniature society—that young people learn, or fail to learn, the fundamentals of acceptance or rejection and of cooperation and conformity with group standards through the acquisition of behavior patterns and attitudes similar to those of parents and through the perception of intrafamily relationships.²⁸ Within the family the child first experiences human awareness and forms concepts of himself as a person as he begins to learn the essential skills for becoming an independent, responsible member of larger societies. Thus, an individual's level of adequacy in chiefly social life situations is directly related to the extent to which all of his basic needs are satisfied. But no simple equation exists wherein so many experiences, so much affection, or a prescribed amount of discipline will automatically produce a corresponding degree of adequacy. Needs and their satisfactions are greatly dependent upon the perceptions of individuals, which in turn are products of age, sex, inherited potentials, culture, social class, occupation, geographical location, education, experiences, and the adequacy and fulfillment of other persons in the individual's phenomenal field. We should recognize these factors as they relate to the self systems of an individual in the dynamic interaction with the people who provide perceptual experiences in family living.

General Influences of the Home

As a primary social group and a "reflector of self-appraisals," the home asserts a potent force upon the developing self, particularly during the pre-school years. During the early years, an individual establishes his own style of life based upon learned social habits. Even though one does mature and change in social behavior, earlier habits are likely to offer some foundation for later action. This tendency is well illustrated by Rosenheim's²⁹ descriptive analysis of a thirteen-year-old boy who lacked parental affection during the early years of his life; as a result, he had never learned to show affection for others, and was unable to get along with other boys and girls of his age. Although remedial treatment and guidance produced some good results, the influence of the early home environment remained constant and more or less pervasive. This influence was especially noticeable in the boy's lack of social responsiveness and thus in his failure to establish desirable social relations with others; he also lacked steadfastness to ideals and adequate behavioral standards. In general our research on home influences relevant to the developing self indicates that adequacy and fulfillment are related less to the education of the parents, the size of the family, or the socioeconomic level than to the extent to which basic human needs for affection, security, status, and belongingness are satisfied.³⁰

Emotional Climate. Among the ingredients of a favorable emotional climate is a family in which each member is accepted as a unique, dynamic self. Research would indicate that such a family is happy, with the parents reflecting their own feelings of adequacy by neither assuming a dominant role.³¹ These feelings of adequacy and unique individuality seem to be readily transmitted to the growing child. A favorable emotional climate is one in which the basic needs of children and adolescents are met. This does not mean an indulgent approach with young people having everything they want, but rather that their requisite physiological and psychological needs are met. In addition, they are perceived as able to be themselves without suffering undesirable results and without reverting to a more childlike nature or rising more to the level of the adult. *Children are not viewed as miniature adults, but considered as emerging selves, basically good, who can assume the unique responsibilities for their own growth and fulfillment.*

Evidence from a number of studies reveals that when a high degree of parental role differentiation exists in middle-class American society, it disturbs the emotional climate of the home, contributing to emotional and social problems among children and adolescents.³² Because distinct parental role differentiation is more characteristic of the lower class than of the middle class, this may account in part for the greater number of problems among girls from lower-class homes where sex-role differentiation on the part of the parents is greatest. Bartlett and Horrocks report a study showing that adolescents from homes where one parent is deceased tend to receive less recognition and affection from adults. As a result, they tend to seek attention from the opposite sex, as compensatory behavior; this frequently presents a problem and a hazard, particularly to the adolescent girl. Several studies, including a major one by Peterson,³³ indicate that mother-daughter relations were not adversely affected by the mother's employment. The research seems to show that the adequacy of the emotional climate in the home and the nature of the parental relationship is more important than the amount of time spent together as a family.

Transmission of Attitudes and Values. As previously discussed, attitudes and values are soaked up from the social milieu in which one has grown and learned. This phenomenon is illustrated rather clearly in a study by Berdie in which the values of parents whose children planned to go to college were compared with those of parents whose children did not plan to go.³⁴ Although both groups recognized the financial rewards of a college education, the former emphasized a love of learning and the importance of a college education for one's personal development, whereas the latter did not. Middle-class boys and girls may conform to school expectations because of the consistent emphasis of middle-class standards and goals by their homes, playgroups, schools, and churches—all significant socializing influences. Many of the values significant in maintaining the position of their

families in society are the middle class values of higher education, adherence to the social mores, leadership, and responsibility in dealing with others.

Research studies concerning the relation between family life and achievement in high school have indicated a positive relationship between student achievement and a happy home life. For example, a study reported by Morrow and Wilson compared the family relations of bright high achieving and underachieving high school boys. High achievers more often than underachievers described their families as sharing recreation ideas, confidence, and decision making. They also perceived their families as approving, trusting, affectionate, encouraging but not pressuring toward achievement, and not overly severe in discipline. The overall family morale was considerably higher for the high achievers. The results of the research supported the hypothesis that good family morale fosters academic achievement among bright high school boys by promoting positive attitudes toward teachers, school, and intellectual activities.

Influences of Siblings on the Home. According to recent evidence, whether or not the older sibling is a boy or girl will influence the personal social development of the younger child. Koch, for example, suggests that a boy with a much older sister tends to be more dependent and withdrawn than a boy with a much older brother. In Koch's study, children with brothers were rated as more competitive, ambitious, and enthusiastic than were children with sisters. She concludes:

The interaction of the three variables, child's sex, ordinal position, and sibling's sex was significant in the case of the traits, leadership and exhibitionism, and not significant at the five per cent level in the case of jealousy. The first born in opposite sex pairs were rated higher in jealousy, exhibitionism, and leadership than were those in same sex pairs, while among second born the differences were usually in the opposite direction, though less marked. The differences between boys with a younger sister and boys with an older sister were conspicuous. The former tended to be the more jealous, exhibitionistic, and inclined to lead. Boys with a younger sister also showed more jealousy, exhibitionism, and leadership than did girls with a younger sister or boys with a younger brother.⁸

Patterns of Parent Behavior

Studies of different families show a wide variation of parental behavior patterns in any given community. One classic study by Bordin and his associates⁹ using the Tels Parent Behavior Scales to assess parental behavior, has given us a great deal of insight into family interrelationships and the psychological climate of homes. These behavior patterns reflect basically the parental behavior patterns that the current parents experi-

enced as children and adolescents. The attitudes and behavior patterns toward a child reflect not only their perceptions, beliefs, and understandings about children but also their satisfactions, frustrations, and feelings. Regardless of the psychological dynamics involved in the home climate, the patterns of parental behavior and children's involvement with their respective parents and reactions to them represent the reality of daily living and becoming as perceived by both the parents and the children.

The parents' ideas and beliefs, combined with their emotional expressions, produce a wide variety of parental behavior that may be observed in the interaction of parents and children. *these social dynamics of the family become powerful factors in the phenomenal field of children in the process of becoming.* As the Gale⁴⁰ study implied, self factors are of paramount significance in the psychological development of the individual within the familial scene; hence, we should keep the impact of the home climate upon the dynamics of the formulating self concept, as the child perceives himself and his parents well in mind. As we examine the subsequent patterns of parental behavior:

Although naturally each pair of parents has its own unique individuality, the behavior of parents in general toward their offspring may be classified roughly into eight types⁴¹ (Baldwin study) based upon different combinations of three main variables. The first of these is the degree to which the parents accept the child, they may reject him, accept him, or be casual or indifferent toward him. The second variable concerns the extent of their indulgence and varies from subservience to his every whim to a nonchalant indifference to his needs. The third is the pattern of authority within the family, which may vary from an autocratic issuing of commands by the parents to a family democracy in which everyone has an equal voice. Although in theory there would be many possible combinations of these three variables, actually there are only eight frequent configurations. Using the research findings of the Baldwin study, Cole and Hull describe these patterns as follows:

- 1 *Actively rejectant* parents are consistently hostile, unaffectionate, disapproving, critical, and distant. They seek actively to dominate the child by means of autocratic commands. Warm, social, trusting relations are missing. The home is full of tension and conflict, and there is a feeling of resentment on both sides. These parents dislike children, have no understanding of them, and rule them in a dictatorial manner. They are not intentionally cruel and they do not physically mistreat their offspring. They are cold, unsympathetic, and irritable toward those who are to them mainly a nuisance.

- 2 *Nonchalant, rejectant* parents have the same basic dislike for and indifference toward the child, but instead of continually nagging at him, they are merely indifferent to what he does, as long as he does not bother

them. They ignore him as completely as possible and maintain only the slightest contact with him. When, however, the child does get in their way, they become autocratic and hostile, so as to get the point at issue settled quickly and with as little inconvenience to themselves as possible.

3 *Casually autocratic* parents neither accept the children with understanding nor reject them with resentment. Some are more consistently autocratic than others. All of them believe that a parent's authority is definitely above the desires of the child, but some of them are autocratic on principle all day and every day on matters large or small, whereas others try to maintain a friendly atmosphere, but resort to commands on important matters, merely from expediency. These autocratic by expedience parents have no theories about child training, so they react to each situation as it arises. They are likely to have no fixed policy about anything, and their home is usually on the chaotic side, with the children having a good deal of freedom and a moderate degree of affection, but meeting with autocratic handling if an issue is important enough.

4 *Casually indulgent* parents are mildly indulgent and in general rather tolerant, but rather haphazard. They maintain a fairly pleasant atmosphere in the home, and they often let the child do as he pleases, provided he does not bother them too much. They do not go out of their way to be indulgent, but they find that giving in is easier than resisting. They take their children easily, have no rigid standards for them, have no fixed policy about handling them, are often diverted from punishing them, and are inclined to baby them at times, although not consistently.

5 *Acceptant indulgent* parents show a deep emotional attachment to the child; they are unduly anxious about him; they protect and baby him; they identify themselves so completely with him that they try to live their own lives over in his. They almost smother him with demonstrations of affection, and they put themselves to endless inconvenience in order to keep him happy. They do not, however, admit him as an equal who helps them make decisions. Their attachment to him is definitely neurotic and is so close that they cannot be objective about him or his problems. These parents have, however, definite standards for their child's behavior, although their method of procedure consists in leading him gently through their love for him rather than in coercing him.

6 *Acceptant casual indulgent* parents are sometimes just as indulgent as those in the above group, although usually they are less extreme—but their indulgence is based upon impulse, and they do not identify themselves with their child. They let junior have almost unrestrained freedom, and they submit to a good deal of disobedience and bad manners on his part. They admit their child's shortcomings, but they think freedom is the best way to let him develop his capacities, even though it may be trying at times. Because they are basically casual in their relationship, they do not smother their child with affection, or seek to overprotect him, or try to make him conform to an ideal. They just let him run wild most of the time and give in to him when conflict arises, because it seems to them easier than opposition.

7. *Acceptant-indulgent-democratic* parents are basically indulgent and believe in treating children as their own equals in a family democracy. The children are allowed to criticize their parents, to express their own views, and to make decisions on most minor and some major issues. They are treated on the surface as if they were adults, but they are also subject to a good deal of parental pressure that is applied indirectly via the close bond between parent and child. The parents use democratic practices as a means of making their child into the ideal companion they want him to be. The home is child-centered and rests upon a neurotic degree of contact between parent and child, and a neurotic identification of the former with the latter.

8. *Acceptant-democratic* parents are emotionally mature people who believe in the participation of children in family decisions and the independence of the child as an individual. Some parents of this type purposely repress expressions of affection and try to be objectively scientific in the treatment of their children. They are so afraid of influencing him too much that they often do not help him, even when he needs their aid to resolve a conflict. They make little or no effort to protect him from dangers of any kind. The more "scientific" parents do not act impulsively, but think matters over in view of basic educational principles and try to be rational. The child is respected as an individual, is encouraged to voice his opinions, is often consulted, and his decision are allowed to stand without adult coercion. Children in such families often call their parents by their first names, an outward evidence of complete democracy. Parents and children meet on a companionable intellectual ground, but there is little overt affection between them. The child has his own place in the family council, and his desires are given whatever weight seems just in relation to the needs and wishes of the remaining members of the group.⁴²

Effects of Parental Behavior upon Children

What, then, are the effects of parental behavior upon the emerging, developing selves of children? How do patterns of home climates influence the personal behavior dynamics of the children? To a degree, "youth is a mirror which reflects both the strengths and the weaknesses of an adult society" in that the child is a product to some extent of the environment in which he has lived and the treatment he has received. As a self being-in-becoming, the child experiences, perceives, evaluates, and internalizes the activities of the home; from his viewpoint his self-perceptions of the behavior in the home (including his own) represent his reality for daily living and developing. In the subsequent discussion, we should recognize that there are distinct, individual variations in the personal reactions of children and adolescents to their homes. The following remarks apply only in general when we examine a large number of cases summarized from the

available research⁴³ in this area, this implies, then, that there is not necessarily a congruent relationship between a specific home climate and a particular pattern of child behavior.

The child who has been actively rejected by his parents is passive toward authority, docile, outwardly decorous, because only by such behavior can he escape then nagging and punishment, but he is also hostile, withdrawn, fearful, frustrated, insecure, stubborn, and passively resistant.⁴⁴ He is hostile in response to his parents' hostility, withdrawn because his contacts have been reduced to a minimum, fearful with good reason, but stubborn and resistive, because only thus can he achieve a small assertion of his self, a slight retaliation of hostility, and an inactive expression of resentment. In one interesting study of twenty-six children who had dominating parents, fifteen of the children were passive, submissive, and dependent, six were rebellious and resentful, and five were passively resistant.⁴⁵

The child of nonchalant, rejectant parent manifests a different pattern of behavior. He does not have to fight against hostility but against indifference; he is a type of neglected child. There is so little interaction between him and his parents that he can get their attention only by misbehaving. He has a moderate degree of independence thrust upon him by parental refusal to help him. This child makes desperate attempts to get attention, to arouse affection, and to achieve status. He soon discovers that he can obtain from peers the satisfactions that his parents deny him, and from then on he is likely to be in open conflict with his home.

Children whose parents maintain a neutral attitude but are at the same time autocratic in discipline are likely either to be nervous, timid, and compliant in their efforts to win recognition, or else to be aggressive and rebellious in order to assert their independence and individuality. If, in addition, the autocratic handling alternates with indifference, as is the case if treatment is based upon expediency and impulse, the children learn to be sly, to wiggle out of difficulties, to test the limits to which they can go, to bend temporarily before the storm, to delay requests until mother is in an amiable mood, and generally to circumvent a discipline that is of an uncertain and varying nature. If the casual parent is indulgent rather than autocratic, the less assertive child reacts by feeling insecure and anxious, by showing a tendency to be withdrawn when among other children, and by clinging silently to the fringe of groups without trying to take an active role. The aggressive child reacts to the same situation by running wild, by being destructive, and by thrusting himself into groups. Children of indifferent parents thus tend either to resign themselves to receiving little attention or else to become determined attention getters.

The children of indulgent parents are likely to feel secure, protected, and comfortable. They soon learn to give an outer conformance to parental desires, at the same time getting their own way by being loving, cute,

wheeling, disappointed, hurt, or amusing, as the occasion demands. Behind the façade of compliance and close attachment, however, they are domineering, self-centered, selfish, and determined to do as they please. Because they feel absolutely secure, they become smug, self-confident, somewhat self-righteous, and certain of their power over others. When they attend school, however, they discover that their peers are not so easily handled, and these overprotected children are usually unpopular. If they are smug enough to resist the shock, they become more aloof from others than before and more firmly entrenched in their own superiority.

Success in meeting parental pressures intensifies the complacency of the accepted child into a precocity of mind, a maturity of outlook, a cocksureness of attitude, and an absolute belief in his own powers that make him thoroughly obnoxious to everyone but his parents. Because "democratic" parents tend to withhold open demonstrations of affections toward a child, lest they overprotect him, he is inevitably caught in a conflict: those who approve of him give him little warmth, and those from whom he might get affection either dislike or despise him. A vigorous child makes violent attempts to break out of his isolation. Because his democratic home treatment has taught him that he need fear no one, he is uninhibited, aggressive, and confident. As he grows older and develops understanding, his desire to be popular may lead him to try a more friendly and compassionate approach to human relations. Thus, an extreme of democratic treatment by parents may or may not produce undesirable reactions in their children.

Parents who are acceptant, moderately indulgent, democratic and warmly affectionate have a home that is as near to satisfaction as can be expected, and their children are generally well balanced, secure, and happy. The children, however, may be a little too comfortable within the family circle and reluctant to leave it, either actually or emotionally. They are sometimes too much exposed to pressure from siblings because their parents will not step in and protect them from aggressions. Those who can come up to expectations, protect themselves, and adjust their desires to those of others emerge as adequate and fulfilling selves from this type of home.

What happens to the children from these patterns of dominant submissive home climates when they attend school? How are they viewed by their teachers—the authority figures and parent substitutes? According to Cole,⁴⁶ teachers in general tend to prefer as pupils those youngsters who come from homes in which the parents are dominant to those who come from homes in which the parents are submissive to their children's demands. Inasmuch as teachers have twenty-five to forty children in a class for which they have responsibilities and involvement not just for the personal dynamics of individual children, but also for the group dynamics of the class and the total learning climate, we can see reasons for this preference as we examine the

behavior of the children from the two general types of homes. The child with dominating parents is usually courteous, obedient, interested in school, modest, generous, responsible, docile, attentive, loyal, and careful. He accepts authority, keeps his desk in order, is careful of his clothes, has good manners, does not talk back when reproved, puts things back where he found them. Children from homes with submissive parents are rated by their teachers as being disobedient, irresponsible, disorderly, lazy, selfish, stubborn, sulky, aggressive, self-confident, talkative, independent, and antagonistic. They defy authority, are fussy about their food, lack interest in school, have bad manners, are often tardy, express themselves well and fluently, get along with their peers, and are general classroom nuisances. We should note that the two groups of children manifest both virtues and faults in their classroom behavior. One child is pleasant for the teacher to have around, but lacks initiative, he depends upon authority, he is hesitant in speech, and he has a better relationship with older people than with his age mates. The other child has the faults of irresponsibility, selfishness, and disobedience, but the virtues of independence, initiative, and fluent self-expression.

Patterns of Authority in the Family

Research has revealed definite patterns of authority existing among various families. What are the influences of these patterns of authority upon the developing, emerging selves of children and adolescents? Basically the patterns may elicit three general influences upon the children: (1) contribution to the sociopsychological home climate, previously discussed; (2) fostering of preferential parent relation and attitudes; and (3) identification of sex-role differentiations for current and future implementation. The authoritative pattern found in the home refers to the controlling power relative to the activities of the family.⁴⁷ If its control may be exercised in a number of ways, although because there are only two parents, there can be only three general patterns of parental control: authority may be in the hands of the mother, or the father, or may be divided in some manner between the two. In the investigation by Ingersoll, based upon an intensive analysis of thirty-seven homes, five major types were observed: the mother controlled, the mother led, the father controlled, the father led, and equilibrium controlled, divided into the four subtypes of democratic, indulgent, neglectful, and inconsistent patterns of authority. A brief description of these types should be helpful in gaining some insight into the dimensions of parental roles and authority patterns as they relate to the developing selves of children.⁴⁸

The *mother controlled family* contains the *passive* husband and so frequently referred to in discussions of the supposedly increasing number of maternal

archal families in America. This husband is indifferent to his wife, looks upon child rearing as a woman's responsibility, and prefers men's companionship and masculine activities to the company of his wife and children. His wife controls the home and the family; she has a tendency to disparage marriage in general and men in particular. Sometimes the affectional attachments in the home are split, the father favoring some children and the mother others.

In the *mother-led family* the decisions regarding family policy are made jointly, but with the wife assuming the lead. She is apparently recognized as the stronger, more capable person of the partnership; her leadership appears to be accepted without resentment by the husband. There is warmth and affection in this family, although the husband tends to be less secure emotionally, needing more affection than his wife.

The partners in an *equalitarian control pattern* have worked out a complex but unified system of authority based upon a common philosophy of family life. This philosophy becomes so much a part of their thinking about the family that one partner often knows without asking what the other's reaction will be to a proposal. Thus, authority over the various spheres of home and family life in the equalitarian family, for the most part, becomes a joint activity except in areas where one partner is felt more capable of judgment than the other. The equalitarian pattern may become a source of frustration to the family if it takes on forms other than democratic, such as indulgence or neglect of children or inconsistent behavior.

In the *father-led family* the father is definitely the head of the family. Although family policy is apparently unified and arrived at through agreement of both husband and wife, the husband's leadership is more often followed in family planning and decision making than is his wife's, although she manages the home and family, including the rearing of the children, to conform with joint family policy and with his expectations. Occasionally he may "lay down the law" or become autocratic in his control, but generally he is the respected and loved democratic husband and father.

The husband in the *father-controlled family* expects to be absolute master of the home. He sets the family policy and makes the major plans and decisions. His unpredictable temper is his most powerful and feared weapon in maintaining control over his wife and children. This father is likely to set standards of behavior for his children that are beyond their abilities to achieve. He expects his wife to see that his children are brought up to suit him and criticizes her when they are not a credit to him. Such a husband and father assumes the attitude that he is a superior being and his wife and children are inferior, preferring men's company and masculine sports and activities. Wife and children are almost compelled to share his interests. Conflicts between him and his wife are often unresolved, with little or no affection being expressed toward the other by either of the partners.

Reaction of Children to Authority Patterns. Except for individual variations, we can generally prophesy the reactions of the children from the family situation. In the mother-controlled homes they are erratic in maturing, some showing parental "fixations," some rebelling against or withdrawing from parental authority, and others escaping from the family group as rapidly as possible. Generally speaking, these children show symptoms of disturbance in personal and social adequacy.

When the mother is a leader but not a despot, the children appear to be more attached to her than to their father. They respect, admire, and love her, but like their father also. The children confide in their parents; the general family atmosphere is warm and acceptant. The husband and wife who are equalitarian in their relationship to each other tend to guide their children from early dependency to a place of responsibility and individuality in the family group. These children learn how to cooperate, how to share in family crises, how to contribute to family planning, and how to use "democratic" approaches in group living. They are encouraged to become self-reliant and independent of parents as they approach adulthood.

Children in a father-led home often feel that their punishment is unfair and unnecessarily strict. The authoritarian father loses the confidence of his children, especially during adolescence. They may rebel, withdraw, or become overdependent. He may tie them to himself by his overprotection or force them to premature independence in order to escape his domination. Because the father in the father-controlled home is autocratic, erratic, and unpredictable, he is *not loved and respected, but feared and resented*. He sets up adult standards for his children that suit his ends and represses them into docile submission. Such a father discourages adolescent independence as a threat to his control and is disapproving of his children's association with the opposite sex. In this way, he apparently hopes to dominate his children and run their lives as long as he can retain control over their behavior and activities in terms of his values and standards.

The Self in Conflict Within the Home

As can be readily visualized from the preceding descriptions of parental patterns of behavior and authority, numerous dynamic factors are involved in the familial phenomenal fields of children and adolescents as they struggle toward development and self-fulfillment. Many of these factors are negatively rather than positively oriented in relation to the self-concept, and tend to elicit conflicts within the self as the youth perceives himself and his world in the ongoing search for self-identity within the family constellation. In the process of becoming, the self must evaluate the behavior of parents and siblings as it relates precisely to self-perceptions and to personal needs, values, goals, standards, and attitudes. Numerous conflicts are bound to arise

when children and adolescents attempt to translate their family experiences into their personalized quest for living.

Broken Homes. Sources of frustration and conflict are potentially prevalent for children in the "normal" home containing two parents and their children. If the home is broken by the absence of a parent, whether through death, divorce, or desertion, the character of the home changes. Several comprehensive research studies have indicated that 20 per cent of homes investigated were broken in some way. The findings revealed that boys and girls from broken homes had appreciably more problems than their classmates from complete homes. They were under more tensions, and their personal and social adequacy was less effective. High school students from broken homes do poorer schoolwork and rate lower on personality scales than do those who come from complete homes. Even when pairs of boys were equated for intelligence, the adolescent in each pair from the broken home has more social and emotional problems.¹⁰ He is quicker to anger, more self centered, less sensitive to social approval, less able to control himself, and more easily discouraged when things go wrong. Nye,¹¹ however, found that the adjustment of a child may be just as good or better in a broken home as it is in an unbroken one that is unhappy and filled with tensions and conflicts.

Family Size. Some research reports that the size of the family has an effect upon the adjustment of children.¹² Some authorities report greater adequacy and security of children in the large family, some report less. One study characterizes adolescents from large families as receiving less than normal support in their problems, as being less able to continue with their education, as receiving less aid of any kind from their parents, as being less well adjusted, especially the girls, among whom there was a disproportionate number of adolescents with inadequate social life.¹³ Another investigation revealed the youngest child as feeling unable to compete with the others and the oldest as feeling neglected.¹⁴ Perhaps one of the most reasonable conclusions would be that the child in a large family has just as many problems as the child in the small one, but the problems are different and must be solved from that unique perspective as the respective children work toward their own fulfillment.¹⁵

The Only Child. At the other end of the distribution in respect to size of family is the only child. He is automatically deprived of constant contact with other children, and he is continually subjected to adult presence, adult ways of life, and adult conversation. Although it is not necessarily true that an only child develops inadequately, certain circumstances may promote problems in developing the self. First, because the mother has the time and energy, there may be a tendency to baby, spoil, and overprotect the child. When children are overprotected, they receive too much maternal attention

and companionship; they receive constant indulgence of their desires and such an outpouring of maternal love as to isolate them from other influences and experiences.⁵⁶ The mother in these instances is usually not an abnormal person manifesting abnormal needs; she merely displays too much ordinary maternal behavior too intensively and over too long a period. The danger of this development is greater if the child is a boy, if the father is ineffectual as a person, if the child is ill a great deal in infancy, if he is not merely the only child but the only possible one, or if he was born or adopted toward the end of the mother's years of possible child bearing.

Thus, the only child who is overprotected is likely to have difficulties at school, because neither his teacher nor peers will probably give him the treatment he receives at home. If he rejects his peers and they reject him, he becomes more tightly tied than ever to his mother; if he tries to win status among them, he soon may be in conflict with her. Another developmental factor involving the only child is that he is not forced to overcome jealousy of his siblings and to content himself with his fair share of his mother's attention. If the only child is a boy, he comes into sharp and direct rivalry with his father for his mother's affection. When his parents quarrel, the only child has little if any protection from the resulting emotional atmosphere, even though the quarrel may have nothing to do with him. On the other hand, an only child usually matures faster in social, emotional, and intellectual reactions than a member of a large family.

The Conflict Between Generations—In the psychological literature there are numerous writings related to the conflicts between parents and children, particularly adolescents, who are struggling for independence and identity. Because of the intimacy of family living and the basic need of all members for personal identity, a certain amount of conflict within a family is probably inevitable. Four studies have been selected to illustrate the main areas of conflict. One report⁵⁷ identifies the period of greatest conflict as the time when the children were between thirteen and sixteen years old, that is, during the years of beginning emancipation from parental control. The major area of conflict was over friendships with members of the opposite sex; in addition, there was some *noticeable* difficulty over disciplinary procedures. Conflicts began earlier for girls than for boys, presumably because the former develop heterosexual interests earlier than the latter and continued into early adulthood.

A second investigation⁵⁸ involving 2,000 high school students studied the problem of the hour at which adolescents should return from an evening date. The results indicated in general, for week nights, that about a third had to be home by ten and another fourth by eleven; the least supervised group came home when they wanted to. The girls had somewhat stricter rules than the boys. The same students did not show much difference

between the requirements of their parents and their own desires, as stated when they were asked at what hour they *should* come home, although both boys and girls wanted to stay out later on weekend dates. The girls did not seem greatly dissatisfied, but the boys wanted fewer restrictions.

A third study⁵⁹ not only revealed the nature of the conflicts between parents and adolescents, but also related the number of conflicts to the type of home, of which thirty-eight were democratic, forty-one were intermediate between the two extremes, and fifty-one were authoritarian. Only on a few items was there any real difference between boys and girls relevant to the number of conflicts. In all types of homes, there was less trouble between parents and daughters about school work than between parents and sons, in the authoritarian home the daughters had more quarrels than did the sons over friends and attitudes toward parents. A study of one thousand college students⁶⁰ indicated the major areas of resentments of parents as including interference with social life, having no part in family planning, inadequate financial assistance, interference with academic work, criticism of school grades, abuses and mistreatment, failure to provide sex information, and criticism of their friends. Probably at the college level most direct criticism from parents will be perceived by their sons and daughters as personal interference, no matter how well meant.

In spite of all the criticisms that have been leveled against the home, we feel quite sure that most homes furnish a background in which children may develop normally. That there will be occasional friction is to be expected, but if a climate of security, love, understanding, and empathic communication is present, both parents and children can weather a few differences of opinion. Only when basic physiological and psychological needs are constantly thwarted within the home atmosphere would there be traumatic dangers to the developing self. Normally, the urge for adequacy and self-fulfillment will transcend the ordinary social and emotional dynamics that arise in the mutual processes of family members seeking their own individuality. The home then serves as a powerful force in attitude development and is a storehouse of potential rich, perceptual experiences if parents use it as such.

Fostering Adequacy and Self-fulfillment—If the home is to have a positive impact in encouraging the development of an adequate self concept, it must possess certain desirable characteristics that facilitate the freedom to become a unique self. Particularly, as a child becomes an adolescent, with a tremendous urge for independence and the search for self identity, certain features of the home become increasingly important. If homes are inadequate in these facilitating respects, an adolescent either fails to grow out of his emotional and social childhood, or else he is driven into open revolt. Although neither situation is desirable, the latter is probably psychologically healthier than the former. In either case conflicts are built into

the self that may thwart the process of becoming and affect the adequacy and self fulfillment of the individual involved.

For adolescents the first trait of the adequate home is that it is willing to release gradually the control by the parents, but this release cannot be effected without disaster unless children have been prepared for it in the preadolescent years. Emancipation has to take place and will take place if children are to become people in their own right, either peacefully or otherwise. The parental share of this operation is an acceptance of the basic fact that a person's primary need is to give birth to himself as a unique and adequate individual. Adolescence is the strategic time for this struggle toward self-validation. There are numerous ways in which an adolescent may gradually achieve the necessary freedom from parental attachments. Among these are the matter of handling money, allowing adolescents to get themselves out of their own difficulties and solve their own problems with available counsel, permitting them to choose more and more of their own friends until the matter is entirely in their hands and finally leaving them free to find a mate of their own choosing.

In a facilitating home the parents do not pass their own biases and inadequacies on to their children. Presumably no parents intend to, but some of them do. Some parents, particularly in the immigrant home, because they do not accept American standards, transmit their own narrow beliefs and standards to the next generation. Parents who insist upon a fundamental view of religion force their children into conflict between school work and home beliefs, in effect they deny them the opportunity for a variety of rich perceptual experiences, which are the "real stuff" of self-growth. Parents who will not tolerate smoking, use of cosmetics, or social dancing are likely to precipitate problems among adolescent children. If boys and girls from such homes insist upon maintaining their parents' standards, they will become ostracized by their own social group, if they secretly abandon parental ideas they develop a chronic habit of deceit; if they show the proscribed behavior openly, they are forced into revolt against their homes. Many parents who have not formulated a consistent viewpoint on modern life force their adolescent children to make decisions on exactly the same problems for which they themselves can find no comfortable solution.

An adequate home furnishes its children with models. In the early years of childhood, the parents are the people with whom children identify themselves, and sometimes this process continues for many years. From parents and from parental attitudes toward each other, adolescents derive most of their ideas about sex roles and about home life and marriages. They can have no greater help in developing healthy attitudes toward family living than an inspiring model of happy marriage in their own home. In this respect, a facilitating home is interesting, exciting, and stimulating.

As a result, adolescents feel a desire to stay there during a portion of their leisure time. If hours spent at home mean only an endless round of chores and the ever-present likelihood of being scolded or criticized, adolescent boys and girls will remain home only long enough to eat, bathe, dress, and sleep. When adolescents perceive of and identify with the home as a place of reciprocal acceptance, security, mutual positive regard, and freedom to become personally and socially, the relaxed atmosphere will do much to make home an interesting and exciting place in which adolescents want to stay because they enjoy themselves and their needs for fulfillment are being met.

Thus, a desirable home for children and adolescents has four main characteristics: *first*, it allows its children to grow up and be perceived as unique people in their own right; *second*, it does not pass on its own maladjustments but accepts children for who they are, not what they are wanted to be; *third*, it serves as a model, and *fourth*, it is a stimulating and interesting environment that fosters fulfillment for its members. A teacher who wishes to have a facilitating classroom can do no better than to establish these characteristics. She can encourage her students to be just as independent of her as possible. She can keep her own troubles and problems to herself. She can cultivate human relationships based upon reciprocal acceptance, earned respect, and positive regard and be available for help in time of stress. She can develop her own maturity so that adolescents will perceive her as a model to be admired and respected, not for her position, but for herself as a person. And she can make the classroom activities so interesting and exciting that the student feels that he is having rich experiences, which aids him in his own becoming processes of working toward adequacy and fulfillment. The facilitating home and the facilitating classroom are thus similar in their fundamental psychological characteristics.

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8

The Physical Self



*The general fact of culture ultimately rests upon biological traits of the species *Homo sapiens*. Man's "human nature" derives from the kind of body he has.*

—LaBarre

A person's physical development has a marked influence upon the quality and quantity of his behavior. This influence may be direct or indirect. *Directly*, an individual's physical development at a given age determines what he can do. *Indirectly*, a person's physical development influences his attitudes toward himself and others. Realization of how others feel about his physical features and appearance has a significant influence on his concept of self. Many arguments support the hypothesis that human behavior in any particular context is largely determined by the individual's perception of himself. Perceptions of self tend to determine what a person experiences and how he experi-

ences it. The individual views his own personality through the distorting lenses of his own experiences.

A person's "life style" and the accompanying experiences are in a large part a product of his physical status, his available energy, and his general physiological functioning. It is the body that acts, that expresses emotions, that performs tasks, in short, *behaves*. Because the human being functions as a whole organism, we must examine the multiple aspects of the growing, changing human body if we are to understand behavior. The purpose of this chapter is to examine the physical developmental self in a conceptual framework of the growth and adjustment of children and adolescents relevant to their changing body structures and images.

NATURE OF THE PHYSICAL SELF

Everyone has an image or a concept of himself as a unique person or self, different from every other self. This concept pertains to one's self both as a physical person and a psychological person; that is, each of us has a psychological self-image and a physical self-image. Neither of these images is complete and neither is more than roughly accurate. We are constantly in the process of refining both our psychological and physical self-images.

Although some persons perceive themselves far more favorably than they are perceived by others, no one is exactly what he would like to be. Coexistent then with self is an ideal self, or ego-ideal. This conceptualized ideal of the self, if it were the real self, would satisfy more of the individual's needs and would come closer to his standards of what is admirable than his real self does. In effect, the ideal self approximates the individual's goal of the person he would like to become. We have an ideal self in relation to both psychological and physical self-images.

Self-concept Formation as a Developmental Process

As an individual tries to close the gap between his real self and his ideal self, his self-perceptions change, although they increasingly resist change. That is, behavior is gradually transformed into habit, as the individual selects certain modes of solving problems and discards others. Meanwhile other people develop typical ways of behaving toward him which confirm his own feelings about himself. Thus, self-concept has a persistent core, and to preserve it becomes a prime motive in all behavior, physically, emotionally, and socially.

Nevertheless, the self is continually modified, undergoing elaboration as the individual moves through successive phases of development. By adolescence, the person's self concept has become somewhat refined and some-

times operates unconsciously. At other times, as will be discussed, the self-image is projected sharply into the forefront of consciousness:

(Female) . . . When I first discovered the mystery of my own being . . . I still see myself standing in front of my mother's mirror marveling at myself. But the more I asked, the more those greenish eyes out of the mirror asked back; the more I tried to get into myself, the more I closed my inner self. Finally, the eyes began to flicker and glitter, and I said to myself in the mirror: "I hate you," and I really meant it. After that I was so frightened I ran out like I had done something very bad.¹

Everything the individual experiences contributes to the formation of his self-concept, but certain experiences play a more fundamental part than others. Interpersonal experience is most important; through the acts and attitudes of others, every person learns how he is perceived, and he is influenced to perceive himself in the same way. As an illustration, a youth's belief that he is unruly, smart, or silly is to a considerable extent formulated through labels applied by others. If these people who surround him call him a liar, a thief, a delinquent, a slob, or a dummy, he may eventually come to see himself in that light. Especially important are the opinions of those who are considered to be "significant others," persons having a central place in any one person's scheme of things, especially parents and peers. Peer opinion becomes vital in modifying the self-concept during adolescence.

For several reasons, self-concept is especially important at adolescence. *First*, because of their growing autonomy and physical strength, adolescents have the freedom that makes a distorted self-concept incompatible with their realistic development. Adolescents move around more both physically and socially than they did as children, and self-concepts built upon limited childhood experiences make it difficult for them to relate themselves to new and varied situations. *Second*, adolescence itself is important in the development of the self-concept. During this period, self-image is being crystallized at the same time that it is being revised. Expanding experiences characteristic of adolescence constantly force reevaluation of the self in terms of environment and color feelings of adequacy or failure. The adolescent of sharply deviant make-up, psychologically and physically, whose personality stands out from those with more conventional characteristics, has difficulty, because his very difference from others highlights his sense of self and compels insistent self-examination and self-evaluation. The fact that adolescents in general are inclined to reject deviant traits undermines the self-confidence of the unusual individual and starts him brooding over his failure to win social acceptance.

Concept of a Physical Self

Having a concept of physical self or a physical self image is characteristic of all human beings. The physical self concept is composed of many parts, and each part is conceived of as having both structure and function or as having both anatomy and physiology. Every organ or member that is conceived of as doing a specific job is included in an individual's physical self-image. Organs and other parts of the body are also given different values, depending upon the conceived functional value of each one. The heart, for example, is ordinarily more highly valued than is the hand. Many times the value or location of the self at some point or place within the body will vary with the ages of children—as we shall see.

The physical self concept serves as a kind of center around which to consolidate and to interpret one's inner and outer experiences. Zachry² describes this function quite well when she speaks of the body as the "symbol of the self." When physical changes or additions occur that make necessary radical revisions in one's physical self concept, it is usually difficult to adjust to the new physical actuality as well as to the new physical self concept that actually evolves. An adult who finds himself putting on weight, becoming bald, losing youthful good looks, or accumulating physical disabilities is in somewhat the same situation as the adolescent who is also undergoing physical changes that appear to be out of control. Perhaps it is more difficult for the adolescent to adjust to physical change than it is for the adult because the adolescent is less apt to be prepared for the changes or to recognize their true meaning. Also the adolescent's values may be such that he overestimates the importance of physical things and is less willing to accept changes that have occurred than would an adult.

Throughout the developmental stages there is an interest in and preoccupation with the body and physical changes, particularly as they relate to self-awareness and the self concept. That one's own body is always an important factor in the development of self concepts may be observed in an infant. One of his tasks is that of separating his own body from his surroundings and recognizing it and its parts as his. The body, once closely defined then as a part of oneself, continues to be a source of interest and exploration throughout childhood and into adolescence. This interest is simply a part of growing up and recognizing oneself as oneself, as such, it is perfectly natural, not morbid or bad. If the child grows up in an environment in which physical things such as strength, endurance, appearance, or health are held to be important, then interest in the body will tend to be even greater.

One of the outwardly more apparent aspects of the adolescent period is the accelerated rate of growth and physical change that occurs just prior to

puberty and continues, at a lessening rate, through the middle teens. Sherif and Cantril note that "the adolescent's already accentuated awareness and focusing on his body becomes even more acute with more pronounced, somewhat stylized attention of others on his or her body, with sex desires toward and from age mates now present in a developed way."³ Such accentuation of the adolescent's interest in bodily things may take several forms, among them an increased interest in the opposite sex, in personal appearance and development, in strength and endurance, and in personal health.

With changes of interests including members of the opposite sex and the physical aspects of sex, adolescents tend not only to become interested in the physical presence of others, but to think of their own bodies from the point of view of others who may observe them. Hence, there is a change from an egocentric preoccupation with one's body for its own sake, to a preoccupation with one's body as it relates to others. This shift in emphasis sharpens the process, during the adolescent period, of formulating a physical self-image and resolving the personal conflicts concerning real and ideal body images. Adolescents, on one hand, want to look well, to attract, to display; on the other hand, they want to hide those physical attributes of which they are ashamed. The resulting perceived self-image of the physical body becomes a significant factor in the personal and social behavior of the adolescent.

In psychological literature concerning the formulation of the self-concept, particularly as it relates to the identification of the physical body with the self-image, it is interesting to note the location and value of body parts assigned to the self by youth at various ages. Gesell⁴ and his co-workers asked subjects in their long-term study of children the following question: "If you had to locate your *self* at some point or place within your body, where would that place be?" In reporting some of the answers Gesell writes:

One 10-year-old replied quite interpretively, "In my fingers because I do more things with them." Brain, head, and mind were answers at all ages. The 11-year-old combined concepts such as "head and hands," "eyes and ears," "brain and heart." A 12-year-old more comprehensively replied with, "all of me." Thirteen, true to form, reflected intently and tended to emphasize thinking: "The way I think and my brain." Fourteen stressed emotion: "If in school some teacher reads good poetry I feel it right here," said one, pointing precisely to the epigastric region. Another said, "In your heart and soul and what you feel. You can't locate it. It's in you, but it's not physical." Still another respondent, aged fifteen, pleased us with a developmental comment, "I suppose my brain is myself and about the center of most everyone. I suppose when I was little I used to say my stomach." Sixteen found the question "tough" and "funny." He could not answer with ease because he did not wish to separate any part from the whole. He tended to identify himself with his

whole body. One boy replied: "It's located in the face—the most characteristic thing—the whole difference between people. That is what you think of when you think of others." Several significantly responded, "all parts."

The Body Image and Self-concept

The importance of physical traits surrounds us in our daily life is proclaimed by conversation, advertising, and many other avenues of human interaction and communication. No wonder then that everyone becomes concerned about his body and the way it affects others, so that every individual's feelings about physical traits become incorporated into his concept of self, thus affecting his life goals, moods, morals, and popularity. As we have mentioned, it is characteristic of all human beings to have a physical self image. During most of the life span, this image changes slowly because the changes in the body are relatively imperceptible and can pass unnoticed. During adolescence, however, such rapid changes take place in body proportions, size, facial appearance, and development of the primary and secondary sex characteristics that the individual must make major adjustments in his body image, and the rapid changes cause increased concern about reaching some culturally determined ideal.

Actually, everyone has several physical images of himself: his *own body image*, or the way he thinks he looks; his *ideal physical self image*, or the projection of the physical traits he believes best suited to the self he would like to be; and his *daydream portrait* of himself, or the physical self he assumes when in a world of fantasy. For example, Mary perceives herself as flat-chested and plain looking (own body image) but looks forward to having enough money to buy attractive clothes appropriate to her hoped-for future role as wife and mother (ideal physical self image). Since she lacks both money and boy friends currently, she often daydreams of being the glamorous target of certain boys' glances (daydream portrait).

Thus, we see that persons need to sort out and resolve problems concerning several versions of a physical self image. Our own body image may be somewhat different from the way it appears to others because an individual's view of himself is distorted by past experiences and future goals. A person with feelings of inferiority, such as Mary, would tend to view her features in their very worst light; a person with a positive orientation toward self would view the physical self with enthusiasm and excitement. Similarly, each person's unique characteristics operate to distort his view of another person. Thus, the important aspect of physical appearance is how each person is perceived by himself and others. Perception, of course, is not altogether haphazard; individual preferences are likely to have a common core derived from the prevailing cultural ideal.

Physical Self-image and Adolescence

For many reasons the physical self is of more central concern in adolescence than in any other period of life except, perhaps, old age. Basic physical changes force the body into the adolescent's conscious awareness. He has lost the security of a familiar boy's body—new sensations, features, emotions, experiences, and body proportions have emerged. The developing young person must adapt to these changes and to others' perceptions of them. Adolescents cannot be neutral now—they are perceived as sex objects, as potential date mates and future wives and husbands. The individual's status in their peer group is correspondingly altered. Prowess at childish games and skills no longer counts; status now depends upon effective performance of the social role as male or female, and this effectiveness is partially related to physical traits.

An additional reason for the importance of physical changes at adolescence is their symbolism of the end of childhood: maturity is just over the horizon. Adult proportions begin to take shape, although as yet it is impossible to be certain of the nature, extent, or duration of the changes still to come. As the outlines of mature features become evident, the adolescent anxiously wonders whether his adult physical self will come reasonably close to his or anyone's ideal. The perceptual field of the adolescent is narrowed by the tyrannical group standards of his peers. Deviations from what is approved are usually looked down upon—at best tolerated—with the price of nonconformity being rejection. Regardless of how much a boy likes a girl, he must not date her if her appearance draws ridicule from his male friends.

Although this concern for physical standards seems extreme—temporarily, at least, physical traits play a disproportionate part in emotions, frustrations, and satisfactions. Because the importance of bodily change to the adolescent is a major factor in the development of his self-image, we can realize that deviations from some cultural norm can cause emotional difficulties of anxiety and worry. Stolz and Stolz⁷ questioned a large number of adolescents regarding any worries they might have about physical growth. Some 30 per cent of the boys expressed concern about lack of size, fatness, poor physiques, lack of muscular strength, or unusual facial features. The boys also expressed concern about acne, skin blemishes, bowed legs, and size of genitalia. Forty-six per cent of the girls indicated anxieties about their bodies. Their major concerns were being too tall or too short, being fat, having unusual facial features, squinting, needing to wear glasses, being thin, and having small breasts. Stolz and Stolz aptly summarized the impact of the new physical self-image upon adolescents in saying "the changing body becomes a symbol, not only of being different from last month or year, but of a new attitude toward self, toward others, toward life."⁸ The

physiological changes as such do not cause these new attitudes, but coupled with appropriate environmental factors, they constitute a base upon which new attitudes are built.

Thus, we have been saying that the adolescent's physical self-image is based to a large extent upon cultural norms, and particularly upon the interpretation of these norms as accepted by the peer group. Girls often have a culturally accepted image of femininity represented by some glamorous movie or television star, and boys often select an athlete as the ideal masculine image, although they too are often influenced by actors who are considered "masculine" men. These images are rather generally perceived as ultimate goals that may be reached in adulthood, and the more immediate ideal physical image is likely to be based upon the physique of another adolescent. Hence, a well-developed, well-groomed adolescent girl is often the ideal physical image for other adolescent or younger girls, and a well-built, athletic, handsome male adolescent may serve as the physical model for his peer group or younger males. Yet these very adolescents who serve as ideal physical figures to others may not perceive their own physical image with the same enthusiasm and may have emotional feelings concerning their own body image and their perceived ideal physical image, as illustrated by a brief description from Powell:

John G. is sixteen years old, six feet tall, and weighs 170, all solid muscle. To most of the other males in his tenth grade, he is the ideal physical specimen, one whom most of them would like to resemble. John has been an excellent athlete, well coordinated and graceful, and greatly interested in sports. Despite all this, John is very unhappy with his own development and feels that something is wrong with the way he is growing. Evidence of this disturbance first became apparent to others when John suddenly dropped off the various athletic teams and even refused to attend the required physical-education class. He finally admitted that the reason for all this was unwillingness to take showers with the other boys, which was due, he sheepishly admitted, to his feeling that his genital organs were undersized.⁹

DEVELOPMENTAL TASKS AND MATURITY OF SELF

The problem of how to adjust a person's inner physical and emotional strivings and needs to the necessity of learning how to live successfully and happily in the society of which he is a part has been clarified by the concept of the developmental tasks which each child, adolescent, and adult must accomplish as he grows and matures. Although the term has been used for some years, Havighurst, working with the Committee on Human Development at the University of Chicago, has formulated an over-all design of developmental tasks for the various age levels that represent a

maturity-expectancy framework. A developmental task is specific learning that an individual needs in terms of the expectations and pressures of the society in which he lives. These needs and pressures derive from maturational processes in terms of what culture demands of the person at a given age. Havighurst defines this concept as follows:

A developmental task is a task which arises at or about a certain period in the life of the individual, successful achievement of which leads to happiness and to success with later tasks, while failure leads to unhappiness in the individual, disapproval by society, and difficulty with later tasks.¹⁰

Developmental tasks, then, have a psychological, a biological, and a cultural base, thus providing a conceptual framework for understanding the whole developmental self and for the integration of the various life sciences relevant to the study of human developing behavior. For example, a developmental task of early childhood is to learn control of body wastes. The psychological base for this task is that of timing training to correspond with the capacity for voluntary control. Related to the psychological aspects of toilet training is that of developing a responsibility for keeping clean and dry with any resultant problems within the child. The biological base is the development of the anal and sphincter nerves that control elimination. The cultural base is inherent in the variations in timing, methods, and expectancies that characterize different societies and socioeconomic strata. Because the physical aspects of the self, as mentioned in the previous section, are the fundamental base for all behavior, we have chosen to present the concept of developmental tasks in this chapter on physical development.

The Origin of Developmental Tasks

According to Havighurst, some tasks arise mainly from physical maturation, others arise primarily from the cultural pressure of society upon the individual. As the individual grows, he finds himself possessed of new physical and psychological sources. An example of a task based upon physical maturation is learning to walk. When maturation of a child's bones, muscles, and nerves has reached the appropriate point, he learns to walk, unless actively inhibited. Learning to behave acceptably with the opposite sex at adolescence is another example of learnings that occur primarily because of maturation, although, once the young person feels the heterosexual interest drive, society steps in with a definition of what is "acceptable" behavior. Examples of developmental tasks that arise primarily because of

the cultural pressure of society are learning to read and learning to participate as a socially responsible citizen in society.

Havighurst speaks of a third source of developmental tasks, namely, the personal values and aspirations of the individual, which are a part of his personality or self. The personality, or self, emerges from the interaction of organic and environmental forces. As the self evolves, it becomes increasingly a force in its own right in the subsequent development of the individual. Havighurst indicates that, even by the age of three or four, the individual's self is effective in the defining and accomplishing of his developmental tasks. Examples of tasks arising primarily from the personal motives and values of the individual are choosing and preparing for an occupation and achieving a scale of values and a philosophy of life.

Thus developmental tasks may arise from physical maturation, from the pressure of cultural processes upon the individual, and from the desires, aspirations, and values of the emerging self; they arise in most cases from combinations of these factors acting together. We can see that developmental tasks have a general impact upon the ongoing, maturing behavior of the total individual including his physical growth, emotional and social development, and formulation of a self-concept. As Havighurst indicated, in his definition of a developmental task, success or failure brings satisfaction and reward or unhappiness and social disapproval. Thus, the concept of developmental tasks and their successful accomplishment has a direct relation to a positive self-image, the basis for an individual's becoming and fulfillment.

Developmental Tasks and Growth Periods

Havighurst and his associates at the University of Chicago have identified sequential levels of accomplishment of developmental tasks as related to the recognized growth periods. They have also designed maturity scale values for these tasks with statistical data indicating the correlations of tasks at various ages. In general, they have predicted that good or poor achievement of one developmental task will go together with good or poor achievement of other tasks. As mentioned in the original definition, successful achievement of the developmental task leads to happiness and success with later tasks, whereas failure leads to unhappiness in the individual, disapproval by the society, and difficulty with later tasks.

In his book *Human Development and Education* Havighurst¹¹ includes a detailed description of the nature of the task, the biological, psychological, and sociocultural bases, and the educational implications, and developmental tasks of the growth periods ranging from infancy and early childhood to those of later maturity. These levels of accomplishment do not

appear suddenly or become complete at any age, but represent an ongoing and unfolding process which continues in the healthy individual from birth to death. The developmental tasks of life, as reported by Havighurst, are summarized chronologically below ¹²

Infancy and Early Childhood:

1. Learning to walk
2. Learning to take solid foods
3. Learning to talk.
4. Learning to control the elimination of body wastes
5. Learning sex differences and sexual modesty
6. Achieving physiological stability
7. Forming simple concepts of social and physical reality
8. Learning to relate oneself emotionally to parents, siblings, and other people.
9. Learning to distinguish between right and wrong and developing a conscience

Middle Childhood:

1. Learning physical skills necessary for ordinary games
2. Building wholesome attitudes toward oneself as a growing organism
3. Learning to get along with age-mates
4. Learning an appropriate sex role
5. Developing fundamental skills in reading, writing, and calculating
6. Developing concepts necessary for everyday living
7. Developing conscience, morality, and a scale of values.
8. Developing attitudes toward social groups and institutions

Adolescence:

1. Accepting one's physique and accepting a masculine or feminine role.

2. Achieving new and more mature relations with age mates of both sexes
3. Achieving emotional independence from parents and other adults
4. Achieving assurance of economic independence
5. Selecting and preparing for an occupation
6. Developing intellectual skills and concepts necessary for civic competence
7. Desiring and achieving socially responsible behavior
8. Preparing for marriage and family life
9. Building conscious values in harmony with an adequate scientific world picture

Early Adulthood

1. Selecting a mate
2. Learning to live with a marriage partner
3. Starting a family
4. Rearing children
5. Managing a home
6. Getting started in an occupation
7. Taking on civic responsibility

Middle Age

1. Achieving adult civic and social responsibility
2. Establishing and maintaining an economic standard of living
3. Assisting adolescents to become responsible and happy adults
4. Developing adult leisure time activities
5. Relating oneself to one's spouse as a person
6. Accepting and adjusting to the physiological changes of middle age
7. Adjusting to aging parents

Later Maturity:

1. Adjusting to decreasing physical strength and health.
2. Adjusting to retirement and reduced income.
3. Adjusting to death of spouse.
4. Establishing an explicit affiliation with one's age group.
5. Meeting social and civic obligations.
6. Establishing satisfactory physical living arrangements.

Implications of Developmental Tasks for Understanding Behavior

One advantage of the developmental task concept is its dynamic, continuous nature. One task is related to, merges into, and forms the base for the next developmental task. What occurs at a particular growth stage forms the foundation for future eventualities. Thus, the continuous threads of development are more readily viewed through the dynamics of developmental tasks because of the interrelated, sequential nature of comparable, but more mature, behavior at various ages. For example, in illustrating the processes of socialization, we may cite the following developmental tasks:

1. Early childhood: Learning to relate oneself to parents, siblings, and other persons.
2. Middle childhood: Learning to get along with age-mates.
3. Late childhood (preadolescence): Learning an appropriate masculine or feminine sex role.
4. Adolescence: Achieving emotional independence from parents and other adults.
5. Early adulthood: Taking a civic responsibility.
6. Middle age: Assisting adolescents to become responsible and happy adults.
7. Later maturity: Accepting one's status as an elder member of society.

From the foregoing list, we can recognize that developmental behavior is cumulative and sequential in that success at one level contributes to success at the next. The continuity of development is further demonstrated by the reciprocal nature of the tasks in that children must relate to parents and middle-aged persons must relate to children. The self-concept and on-

going becoming of the self is both cause and effect of these reciprocal relationships

As indicated previously, all developmental tasks have biological, socio-cultural, and self bases in their origin and implementation. The point of view developed in this book is that human development is a dynamic, continuous, and complex interaction and intraaction of organic, psychological, sociocultural, and self influences. As such, the interdisciplinary approach inherent in the concept of developmental tasks considers factors and data from many sources in an attempt to promote an understanding of the behavior and development of the total, unique self in the process of being in becoming.

Havighurst¹³ offers two significant reasons why the concept of developmental tasks is useful to educators. *First*, it helps in discovering and stating the purposes of education in the schools. Education, then, may be conceived as the effort of the society through the school, to help the individual achieve certain of his developmental tasks. The *second* use of the concept is in the timing of educational efforts. When the body is ripe, society requires, and the self is ready to achieve a certain task, the teachable moment has arrived. Thus efforts at teaching which would have been largely wasted if they had come earlier, offer gratifying results when they are matched with the *teachable moment*, the moment at which the task should be learned.

Dale Harris may have captured the significant essence of using developmental tasks in understanding the implications for the continuous total and integrated becoming of the self within society in commenting:

There are a number of concepts which appear useful to a developmental approach to behavior. The individual is regarded as a living system, within a complex environment which also exhibits characteristics of a system. Furthermore, the living system is regarded as 'open,' tending toward a steady state, rather than being "closed," tending toward an equilibrium, as is true of physical systems. The open system builds irreversible changes into itself which progressively and permanently modify its relation to the environment system. . . . The developmentalist sees behavior determination as very complex, reaching back into chains of antecedents. . . . the developmentist calls attention to the complex symbolic processes of which the human organism alone is capable.¹⁴

PHYSICAL DEVELOPMENT AND BEHAVIOR

In the last section, we examined developmental tasks as related to sequential periods of growth, indicating that these tasks involved a physical as well as a psychological and cultural base. If we are to understand the implications of these tasks and the interaction between physical development and behavior, we must recognize what the normal pattern of physical de-

velopment is and what effects this has on the behavior characteristically found at different periods of growth. Thus, we shall briefly examine behavior as related to normal and deviant physical development, patterns of growth, changes and variations in body structure, and motor development. Later sections will explore the characteristics of the developing physical self, from infancy through adolescence, puberty and sexual maturity, and psychosexual development.

Normal Physical Development

According to Hurlock,¹⁵ there are five major areas in which the relationship between *normal* physical development and the child's behavior may be recognized. *First*, with the development of the *nervous system*, an increase in intellectual functioning promotes new patterns of behavior. Thus, the child's increased ability to perceive meanings in situations is directly related to his emotional behavior, just as the degree of social acceptance experienced is related to his ability to understand the thoughts, feelings, and emotions of others. *Second*, growth of the *muscles* brings changes in motor capacities and strength, and in the number and type of physical activities in which the child participates.

Third, changes in the functioning of the endocrine glands result in new patterns of behavior. For example, at puberty there is a shift from disinterest in members of the opposite sex to an interest and liking for them; from activities with others of one's own sex to activities with members of the opposite sex, and from lack of interest in personal appearance to preoccupation with looks and dress. *Fourth*, changes in a child's gross *physical structure*, his physique in terms of height, weight, body proportions, and general appearance affect behavior, including the child's perception of himself and his world. As Thompson has noted:

The toddler whose eyes are at the level of an adult's knees sees a far different world from that envisioned by an adult—a child whose center of gravity is relatively low will have less difficulty in balance than one whose center of gravity is high. The mechanics of picking up an inch cube present a different problem to the tiny hand of the 1-year old from the one presented to the hand of the 5-year old.¹⁶

Finally, behavior is influenced by the child's *physical condition*, which is dependent upon a balanced functioning of the different parts of the body. This balanced functioning results in homeostasis—normal blood sugar, water balance, rate of oxygen utilization, and so forth—achieved by the regulatory action of the central and autonomic nervous systems and by the endocrine system. The glands of the endocrine system, for example, nor

mally work in harmony and produce chemical secretions, hormones, in just the right amount to maintain a steady state of the internal environment of the body. The most important regulatory glands of the endocrine system are the pituitary gland, at the base of the brain, the thyroid glands, in the throat, the adrenal glands, located near the kidneys, and the gonads, attached to the sex organs.

Deviant Physical Development

Just as normal physical development is related to behavior, the interrelationship between *deviant* physical development and behavior is significant in understanding the developing self. Body size and shape influence the child's physical performances. Thin boys of average height, for example, perform better than boys of medium physique or above-average height. Those who are tall and obese are the least efficient performers of all.¹⁷ Marked deviations in size also affect the child's social behavior and acceptance by his peers. The obese child loses out in active play and, as a result, misses many opportunities to learn the skills essential to social success.¹⁸

In another dimension of deviancy, the malfunctioning of an organ upsets the body's *homeostasis* and results in behavioral changes. The greater the disturbance to body balance, normally the more deviant the behavior. Reduction in the amount of oxygen in the inspired air, as in an attack of asthma, for example, may precipitate emotional outbursts, loss of critical thinking ability, lack of concentration, and reduction in the speed and quality of mental work. A drop in blood sugar level affects mental activities and leads to alterations in mood, irritability, and vague feelings of apprehension. A rise in the blood sugar level above normal results in depressive mental states.¹⁹ An acute deficiency of vitamin B complex contributes to serious behavioral changes such as those manifested in depression, hysteria, and increased emotionality. Wide fluctuations of autonomic functioning lead to emotional instability, nervousness, anxiety, and distractibility.²⁰

In the physiological functioning of the body, disturbances in homeostasis may be temporary or permanent. The longer the duration or the more frequent the temporary disturbance, the greater the effect on the child's behavior. A common form of temporary upset in body balance in children comes from a high fever. This condition is reflected in mental and emotional confusion accompanied by irrational and irascible behavior and a tendency to resist aggressively any suggestions from others. As the fever subsides, so do the behavioral changes that accompanied it.²¹ Body balance is temporarily disrupted in pubescent girls by the menstrual period. For several days preceding and during the beginning of the period, hormonal imbalance causes changes in blood pressure, body temperature, basal metabolism, and water accumulation which may press upon nerve centers. Many times

tension, irritability, and general nervousness result from these bodily conditions.

Malnutrition and endocrine disorders can contribute to a more permanent disturbance of homeostasis. Prolonged *malnutrition* makes the child apathetic, depressed, irritable, undependable, and nervous. Nutritional anemia in children, resulting more often from emotional and social problems than from improper diet, causes heightened emotional tension.²² Excess or gross deficiency of one or more of the hormones produced by the glands of the endocrine system is usually associated with characteristic behavior patterns. Furthermore, should the excess or deficiency occur during the growth years, it is likely to lead to physical deviations and to changes in intelligence and personality. Personality changes may be due to glandular changes, to social attitudes toward the physical malformations caused by hormonal changes, to personalized assessments of and reflections upon the deviant conditions, or to all three of these.

Because the thyroid hormone is responsible for cell development, all the cells of the body are affected unfavorably by a deficiency of this hormone. The bones grow slowly, and their ossification is retarded. The brain cells develop inadequately, and this causes mental deficiency. How thyroid deficiency will influence the child's development depends partly upon the growth cycle when it occurs. The most serious time is the period of prenatal development, when growth and development are most rapid.²³

Mild thyroid deficiency will cause lethargy, lack of vitality, and general fatigue accompanied by a tendency to be irascible, depressed, distrustful, and melancholy. An excess of thyroxin, the hormone from the thyroid glands, leads to an increase in the tempo of the bodily processes and to restlessness, excitability, anxiety, distractibility, marked nervousness, and wide mood swings.²⁴

Increase in the sex hormone at puberty not only is responsible for the physical changes that occur, but also has a significant influence on the changes in body proportions. If the sex hormone is introduced too early, as in early maturing children, growth of the body ceases before the legs have attained their full growth, resulting in a short, stocky-legged person. If there is a hypogonadal condition resulting from a delay in the introduction of the sex hormone, physical growth will continue beyond the normal time, the lower parts of the body will exceed the upper, and at maturity the child will have long, slender legs.²⁵

Patterns of Growth

We have noted that behavior is influenced by numerous aspects of physical development and physiological functioning of the body. Behavior is equally interrelated with patterns of growth, variations in growth cycles,

and developmental effects of vacillating growth periods. Growth is rhythmic, not regular. On the contrary, growth comes in cycles or waves, periods or phases. As such, it is orderly and predictable. As Parker has pointed out in describing the cycles of normal physical growth, "Sometimes the tempo is slow, sometimes fast, but always in complete harmony."²⁹

Studies of human growth have revealed that there are four distinct periods, two characterized by slow growth and two by rapid growth. From birth to two years, there is rapid growth. This is followed by a period of slow growth up to the time of puberty, or sexual maturing, beginning usually between the eighth and eleventh years. From then until fifteen or sixteen years, there is rapid growth, and this is followed by a period of fairly abrupt tapering off of growth to the time of maturity. Until the settling process, characteristic of old age, there is a maintenance of the height attained in the fourth growth cycle, although there may be an increase in weight.³⁰ These growth cycles are so universal that clothing for children is sized accordingly.

Variations in Growth Patterns. Although there are variations in the normal pattern of growth cycles, most children are fairly consistent, showing a constant tendency toward euliness or fitness in reaching critical points. Because growth and development to a degree are built into us genetically, there is no known way of speeding up or retarding the pattern of changes.³¹ A number of factors determine whether the child will grow at a rapid rate or in a more leisurely fashion. The influence of *family* and *ethnic background* upon height, bone development, age of sexual maturity, and eruption and decaying of teeth has been reported.³² There are *sex differences*, with boys growing faster than girls at certain ages and girls faster than boys at others. From about nine or ten to thirteen or fourteen years of age, girls are taller and heavier than boys because of their earlier pubertal development. After that, boys become taller and heavier than girls and remain taller for the rest of their lives, though they may not be heavier. Variability within the sex group is usually greater among boys than girls, although variability in growth rates for both sexes increases with age.³³

Body size and *body type* influence the rate of growth and are responsible for some of the variations that occur. A small child grows over a longer period of time than a large child who has a greater period of initial growth, although he may not catch up with the large child even at maturity. The child with the tall, slender, fragile build, the *ectomorph*, grows in height over a longer period of time than the child with a heavyset, blocky structure. The latter, the *mesomorph*, however, grows faster at each age level, especially in weight. Placid children tend to grow faster than those who experience *emotional* tension, although tension has a greater effect on weight than on height.³⁴

Growth Cycles of Body Parts. The different parts of the body have then

own periods of rapid and slow growth, and each reaches its mature size at its own time. This tendency is known as *asynchronous growth* or "split growth." All phases of growth are continuous, however, and take place concurrently. A child's brain, for example, does not stop growing while his muscles, lungs, and bones are growing. Instead, there is some growth taking place in *all* parts of the body at *all* times during the growth years.

Although there is an interrelationship or correlation among the growth patterns for different organs or bones, the different areas of a child's body will be at widely disparate points of maturity at any given age. At no time is this more apparent than at puberty. Then, with little or no regard for over-all proportions, the arms, legs, nose, and chin seem suddenly to "sprout" individually, each growing rapidly at its own time and rate. Even the two sides of the body may grow at different rates then, although by the time physical maturity is reached, there is an approximate balance. Thus, there are not only interindividual differences in physical growth but also marked *intraindividual* differences.³²

According to growth curves for height and weight, children, except during the first year of life, grow more rapidly in height than in weight. In the latter part of childhood, the extremities grow faster than the trunk, with the result that the child seems to be "all arms and legs."³³ Asynchronous growth is likewise apparent in the face, with the lower part growing more rapidly than the upper, especially from ages five through eight years.³⁴ Asynchrony is especially apparent in the growth of the muscles, bones, lungs, and genitals. These increase approximately twenty times in size during the growth years, whereas the eyes, brain, and some other organs that are relatively more developed at birth increase much less.³⁵

The pattern for muscular growth is characterized by a rapidly decelerating rate during the second year, a slowly decelerating rate until the onset of puberty, an accelerating rate during puberty, and a decelerating rate thereafter until growth ceases.³⁶ Because muscle growth is relatively slow, strength is relatively late in developing. The spurt in growth of strength comes later in puberty than weight increase. Finally, there are changes in the weights of body tissues at different ages. The greatest increase in bone and muscle tissue, for example, comes during the childhood and adolescent years, whereas the greatest increase in fat tissue comes during adulthood.³⁷

In spite of asynchronous growth, the development of the body follows the laws of developmental direction. For the most part, development occurs first in the upper part of the body and later in the lower part. Changes in body proportions are relatively slight during the first half year of postnatal life. From then until puberty, however, head growth is slow, limb growth rapid, and trunk growth intermediate. The brain and facial features attain maturity in size and development before the organs and features of the

trunk and limbs. In addition to the significant effects of irregular growth upon the child's behavior related to adjustment difficulties, energy level, nutritional needs, maintenance of homeostasis, and awkwardness, every child has some features that seem to be out of proper proportion because of asynchronous growth. As a result, the concern about body disproportions may be reflected in the child's physical self-image. An early-maturing child, for example, who is the "first" of his age mates to experience body disproportions may feel miserable that he is the focal point of attention; he may not be enthusiastic about this degree of uniqueness.

MOTOR DEVELOPMENT

One of the most important and rapid areas of development during the early years of life is motor development, the development of control over the different muscles of the body. From a helpless infant who cannot move his body from the place where he has been laid or who cannot reach out and grasp an object offered to him, the young child emerges, reaching in the period of a few short years a phase during which he is relatively independent of others. As Presser and Kuhlen have noted, "The newborn infant is a strangely incoordinated, helpless mite of humanity. Its very first years are devoted to the fascinating but difficult problem of getting control of its own body."³⁸ As we have seen, the relative size of the child or adolescent and his rate of growth, is of major concern to him. Of equal or greater importance to him is what he can and cannot do with his body. Because motor development as related to the developmental stages of the physical self will be included in the next section, only a general discussion of the significance of motor development and the growth of physical capacities will be presented here.

Significance of Motor Development

Being able to control his body as well as, if not better than, his peers is important to a child for a number of reasons. The child who lacks the skills important to his group is in for a bad time socially. Havighurst describes the significance of motor development relevant to the child's self-concept in saying:

To an increasing extent, a child's conception of himself is tied up with the skills he has. It is as though his acceptance of himself comes in part from his ability to master different forms of the world outside himself. . . . As a child becomes a part of an activity group . . . he contributes certain skills, certain knowledge. He has an opportunity to test his skills against those of his peers. He adds to his conception of himself as his peers react to his skills.³⁹

Thus, the child's physical capacities along with his rate of development and his size, shape, appearance, and strength help to determine the psychological situation in which he finds himself. His perception of himself and the reception accorded him by others is a product in large degree of his physical status, and his readiness to learn is to a considerable degree a product of his maturity. We can no more ignore the child's physical growth and abilities than we can his mental capacity.

Hurlock ⁴⁰ stresses six reasons why motor development is important to a child. *First*, good *health*, which is vital to the child's development and happiness, is particularly dependent upon exercise. If his motor coordination is so poor that he performs below the standards of the peer group, the child will derive little satisfaction from participating in physical activities. Consequently, he will have little motivation to participate, and as a result, he will deprive his body of the exercise needed for good health. The *second* value of good motor control is that it motivates the child to engage in physical activities that will serve as an emotional catharsis and thus promote good *mental health*.

The *third* advantage of good motor control is that it enables the child to *entertain* himself. Both among younger and older children, areas of interest are limited if they are not physically able to explore and to control the environment. The *fourth* advantage of motor development is that it provides the child opportunities for *socialization*. The child who cannot engage in recreative physical activities with some degree of skill equal to that of the members of his peer group becomes a group liability and may experience social neglect or rejection.

Each year the child becomes increasingly resentful of adult domination and assistance. The *fifth* important contribution of motor development, therefore, is that it enables the child to achieve *independence*. The more he can do for himself, the greater his self-confidence and happiness will be. Unless he has the motor skills to become self-reliant, he must depend upon others to help him to do the things his peers can do for themselves. In time, this dependency leads to feelings of resentment and personal inadequacy which affect his personality unfavorably.

Finally, motor development is important to the child's *self-concept*. When the young child acquires motor skills, he develops a feeling of physical security that is soon translated into psychological security. As his confidence increases, he is willing to tackle many problems where motor coordination is not needed. Self-confidence thus becomes *generalized*. By contrast, the child whose motor development is inferior to that of his age-mates hesitates to enter into a new situation, thus narrowing his perceptual world of experiences. Not only does the child's motor development affect his self-concept and hence his personality, but his personality affects his motor development, becoming a circular reaction. The child who is timid, for example, will be

hesitant to try to learn new motor skills, and will thus delay his motor development. A less inhibited child, on the other hand, will plunge into a new learning experience and will show a higher level of development in this area than the timid child of equal ability who has had equal learning opportunities but has not taken advantage of them.

Characteristics of Motor Development

General growth and motor development are highly related, in fact, motor growth is actually one aspect of general physical growth. The direction of motor growth is like that of total growth—*cephalocaudal*, or head to tail in direction. Thus, the infant lifts his head before his trunk, sits upright before he stands, and controls his arms fairly well before he walks. The direction of motor growth is also *proximodistal* from the center of the body outward. Thus, the infant can grasp an object with both arms before he can hold it in his hands, and he can use his hands together to grasp a ball before his fingers can grasp a pellet. Early motor development is almost entirely a product of maturation. A number of co-twin control studies have shown that attempts to train an infant or young child in a basic physical skill are of no value until he has reached an appropriate level of maturity.⁴¹

For the first few weeks after birth, motor development progresses at a rapid rate. Because of the neurological immaturity of the infant, most of his movements are random and uncoordinated, involving large areas of the body. In a short time, however, his mass activity develops into coordinated voluntary movements.⁴² Gradually, as he gains control over his muscular mechanism, he makes specific responses. Instead of moving his entire body, he is able to call only certain muscles or teams of muscles into action.

During the first four or five years of life, the child gains control over *gross movements*. These movements involve the large areas of the body used in walking, running, swimming, and bicycling. After five years of age, major development takes place in the control of finer coordinations, which involve the smaller muscle groups used in grasping, throwing, and catching balls, writing, or using tools. After the foundation skills, such as self-feeding, dressing, walking, and running, have been established, more complicated skills, such as writing, playing the piano, skating, and dancing, are developed. Although these skills are crude at first, they become refined with practice and require the expenditure of much less energy than formerly.

Unless environmental obstacles or physical or mental handicaps interfere with normal motor development, generally the six-year-old will be ready to adjust to the demands of school and to participate in the play activities of his peers. Society and the people in the child's world expect this of him. Some of the most important developmental tasks of the pre-school and early school years consist of the development of motor skills.

based upon the coordinated use of different teams of muscles. The child who measures up to social expectations makes good adjustments unless some personality obstacle stands in his way. The child who falls below social expectations develops feelings of personal inadequacy that weaken his motivation to try to learn what his age mates have already learned. Thus, we see that adequate motor development at various growth stages has a significant relationship to the emerging self concept.

DEVELOPMENTAL STAGES OF THE PHYSICAL SELF

Growth is a product of the response of the organism to its environment. One's growth, as a product, results from three things: organism, environment, and response. Heredity, environment, and response are inseparably interrelated in the behavior and growth of every human being, including the developmental stages of the physical self. As we have often indicated, growth is dynamic and continuous. Hence, we must recognize that the concept of levels or stages of development does not conflict with the notion of continuity of growth. Stages simply represent periods of time during which certain aspects of growth become relatively predominant. This section will explore the characteristic physical development of the periods of infancy, early childhood, middle childhood, preadolescence, and adolescence.

Infancy

Infancy refers to the earliest period of postnatal existence during which the individual is wholly dependent upon parental care. The word *infancy* is used also to indicate the period prior to the acquisition of speech. The matter of physical dependence and lack of motor competence may also be involved in the definition, and because most individuals walk by about two years, a reference in time is acknowledged. In terms of degree of dependence and the acquisition of functional speech, the period lasts about two years. Although the period of infancy is arbitrarily defined as spanning the first two years of life, we should not think that degrees of dependence or development of speech skills are the same in all individuals at the end of this phase. Because each individual has his own rate and pattern of growth, different children *normally* achieve behaviors at various ages.

Physical Growth. Prenatal growth is the period of most rapid physical change; a single cell develops into a 6- to 9-pound baby; a pair of cells develops into a highly differentiated organism in nine months. Although growth is slower in the postnatal than in the prenatal period, the infant in his first year typically triples his birth weight. By the end of two years he is approximately half as tall as he ever will be. From being so helpless that he cannot even support his own head, he progresses to a point where he can

sit steadily without support, pick up things between thumb and finger, and perhaps even walk in the first year. From being unable to see at all, he is gradually able to follow moving objects and to distinguish between familiar and unfamiliar faces. The nervous system is maturing and the nerve cells of the brain are becoming more efficiently connected to muscles, so that there is a perceptible improvement in voluntary movement from day to day. No later period will equal the rapid growth that takes place in the first twelve months.

One implication of early rapid growth is that maturation rather than training should be the key to development. Attempts to hasten development are typically futile and sometimes harmful. Attempting to encourage the child to sit up before it is natural and normal for him to do so (typically six to eight months) may be a factor in poor posture. Propping the baby on pillows or a high chair will not result in highly advantageous gains. Such activities do not hasten the maturation of brain and nerves that allow the infant to have a sense of equilibrium. Rigidity provides development of a strong and straight back free from curvature which might possibly be caused by excessive encouragement. Waiting for maturation to aid in walking, toilet training or talking will not handicap the child in the long run, and may do him much good. In essence, the infant will *become when he is ready, in his own time, and in his own way*.

The second implication is actually a part of the first. Freedom to exercise, explore, and experiment are more significant than attempts at deliberate training. A large playpen or preferably the whole room if the season is right and the floor is warm affords the opportunity to crawl, creep, sit, and walk at an age which is comfortable for the child. It may be questionable whether this freedom speeds the acquisition of skills because babies kept in cradles on the mother's back seem to suffer no great handicap in learning to sit and walk. Freedom, however, does allow the child to perform *when* he is willing and able. If freedom is allowed during this rapid growth period, the baby can more readily synchronize his activities with abilities and capitalize on his own developmental pattern than would be the case if adults tried to keep him on a schedule of achievement derived from statistical averages. Hence, a significant implication for child rearing at this stage (and others) is to give the child the *freedom to become as a distinctive and unique human being in his own way and maturational potential*.

Rapid growth is accompanied by unstable bodily functions. The infant has little capacity for self-regulation and the integration of functions. He will become quickly chilled when exposed to cold; his rate of heart beat and respiration will accelerate with small provocation. A slightly wrong formula, a sore throat, a runny nose, or the cutting of a tooth may result in an alarmingly high temperature. But hours later the difficulty has been overcome, and the infant is happy, vigorous, and *apparently* not the least

affected by his recent illness. Because of rapid growth and unstable bodily function, illnesses, even minor ones, leave effects on growth that are discernible by X-ray analysis. Hence, babies should be protected from all diseases, they become strong and resistant through being healthy. Optimum physical growth can best be ensured by regular sleep, proper diet, protection from disease, and freedom to develop at one's own rate. *Interpersonal comparisons should be avoided, every child is typical for himself.* Normal emotional care (fondling, petting, talking to) seems to have a direct and discernible effect upon the physical, as well as intellectual and emotional, development of human infants.⁴³

Early Childhood

During the years from two to six, the early childhood stage, a significant developmental characteristic is the individual's becoming a social being; he is responsive to cultural pressures. The rate of physical growth slows markedly, and the child's insistent needs and developmental tasks revolve about his adaptation to his culture, as reflected in his family and playmates. We need to understand that these developmental processes are not distinctly unique; they will continue into the later childhood years. This overlapping of infancy and childhood may be illustrated by the fact that in both periods habits of elimination and eating are still in the process of formation. In a similar pattern, early childhood years overlap with those of later childhood in terms of the continuing need to make adaptations to an expanding social world and its sometimes confusing demands.

We should clearly understand that such remarks as 'Two year olds are (or do) such and such' are misleading. Some two year olds *are* like this or that, but many entirely normal two year olds are quite different. We should remember that all children are unique and, as such, are typical of themselves and no one else in their own distinctive growth qualities. Such differences are an inseparable part of inherited and congenital variations in developmental capacity. They are inherent in the varied stimulations for development provided by social class status, as reflected in family behavior patterns, as well as in the genetic heritage the child receives. Also they inhere in the richness or paucity of emotional and intellectual stimulation within the phenomenal field afforded in community organization. But despite the plethora of talk about differences, children all over are more alike than they are different, in that they have common developmental tasks as related to their growth and maturation within their respective sociocultural settings.

Physical Development By the age of two the child is, on the average, half as tall as he will ever be. His head at age five is approximately adult size. His rate of weight gain will be about five pounds per year by the time

he enters school. Comparing this rate to his gain of fourteen to sixteen pounds in the first year after birth, we see that sheer increase in size is not remarkable in early childhood.

Physical development is of more significant interest from the dimension of motor control than is absolute or relative increase in size. The skills of walking, running, climbing, balancing, and throwing are either sporadically or chronically practiced. These provide the basis for the development of skills in games for later childhood and adolescence and for manipulative skills in adult work. A parent may patiently (and then impatiently) explain and guide the child's alternate pushing down with the feet in riding a tricycle only to perceive that a visiting youngster, after a brief practice, can ride with relative ease. A similar situation is encountered by hopeful fathers a little later as the boy gradually acquires the timing and coordination involved in throwing or batting a ball. Thus the practical implications indicate that the child requires time to develop, opportunity to explore, and freedom to experiment. His own striving to learn will provide the motivation if he is given time to develop at his own rate; the adult must provide the space and material, concede the time, and express approval of the child's development at his own idiosyncratic rate. We might be amazed at how many things a child can do and how well, if given the freedom to learn when he is interested and ready to explore his world of activities and people.

Homeostatic adjustments fluctuate to a less marked degree in the early childhood years than in infancy but have not attained the stability of the later childhood years. We see evidence of this in the child's reaction to illness; a comparatively high temperature may accompany a minor illness such as a cold, but recovery is rapid. Parents are often surprised and relieved to see a child who was apparently seriously ill on one day be up and about with almost alarming vigor the following day. Similarly, an emotionally upsetting incident may involve crying and tantrums only to be followed immediately by a quick return to normality and placidity.

Dental growth and health is important in early childhood because the basis for adult dentition is being laid. Incisor teeth may be present at birth or may appear at any time during infancy, but most of the teeth erupt during the early childhood years. Despite the fact that these are deciduous teeth, they deserve careful attention. Decayed teeth that are removed early leave spaces that cause adjacent teeth to grow improperly and may produce asymmetry of the jaw, mouth, or face. Moreover, as the first teeth reach maturity the roots are absorbed—a process known as resorption—and provide some of the nutrition for permanent teeth. Periodic visits to the dentist should be initiated during these years for routine cleaning, inspections, and repair of broken or troublesome teeth. A study by Gustafson⁴⁴ indicates that the incidence of tooth decay in children is reduced by fluoridation in

water systems, periodic cleansings and treatments with sodium fluoride, and abstinence from candy and other sugar-saturated foods between meals.

The nutritional requirements for a growing child are very specific, suggesting the need for wise guidance and dietary supervision. Each individual has a biochemical uniqueness, and slight changes in diet, in eating, and in elimination habits, as well as physical and mental states, are factors that merit consideration. More and more nutritional status is being explored as a fundamental process in behavior.⁴⁵ For example, hunger can exist without appetite, but without appetite children may not eat enough varied food for optimum growth. For these reasons the conditions that prevail at meal-time as well as the food itself assume importance. Peckos⁴⁶ suggests five fundamental requirements:

1. Peace and quiet should prevail at mealtime so that appetite will be adequate
2. The child with a small appetite should be given only one food at a time.
3. Parents should provide a good example by partaking of all foods, thus providing motivation to ingest varied food substances.
4. Coercion to eat certain foods should be avoided
5. New foods should be introduced first—before appetite is lessened.

If the food is rejected, it should be offered again within a few days. We might well add two other points:

6. Because homeostasis is relatively unstable, there will be alternate times of appetite and indifference; the child must not be expected to eat adult amounts or equal amounts on different days
7. Comparison between children, resulting in the establishment of unrealistic standards of consumption at given ages, should be avoided because of individual differences.

Middle Childhood

The world of the child during the middle years (six to nine years) changes enormously, and consequently so do his developmental challenges. The period of early childhood, the preschool years, require that the child adjust only to his family, relatives, and a few playmates. Even those children who attend nursery schools encounter only a slightly more expanded social

world. But at about the age of six many new social adjustments are demanded. The individual must adjust to teachers, school curriculums, and routines at the same time that his contacts with his peers become more numerous and prolonged. Where once he was closely protected, he emerges into a life in which he has become free to select his own responses and to solve his own problems without the hovering protection of a parent.

The middle childhood years are particularly important because they will condition the child's attitude toward school and continued learning so strongly and because the patterns of socialization shown by the child at this time become so quickly routinized and internalized. Success in adjusting to school and to a new world of peer contacts will do much to shape the self-concept characteristic of the child's later years. For this reason we can consider the middle childhood years of transition a distinct and significant period. However arbitrary this distinction may seem from the preceding period of early childhood and the succeeding preadolescent years which follow the middle childhood era so closely, such a division highlights the developmental tasks of this period, all of which have implications for the physical self. In recognizing these tasks, as outlined earlier in the chapter, we should remember that what a child is and will become depends upon his perceptions of past success in developmental tasks and hence his readiness for the next steps.

Physical Development. The physical changes of middle childhood are ones of proportion rather than sheer increase of size. The slowing down of growth rates continues and has not yet been accelerated by the prepubertal spurt. The trunk grows longer and slimmer; the chest gets broader and does not have the appearance of babyhood. By eight years of age the arms and legs are nearly 50 per cent longer than they were at the age of two, yet overall height has increased by only 25 per cent. Arm and leg muscles, however, have not yet been strongly developed, and the typical look is one of spindly weakness. Along with the eruption of permanent teeth the lower part of the face becomes more prominent, and as the cartilage hardens the nose becomes larger. The head, once large for the size of the body, now more closely approximates adult proportions. The fine textured hair of the baby is changing into coarser hair that often appears stringy and unmanageable. The child's lack of interest in personal appearance, plus the parents' hope that he is able to care for himself, results in poor grooming, which adds to his physical unattractiveness. The child is, in essence, stopped looking like a baby but has not yet achieved the attractiveness of late adolescence and maturity. Although quite a personal challenge may be involved, adults should practice understanding tolerance of the physical appearance of children in this stage because there is no substitute for their need for acceptance and approval.

Middle childhood is a healthy period. Once children enter school life,

they tend to become more prone to minor diseases such as measles, mumps, and chicken pox. The death rate, however, during this period is the lowest of any comparable span of years, with accidents being the largest single cause of death during middle childhood. Physical health and development are intimately related to other aspects of growth. For instance, middle childhood is usually a time when children overeat and become obese, perhaps because of inadequate social adjustment. Accident proneness also occurs more frequently with children who are overactive, restless, and impulsive. Research has indicated that boys who are large and strong for their age make better social adjustments than do those who cannot participate so successfully in play and games.⁴⁷ We must not infer, however, that comparative weakness or smallness will result in social maladjustment, because many children who are small but self-confident are socially well adjusted.

Preadolescence

One purpose for dividing human development into various stages or age periods is that of the convenience for academic discussion. Another reason is to call attention to the unique though certainly not discrete aspects of development which characterize the period. Even though it is convenient to speak of preadolescence (the years from nine to twelve also called later childhood), we must recognize that ongoing life experiences are a continuum in that we are in a continual process of becoming developmentally. The developmental tasks started in middle childhood must, in varying degrees, continue to be faced during preadolescence. Furthermore, the aspects of growth indicated for the preadolescent are not descriptive of *all* nine, ten, and eleven year olds. Some ten-year olds are undergoing the stages of development more accurately described as those of middle childhood, while others are facing the developmental tasks of adolescents.

Preadolescents, although being a trial to adults at times, are like children in other stages of development: they have qualities and behavior characteristics that lead one to appreciate them. Their confidence, their energy, their independence, and their wisdom compensate for the perplexity they cause. In fact, it is their variability, unpredictability, and individuality that make it so necessary that we better understand their nature and characteristics.

Nature of Preadolescence Preadolescence comes near the end of what psychoanalysts call the 'latency' period. A distinctive point of identification at this stage is that the beginning of preadolescence is differentiated by an emerging need for an intimate relationship with another person of comparable status. The preadolescent appears to be in a hurry to achieve "maturity," as indicated by a variety of observable behavior. His efforts to impress people, his denial of childhood, his anxieties to follow the crowd, are all characteristics. But his immaturity betrays him, and his brashness is alter-

nated with periods of self-doubt and dependence. Cogently, preadolescence is characterized by the following:

1. At first, there is a relatively slow rate of growth (following the more rapid growth of middle childhood) ending with an accelerated growth just preceding puberty.
2. There is a perceptible increase in strength, manual dexterity, and resistance to disease.
3. Interests and activities shift from childish preoccupations to the assertions of independence.
4. Conflict with parents is probable because of the increased powers that are apt to be incompletely recognized.
5. Physical skills provide the basis for gang membership, identification, and activity.
6. Differential growth rates of boys and girls in the preadolescent years, by providing differences in activities and interests, promote sexual differentiation.⁴⁸

Physical Development Although it is popularly believed that there is a marked growth spurt in height and weight in the adolescent years, this acceleration, actually, occurs approximately during the latest years of childhood. As such, this accelerated growth period should more properly be called the preadolescent spurt. Research,⁴⁹ for instance, reveals that growth rates decrease *after* eleven or twelve or thirteen years for boys, that is, shortly after or at the attainment of puberty. The period of adolescence is characterized by steady growth patterns except in the case of those youth who achieve puberty comparatively early and thus experience the preadolescent spurt sooner.

With due consideration for wide individual differences there is a rhythm of growth that occurs in somewhat the following pattern:

1. Rapid growth from birth to seven or eight years, with continuous deceleration.
2. Slower but steady growth from seven or eight to about ten years.
3. An accelerated growth period from about ten or twelve (depending upon the age of pubescence) for a period of about two years.
4. A period of slowing down from about the age of fourteen to fifteen, with physical growth virtually ending at about nineteen or twenty.⁵⁰

We should also note that girls tend to be about a year or two advanced physically over boys of the same age during the final part of the preadolescent years. Boys, however, in the next period of development—the early adolescent years—will make up this difference and will again, on the average, be taller and heavier than their female age mates.

Eye development at this period has attained maturity both in size and in function. There is a significant improvement in muscular coordination and in manual efficiency. Compared with children of primary school age, those in later childhood are notably graceful. There is a marked increase in strength and boys particularly (due in part to cultural expectations) are extremely desirous of demonstrating their physical prowess. There is an increased tolerance to the expenditure of energy. Children at this age level seem to have limitless energy and may often worry parents who perceive them as not getting sufficient rest.

Youngsters in this developmental period are much less susceptible to various diseases than in earlier periods when homeostasis was less stable although they have not quite reached the stage that is considered the healthiest of the life span (later adolescence). Quite possibly the combination of muscular coordination, increased strength, durability, and robust health combined with lessening parental supervision and lack of adult responsibility tends to explain in part their awakening interest in strenuous games. These activities offer them opportunities for needed exercise of their physical potentialities and also provide practice in social skills.

We emphasize strongly here, as with other developmental stages, that patterns of growth are individual matters. The preadolescent's sensitivity to the peer group makes it necessary that a person at this age understand the normality of differences. Unless varying rates of maturity, both between the sexes and within the same sex, are explained, the preadolescent may experience unnecessary bewilderment, anxiety, fears, and feelings of personal inadequacy at being different. Nine- to twelve-year-olds should know that girls usually mature earlier and for a few years are very often bigger and better developed than boys. In short, they should be taught to anticipate body changes and new emotional reactions during the coming years.

Adolescence

The beginning of adolescence is easier to distinguish conceptually than it is to define it in years. In the case of individuals, puberty may occur *normally* for some girls or boys at the age of nine and in others at sixteen or seventeen. Yet despite physical differences these individuals face much the same developmental tasks as do their peers at the same chronological age. Puberty as the beginning characteristic of adolescence is a more accurate index for physical than for social growth. Yet it is largely in terms of

problems of social development that we find the distinctiveness of the adolescent period. Here we are primarily concerned with the physical development of the adolescent; in a later chapter, we shall explore the milieu of the American adolescent as we discuss his socialization and personal becoming in reference to his peer groups.

Meaning of Adolescence. *Adolescence*, in dictionary usage, simply means growth toward maturity, or the process of growing up. We can best understand its meaning by distinguishing it from puberty, which refers to the maturing of the sexual organs and functions. The onset of puberty, usually at about thirteen years for girls and a year or so later for boys, is indicated most perceptibly by the menarche and breast development in girls and by voice changes and the growth of facial hair in boys. In both sexes pubic hair begins to appear, and the skin changes in texture. Changes in the size and function of sex organs are, of course, characteristic, but these changes do not follow the same time schedule in individual boys and girls.

Pubertal changes occur in the development of young people in all societies, but adolescence as a prolonged series of adjustment is not so common. In some societies the passage of childhood to adulthood is celebrated by a series of pubertal rituals with the brief transitional period being speedily consummated by the conferring of full adult status on the adolescent.¹ The individual may then participate in the social, economic, and marital responsibilities of other adults in his society, and most significantly, he is regarded as an adult by others. Eisenstadt emphasizes the fact that when age groups have well-defined functions, social acceptance is facilitated. When the functions are not clear, as is the case with adolescents in our society, role identification difficulties arise. Thus we can see that adolescence is rooted in the biological facts of growth, but the really important aspects of adolescence—attitudes and behavior—are the products of one's culture. These aspects of the developing adolescent will be explored in both a discussion of psychosexual behavior in the next chapter and in subsequent chapters as related to peer cultures and the search for personal meaning.

Physical Development. The most distinctive physical changes that occur in adolescence are those that stem from altered endocrine functioning. The activity of the pituitary gland, which is primarily responsible for growth, is inhibited by the hormones from the gonads, and growth rates of bodily mass are sharply decelerated.

In the female, hormones from the ovaries stimulate development of the breasts, mammary glands, uterus, fallopian tubes, and vagina; in addition, these hormones produce the secondary sex characteristics, including pubic hair and axillary hair, and increase the activity of the sweat glands. The hips tend to broaden, thus making room for the increase in size of the internally located sex organs. In general, there is a change from the angularity of late childhood to the roundness of adolescence.

In the male, the hormones from the testes stimulate growth of the prostate gland, seminal vesicles, and penis, and produce as well the secondary characteristics of heavier hair texture, broadened shoulders, deeper voice, and, as in the female, growth of pubic and axillary hair and increased activity of the sweat glands. Muscles tend to strengthen and enlarge, and in many cases the plumpness of late childhood is replaced by firmness and squareness of build.

The glands act in cooperation, and the various hormones from them have interdependent functions. For example, the ovaries produce in addition to their main hormones, estrin and progesterin (all female hormones being called estrogens), small amounts of testosterone, the male sex hormone. Similarly, estrogens are also present in the hormone system of men. An imbalance of hormone supply may cause the female to have male physical characteristics and the male to have female characteristics, which result in unfortunate physiological and psychological aberrations. Timing of the action of the endocrine glands is also important. If the gonadal hormones become active too early, growth is arrested prematurely and the individual matures as an abnormally short person. If the pituitary hormones remain in ascendance too long and the individual does not mature sexually on time, the limbs continue to grow and the person matures with the characteristics of a eunuch.

Thus, we see that hormones and the timing of their appearance are responsible for some of the differences in bodily build that often disturb the preadolescent and adolescent. Typically, all these hormonal changes seem to have effects upon behavior that are easily absorbed. If one experiences puberty at an unusually early or late age, he or she may be concerned about not fitting the developmental pace of his or her age peers. But in the case of such young people, it is likely that parental treatment, success in school, and peer relationships would have to be included in the explanations of any unusual concerns and feelings. One factor that bothers many adolescents is acne, which sometimes occurs when the sweat glands become active. In general, and despite the problems accompanying physiological changes, the early years of adolescence are considered among the healthiest of the entire life-span.

Period of Youth

That phase of life that immediately precedes full responsibility for adult functioning may be considered to be the period of youth or later adolescence. This is a period when two decisions that will shape the course of the rest of one's life may be made: choice of an occupation and choice of a marriage partner. We generally think of the years of youth to extend from sixteen or seventeen years of age to the early twenties, when human beings

are considered to be adults. Although it is true that most people are physically and legally adult by twenty-one years of age, the criteria for emotional, economic, and intellectual adulthood are not as clearly discernible.

Those in middle and late adulthood are inclined to look upon the period of late adolescence as a time when people are old enough to enjoy many of the pleasures of adulthood before being burdened with adult responsibilities. They look back at their own youth and at contemporary late adolescents, wishing they had known in their youth what they know in their later years. "If youth but knew, and age but could" and "Youth is such a wonderful time that it is a shame to waste it on young people" are typical thoughts of older people when they consider late adolescence. Of course, this is an overidealized picture of late adolescence remaining in the minds of people who are reliving in the neural pathways of memory, the fun and excitement of their youthful adventures and possibly the sweetness of first love. Too often they have forgotten the demands that study and the first job made upon them when they were young. They no longer recall the bewilderment they experienced in deciding upon a vocation, in settling problems of religion, in learning what to believe about people, in acquiring or not acquiring a mate, and in analyzing the seeming contradictions that come with experience. Later adolescence, however, is a period in which young people tend to stabilize following the turbulence of early adolescence, and when they can enjoy life is a continuing but not overwhelming challenge.

Physical Development—Girls and boys both may continue to gain in height until they are about eighteen years old. On the average, though, girls make maximum gains in height at about thirteen, at which point height increments dwindle rapidly to zero at fifteen or thereabouts. Boys achieve their maximum annual height increments at about fifteen and by age twenty have virtually stopped growing in height. The weight of both boys and girls continues to increase up to the age of eighteen, but then tends to level off. The maximum annual increments of weight usually follow about a year after the time of maximum height increases. Girls, who from about twelve to fifteen years were taller and heavier than boys of the same age, are surpassed by boys at about fifteen. The difference becomes increasingly large as boys continue their growth for an additional three or four years. In many measures of strength—pull, thrust, grip—boys consistently increase what was negligible or slight superiority of girls at earlier ages.⁵³ The increase of weight after maximum height is achieved is distributed in areas where there was previously little fat, so that the lankness of adolescence yields to the curves and fullness of figure in youth. The average height of American women is about sixty-six inches and of men about seventy inches. Average weight for women is about 135 pounds and of men, 165 pounds, although marked variations in both appear that must be considered

normal. Unlike height, weight increases do not cease with age, and in a well-fed society overweight has become a problem of genuine concern.⁵⁴

The facial disproportions of adolescence, which caused so much concern, tend to be corrected in youth. The too large nose becomes proportioned to the increased size of the jaw, the face grows larger, and the lips fill out so that mature adult symmetry is achieved. The boy's chest broadens, and the girl's breasts fill out, her hips broaden, and the full bloom of maturity is apparent. The activity of the skin glands tends to stabilize; acne usually decreases and then ceases almost entirely. The hair of the head, face, and body tends to coarsen and to darken, acquiring mature texture and character. The appetite for food is likely to be great during the early years of youth, tending to subside toward the end of this period. Digestion is usually excellent if emotional life is satisfactory. Breathing rate stabilizes to between sixteen and twenty inhalations per minute, and most people notice greatly reduced susceptibility to infections of the breathing apparatus. The vocal cords continue to elongate, although more slowly, and toward the end of the period, most people develop the qualities of their mature voice. The heartbeat stabilizes to between one hundred and seventy beats per minute at rest.

The growth of the skeleton slows down, fusion of some bones continue, and by twenty-one years of age only about 206 separate bones exist. Posture and carriage of the body are still very flexible. In many ways this is the last chance at good posture. Sitting, standing or walking postures at this period fix not only postural habits but also the permanent structure of the individual bones and their relations to each other. Posture is to a high degree a reflection of inner feelings, which, in turn affect outward appearance. Smooth and cardiac muscles are nearing the adult condition, and they function well if the emotional condition of the individual is healthy. Skeletal muscles continue to grow and strengthen, although these do not attain their full growth and strength until the individual is about thirty years of age. This explains partially why athletes often improve in skill during the years following their later adolescence.

Full growth of the nervous system and the sense organs is attained during this period. New synapses continue to come into function in the nervous system. The sense organs are functioning well in most people; visual acuity reaches its highest level at about twenty years of age.

The reproductive systems continue their rapid growth in the early years of this period and become fully functional in both sexes. This is also true of the endocrine glands; however, the irregular release of fertilizable eggs during the adolescent years of young women makes it uncertain whether the ability to reproduce develops earlier in one sex than in the other.⁵⁵ A factor in physical development which deserves consideration in view of

(1) the decreasing age at the time of marriage and (2) the widespread belief that girls mature earlier than boys in the maturation of sexual responsiveness. Kinsey⁵⁰ and his associates report that males reach the peak of sexual responsiveness at about nineteen years and that sexual responses then begin a slow but steady decline that continues into old age. Women, however, do not reach the maximum of sexual responsiveness until the middle twenties or even thirties. These differences, Kinsey believes, may be caused by a basic hormonal sex differentiation, but they are also socially and culturally induced. Because sex is one factor in marital adjustment, differences in sexual responsiveness may be a more pertinent explanation of failure in early marriages than in those contracted at later ages. Young people, and adults as well, should know that sexual behavior in humans is as much psychological and sociological as it is physiological.⁵¹

People in late adolescence tend to have a tremendous amount of energy for what they want to do. They can get up early, work at a job all day, or attend classes and study during the day, and spend many hours in the evening either on social life, study, or anything else that they are highly motivated to do. Even though good health is characteristic of youth, poor dietary habits of individuals as they grow away from parental supervision may be a source of troubles. There is a tendency to eat too many refined carbohydrates, which in itself is not harmful but which does not provide the nutritional values of a balanced diet. Good diet, plenty of rest, and appropriate exercises are recognized bases of good health at any developmental period, including that of later adolescence. Habits that have been built previously are likely to continue into late adolescence. If habits for efficient living have been developed, they are likely to be retained. If poor habits have been developed, they are unlikely to change now. Although it certainly is still within the power of the individual to change them if he is sufficiently motivated to modify his self-perceptions and thus his behavior.

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The Psychosexual



The just and best victory is to conquer self, to be conquered by self is of all things, the most shameful and vile

—Plato

As Plato in the preceding quotation has so cogently stated, an individual in the process of actualization must understand, must control when necessary, and must facilitate his developmental behavior in reaching toward the fulfillment that characterizes the fully functioning person. Throughout this book, we have stressed the holistic approach of the total, integrated, and interrelated behavior of man. Human sexuality is no exception. Although there is a tendency in our society to evade, deny, or displace our psychosexual behavior as a separate entity, the position developed here will be to include such behavior as an integral part of one's being-in-becoming. Often our think

ing in sexual matters has become warped by the residual of guilt, shame, ignorance, anxiety and inappropriate means of struggling with aggressive and erotic urges

According to McCary,¹ recent research findings in psychology and sociology demonstrate clearly that those individuals with extensive and accurate information about their own sexuality have fewer emotional and psychological problems and make a better overall adjustment to life than those with less adequate information in the sexual sphere. Therefore, the purpose of this chapter is to present to you psychological and physiological information relating to selected phases of human sexuality in as complete, open, direct, and scientific manner as possible. Hopefully, you may then comprehend human sexuality as a normal, wholesome, and integrated function of one's total developmental behavior.

SEXUAL MATURATION

The most dramatic physical changes of adolescence occur in the reproductive system and the secondary sex characteristics. Adolescents reach a significant milestone in their sexual development when they are able to produce live germ cells. Several terms are commonly used to describe the events that take place in the process of maturing sexually. One term is *puberty* which in one of its meanings denotes the appearance of hair in the genital area. In ordinary usage *puberty* denotes not merely the beginning of the sexual maturation process but the whole or completed process. Thus, this is the usage when the term is used to denote the earliest age at which 'the generative power becomes established'. Another term in common use is *menarche* which denotes the beginning of menstruation. Still another term is *sexual maturity* which sometimes is used as though it were synonymous with *puberty* and *menarche* in girls although it is not. For example, the menarche or first menstrual period is an important event in a girl's life, but it does not necessarily mean that she is sexually mature in the sense of being able to produce fertile egg cells.

In boys there is no clearly defined event corresponding to the menarche in girls that may be used as a criterion of puberty. The basic criterion is the ability to produce well formed, mobile, and fertile spermatozoa. Although there have been observations of the onset of puberty as judged by this criterion, obviously it is difficult to conduct such studies on a large scale.² In lieu of this, other criteria have been used such as changes in the velocity of growth of certain dimensions of the body, change in velocity of growth of the penis and testes, and ratings of the characteristics of pubic hair, including the amount of such hair, its color, distribution, texture, and the eventual development of the kink or twist. The menarche in girls and the development of sexual maturity in boys are a culmination of develop-

ments in the endocrine system (ductless glands) beginning several years before puberty. These observations of ongoing processes toward indications of sexual maturation are based upon studies of urine analysis. Such analyses revealed a small excretion of androgens (female sex hormones) by both boys and girls many years before puberty.³

Development of Primary Sex Characteristics

The primary sex characteristics are the sex organs proper; their function is to produce offspring. During childhood the sex organs of both boys and girls are small and inconspicuous and do not produce cells for reproduction. With the onset of puberty all this is changed. The period at which functional maturity occurs, the "pubescent" stage, is the true dividing line between the sexually immature and the sexually mature individual. The structure and functions of the reproductive organs of each of the sexes should be understood by both boys and girls well before the advent of adolescence. Only under such conditions will they understand themselves and their bodies as the normal phenomena associated with the onset of puberty occur.

Male Sex Organs. The male sex organs consist of both external and internal genitalia. Those on the outside of the body are the penis and the scrotum, or sac containing the testes, and inside the body are the vas deferens and its associated parts, the prostate gland and the urethra. The function of the testes is to secrete the sperm cells that are needed to fertilize the egg cells produced by the female. Although the sperm cells are produced in the testes, they pass up through the tube and the vas deferens to the seminal vesicles and on to the prostate gland. They are mixed with certain fluids in the vas deferens and the prostate gland, they are propelled by muscular contraction through the penis in the form of semen, in which millions of sperm or reproductive cells float. The penis is composed of a spongy tissue that can become permeated with blood, hardened, and extended. With proper erection, the penis can be used to introduce the semen containing sperm cells into the vagina of the female sex organ, thus inducing fertilization.

For most boys, growth of the primary sex characteristics is predictable and follows the pattern similar for all, even though the timing of the different stages varies according to the rate of maturing. The following five stages have been found to occur sequentially:⁴

1. Penis, testes, and scrotum are essentially the same as in early childhood.
2. Testes and penis have noticeably enlarged; highly pigmented downy hair has appeared in the pubic area.

3. The penis has lengthened appreciably downy hair is interspersed with straight, coarse pigmented hair
4. Larger testes and penis of increased diameter are apparent Pubic hair looks adult, but its area is smaller
5. Genitalia are adult in size and shape, pubic hair is adult

Nocturnal Emissions When the male reproductive organs are mature in function, nocturnal emissions generally occur. This is a normal way for the reproductive organs to rid themselves of excessive amounts of semen. The first nocturnal emission occurs most frequently between the ages of twelve and sixteen years, although by the age of fifteen only approximately half of the boys have experienced nocturnal emissions. Up to the age of fifteen, nocturnal emissions are most frequent among boys who mature early.⁵

The nocturnal emission may be caused by a number of different circumstances. Sometimes a dream of sexual excitement may give rise to it or it may be precipitated by other stimulating conditions, such as being too warmly covered, sleeping on the back, wearing tight pajamas, having a full bladder, or having constipated bowels. The boy may not be conscious of what is taking place until he sees the telltale spot on his bedclothes or pajamas. The first ejaculation of a pubescent boy generally comes from either nocturnal emission or masturbation.⁶ Nocturnal emissions are a problem of great concern to most pubescent boys. According to tradition, the nocturnal emission may result in loss of strength and manliness, or even worse, some maintain that it is caused by disease. Modern scientists scoff at these traditions; they maintain that nocturnal emissions are perfectly normal. Many pubescent boys, however, are unaware of modern scientific facts, and as a result, they are greatly influenced by the stories they are told about the cause and effect of nocturnal emissions.

Female Sex Organs The female sex organs can be considered to be internal, because they basically are contained within the body cavity. They consist of the ovaries, the Fallopian tubes, the uterus, the vagina, the labia, the hymen, and the clitoris. The ovaries secrete the ova or egg cells, the Fallopian tubes carry the ova to the uterus or permit the sperm to move up for fertilization, the uterus houses the fertilized ovum and provides a place for its nourishment throughout the period of prenatal development, the vagina is the organ into which the penis deposits the male sperm cells during sexual intercourse as a result of an orgasm (the ejaculation of the semen into the vagina).

The growth of the ovaries is slow during childhood. At puberty they grow rapidly, and they reach their full growth at age twenty. Sometimes the ovaries grow more rapidly than corresponding parts of the abdomen

and thus create a pouchy appearance, which usually disappears within a relatively short time. The walls of the ovaries are lined with follicles that contain the immature egg cells. These ova begin to ripen at the start of puberty and continue to mature at the rate of one every month. Usually the ovum originates in one ovary one month and in the other ovary the next month. The ovum is discharged by the bursting of the follicle at the time of ripening of the egg cell. It then makes its way through the Fallopian tube to the uterus, where the egg, if it has been fertilized by a sperm cell, is nourished and protected during the period of prenatal development. Fertilization of the egg is called conception. The fertilized ovum then continues to live and to grow in the uterus for approximately nine months, and is expelled through the vagina as a new individual. If the matured egg is not fertilized when it reaches the uterus, it deteriorates and passes from the body by a process known as menstruation.

Menarche. The first definite indication a young girl has of her sexual maturity is the menarche, or first menstruation. This is the beginning of a series of periodic discharges from the uterus that will occur with greater or less regularity every twenty-eight days. A seasonal trend has been noted in the menarche, with peaks of frequency coming in the summer and winter.⁷ The average age at which American girls reach menarche is about thirteen years. However, there is a considerable variation, and although 97 per cent of girls reach menarche between eleven and fifteen, some reach it as early as the ninth or as late as the twentieth year.⁸

A period of "adolescent sterility" follows the menarche. At this time the endocrine glands do not pour their hormone into the bloodstream with proper intensity to make ovulation and reproduction possible. The duration of this period in the human female ranges from one month to seven years and is extremely variable. Even after several menstrual periods, it is questionable whether a girl's sexual mechanism is mature enough to make it possible for her to conceive. There is some evidence that the period of adolescent sterility is shorter for late maturers than for early maturers.⁹

Menstruation. In preparation for the start of the new life the body of the female provides extra blood to nourish the fertilized ovum. At first the menstrual flow usually is at a rate of once every lunar month, unless fertilization takes place. Within a relatively short time, the regular cycle of approximately every twenty-eight days will be established and will continue until, in the late forties or early fifties, the menopause or change of life is reached. A common misconception is that a woman will lose her desire or her capacity for sexual satisfaction if her female organs are removed or if she has passed the menopause. Studies in this area indicate otherwise in that sexual satisfaction to a considerable degree is a learned response which in civilized men and women is mainly psychosexual. Thus complete sexuality is experienced only when both the man and woman find mental and

emotional, as well as physical, satisfaction in love making. Currently, we have no scientific evidence to indicate that the physiological changes of menopause in women or climacteric in men physically affects the desire for sexual satisfaction if they have learned to obtain sexual satisfaction previously.¹⁰

In the early stages of the menstrual flow, there is great variability in the time interval between each period. In the summer months there are more long cycles than in the winter. Younger girls more often miss periods than do older ones. At every age, however, there are great variations among girls, with no instance of an absolutely 'regular' case. Decrease in variability of length comes with age. There are likewise marked variations in the length of the period of the flow. In the first few menstrual periods, it is not uncommon for the flow to last only a day or even less. Later, it may last from one to fourteen days, with a mean between 16 and 185 days. A relationship has been discovered between body build and menstruation, girls of feminine build rarely have unduly long intervals between periods, unduly long periods, or severe discomforts during the period.¹¹

During the three or four days preceding menstruation, there is an increase in blood pressure with a drop in body temperature coming about one day before the onset of the menstrual flow. These physiological conditions often cause a girl to feel different from her usual self. She may become fatigued or depressed and may experience physical discomfort or actual pain. The most common disturbances, which are fairly universal among all pubescent girls, are headaches, backaches, cramps, or severe abdominal pains. These are often accompanied by vomiting, fatigue, bladder irritability, soreness of the genital organs, tenderness in the breasts, pain in the legs, swelling of the ankles, and skin irritations. As the menses become more regular, the disturbances are less and less severe. Circulatory congestion, which is relieved by the menstrual flow, is partially responsible for these disturbances.¹²

In view of the preceding physical disturbances and concomitant psychological factors, the first menstrual flow can be terrifying to a young girl who has had no warning of its appearance. Hence every girl needs to be prepared in advance to understand that menstruation is a natural function and cannot be avoided. Healthy attitudes toward this indication of sexual maturity—of her future role as a wife and mother—should be fostered, rather than allowing feelings of shame, guilt, anxiety to be generated. Sensitive girls especially should be spared the shock that may accompany the discovery that something suddenly seems to be wrong with them. It may be better for an adult to describe menstruation in relatively scientific terms than to wait until uninformed girls discuss it among themselves in undesirable surroundings, without the benefit of accurate knowledge, and thus acquire inadequate and emotion stirring ideas. A healthy orientation toward men

situation may lead to the promotion of wholesome attitudes concerning the nature and function of sexual phenomena in relation to heterosexual adjustment and future marriage.

Development of Secondary Sex Characteristics

Accompanying the primary sex changes are the secondary sex characteristics, which will be explored here only briefly; detailed discussions of these physical manifestations are available in books on adolescent development such as Hurlock.¹³ Beginning around the tenth year, girls start to look more feminine, and boys, a year or two later, more masculine. What is responsible for the increasingly different appearances of the two sexes in the next few years is the development of "secondary sex characteristics" that indirectly play an important role in mating though they are not directly related to reproduction. The hormones from the gonads not only stimulate the growth of the sex organs—the primary sex characteristics—but they are responsible for the development of the secondary sex characteristics.

Pattern of Development. Not all secondary sex characteristics develop at the same rate, nor do they reach their mature stage at the same age. Furthermore, the pattern of development is different for members of the two sexes. Early maturers follow much the same pattern as those who mature at the average age for their sex group, although the different characteristics appear earlier. Similarly, late maturers do not vary in the order in which the secondary sex characteristics appear as much as in the time of their appearance.

Secondary Sex Characteristics of Girls. Studies of girls have revealed a maturational sequence in the development of the secondary sex characteristics. The pattern most frequently observed is: ¹⁴ (1) increase in width and roundness of the hips and the enlargement of the pelvic bone; (2) beginning of breast development; (3) appearance of pubic hair; (4) the menarche, preceded usually by the appearance of axillary hair; (5) appearance of axillary hair and slight down on the upper lip; (6) change in voice from a high-pitched childish tone to a lower-pitched, more melodious tone; (7) broadening of the shoulders; and (8) arms and legs take on a definite shape and heavier musculature with hair appearing on them. Each of the important secondary sex characteristics develops according to a predictable pattern. In the case of the female breast, for example, there are four stages: (1) papilla stage; (2) bud stage; (3) primary breast stage; and (4) secondary, or mature breast, stage. Regardless of when they are reached, the major part of the breast development, the mature stage, comes after the menarche. Normally it takes nearly three years after development starts before the papilla, or nipple, projects above the level of the surrounding structures. Other secondary sex characteristics involve changes in the skin texture, the

enlargement of the sweat glands, and the appearance and change in pubic, axillary, facial, and body hair

Secondary Sex Characteristics of Boys The different secondary sex characteristics of boys, as is true of girls, develop according to their own predictable pattern. When the growth of the testes and the penis is well under way, *pubic hair* begins to develop. The pattern of development of pubic hair in boys, which is used many times as an index of secondary sexual maturation such as breast development in girls, occurs sequentially as follows according to mean ages: (1) infantile stage, (2) first appearance of pubic hair, pigmented, usually straight sparse, at base of penis—12.2 years, (3) slight curl, slight spread, usually darker—13.3 years, (4) curled, moderate amount and spread, not yet extended to thighs—13.9 years, and (5) "adult" type, profuse, forming an inverse triangle, extending to thighs—16.1 years. Other secondary sex characteristics of boys following a sequential developmental pattern within themselves is the change in voice, the development of the mammary gland, the appearance of facial and body hair, and changes in the hairline.¹¹

SEXUAL BEHAVIOR OF ADOLESCENTS

The increased desire for sexual gratification influenced by hormonal and anatomical changes, is a major characteristic of adolescence. Although sexual needs may be gratified directly in intercourse or masturbation, less direct gratification comes from romantic behavior—activities that have come to be known colloquially as necking and petting. The jokes, discussions, literature, fantasies, and dreams of the adolescent are heavily flavored with sexuality. The growth of primary and secondary sex characteristics contributes significantly to the arousal of the sex motive with much more frequency and intensity than in earlier childhood. The social environment also strongly reinforces its importance, movies, television, literature, advertisements, and other mass media continually stress the themes of love, romance, and sex, constantly bombarding sexually alert adolescents with often distorted, unwholesome, and sensual portrayals of the overwhelming place of sex in daily living.

General Behavioral Aspects of Sexual Development

In early adolescence there is an increased curiosity about sexual development and behavior. Boys and (less frequently) girls will read material, pornographic, literary, or scientific, describing sexual behavior and development and the details of reproductive anatomy. They will look up sexual words in dictionaries and, in some cases, engage in "peeping tom" activities to satisfy their curiosity for sexual knowledge and to provide sexual gratifi-

cation Typically, the erotic play of adolescents involves kissing (necking), and the touch and manipulation of the body (petting)

In the adolescent's sexual development there is an interplay of all the important forces that affect human existence Sex has an urgency of its own, but it is also intimately related to nearly all other aspects of a person's strivings and his relationships with others As such sexual development is a meeting ground of the biological, psychological, and moral influences that shape an adolescent In another way, it is also the bridge of the present and the past, for sex behavior has a history going back into early childhood Biological features of an adolescent's sexuality are present at birth In early infancy there are evidences of special sensitivity in the genital zones The psychological factors that affect an adolescent's attitudes toward sex also have a history going back into his early life

The most direct and specific way in which sex enters into the adolescent's experience is in the form of a bodily hunger Although back of this hunger is the primordial urge of life to beget life, there is an additional large and complicated cluster of experiences connected with sex Sex is associated in the boy's mind with his concept of his role as a male and in the girl's mind with her concept of herself as a female The psychological meaning sex has for the adolescent is likely also to reflect all or nearly all the attitudes and tendencies linked to his personality as a whole, the attitudes he has regarding his own worth, and the attitudes he has toward others—his tendency to be self confident or the opposite, his tendency to feel guilty about his desires, his tendency to be suspicious or friendly in his attitudes toward others In the healthy course of development in our society an adolescent's sexual development becomes interwoven with his emotional development, resulting in a linkage of erotic desire and a feeling of tenderness which helps as he or she explores the meaning of romantic heterosexual love and, later, marital love

Sexual Interests and Experiences

During the last thirty years scientific literature has reported numerous studies concerning the sexual experiences of preadolescents and adolescents Although there seemed to be considerable controversy about the studies by Kinsey and his associates related to the sexual behavior of the American male and female, in general, both the studies of sexual behavior before and after the Kinsey reports supported their basic findings and conclusions This section on the sexual behavior of adolescents will present selected aspects of the sexual activities and experiences of young people as reported in the literature Other sexual connotations of the developing self as related to sex role identification, heterosexual adjustments, sexual attitudes, sociosexual mores, premarital dating behavior, parental attitudes toward children's sex-

ual interests, and sex education will be explored in subsequent chapters, which discuss the self in reference to peer groups and to child-family relationships.

Experiences During Childhood, Preadolescence, and Early Adolescence

When boys and girls reach adolescence, all of them have had experiences of one kind or another relating to sex—that is, everyone has had a developmental sex life in some dimensions. These experiences, when the adolescents were younger, included discovery of the anatomical differences between the sexes, an interest in childish forms of sex play, and curiosity about sex and reproduction as indicated by Dillon,¹⁶ Isaac,¹⁷ Conn,¹⁸ Levy,¹⁹ and Koch.²⁰ Halverson²¹ reports that boys begin to have erections almost from the time they are born. According to evidence presented by Kinsey,²² and his associates, there are children—both boys and girls—who are “quite capable of true sexual response” before they reach adolescence.

Research has revealed large individual as well as group differences in expressed sexual interests and activities; however, there are some experiences and practices which are very common. Ramsey,²³ in a study of the sexual development of boys, found that 73 per cent of the subjects had masturbated by the age of twelve years and 98 per cent had had an experience with masturbation by the age of fifteen. Over half the boys in Ramsey’s study had experienced nocturnal emissions—or “wet dreams,” by the age of fifteen. Nocturnal emissions that occur during sleep come about without any deliberate action by the dreamer. A large percentage of boys had had ejaculations brought about by themselves or through sex play with others before they experienced wet dreams. By the age of thirteen, 38 per cent of the boys had been involved in homosexual play. Preadolescent sex play with girls or women appeared in two thirds of the histories of the research subjects, and one third of the boys had attempted homosexual intercourse before adolescence. Ramsey cites evidence from other studies tending generally to confirm his findings. The significant conclusion is that a large number of boys are active sexually in one way or another prior to adolescence.

Sexual Activities in Middle and Late Adolescence

Although there is a great accumulation of findings regarding the sexual interests and activities during the adolescent years, unfortunately many of these deal with sex in a fragmented way. The monumental and well-known studies by Kinsey and his associates deal almost entirely with the physical aspects of sex experience. The Kinsey reports give elaborate statistics about sexual “outlets” with little or no attention to the personal meaning of these outlets, their emotional and moral significance, and the interpersonal rela-

tionships (other than physical) existing between persons who mutually engage in sex activities. Studies dealing with other facets of heterosexual behavior, such as dating, courtship, falling in love, early marriage, usually cover a somewhat larger personal and social context, but even some of these give more attention to statistics than to underlying psychological motivations. Some of the psychological literature concerning dating, courtship, and other heterosexual social activities will be discussed in a later chapter on peer relations.

Sexual Experiences of American Boys. In general, our research on sexual activities of adolescents indicates that, in the early teens, there is a sharp upswing among boys, and a much more gradual increase among girls, in various practices and experiences. The major types of sex activity are masturbation, petting, sexual intercourse, and nocturnal sex dreams. The Kinsey study of the sexual behavior of the American male²¹ reported that, at the end of the teens, over 90 per cent of unmarried boys have practiced masturbation and that a majority carry on the practice regularly once or oftener per week. Various other studies during the past few decades have reported that from about 90 to practically 100 per cent of males have engaged in the practice of masturbation more or less regularly for shorter or longer periods of time.

According to Kinsey,²² 95 per cent of the boys have had their first orgasm (sexual climax) by the age of fifteen. Of these orgasms, two thirds were obtained through masturbation, one eighth through heterosexual intercourse, and one twentieth through homosexual contacts. As adolescence progresses, the average boy's frequency of orgasm increases, reaching a life-time peak of about 3.1 per week between sixteen and seventeen years of age. This frequency tends to persist with only slight diminution until the age of thirty, after which there is a gradual tapering off. For most boys during the early adolescent period, the major source of orgasm is masturbation. In the years from sixteen to twenty, masturbation is replaced by intercourse as a major source of orgasm, although masturbation is still common. During this period, masturbation accounts for about 38 per cent, and intercourse for about 42 per cent of the total outlet. Premarital intercourse increases in frequency among boys as adolescence progresses, so that by the late teens, nearly three fourths of American males have had such experience.

Sexual Experiences of American Girls. The available evidence strongly suggests that, on the average, adolescent girls engage in considerably less sexual behavior than boys. According to Kinsey²³ (other studies support these findings), petting, masturbation, and intercourse are all less frequent among teen-age girls. For example, by age twenty, 71 per cent of males and 40 per cent of females have engaged in intercourse; by the same age, less than half as many females as males have masturbated, meaning that about two fifths of girls have experienced masturbation by late adolescence. Fur-

thermore, fewer adolescent girls than boys have experienced orgasm. Even at age twenty, only 53 per cent of girls have achieved orgasm and the incidence does not reach a lifetime maximum of around 90 per cent until age thirty-five.²⁷

Kinsey also indicated marked sex differences in the source of first orgasms. Only 37 per cent of girls who have achieved orgasm do so through masturbating, as compared with approximately two thirds of the boys. Although premarital petting to climax is an insignificant source of first orgasm in boys, it accounts for 30 per cent of such orgasms in girls. Other sources of sexual outlet account for only a minor proportion of girls' initial orgasms. Whereas the frequency of orgasm in boys increases sharply in adolescence, reaching a peak at sixteen or seventeen years (3.3 per week), the maximum mean frequency for girls (1.8 per week) does not occur until the period of twenty-six to thirty years. Although nearly 100 per cent of boys have reached orgasm by the time of marriage (through a variety of methods), only 30 per cent of females have done so.

As might be anticipated from their overt behavior, girls seem to have more restrictive attitudes toward sexual behavior than boys in our society, for more girls than boys believe that adolescent sexual behavior is deserving of social condemnation.²⁸ Among middle-class adolescents, boys are much more likely than girls to acknowledge on a questionnaire that they have experienced sexual arousal and a desire for romantic activity.²⁹ Douvan and Kaye³⁰ conducted a comprehensive study of a large group of adolescents that suggests that adolescent girls tend to reject any girl who openly displays sexual behavior.

Petting and Premarital Intercourse. Petting is one of the most common erotic activities during adolescence. Kinsey³¹ defines petting as "any sort of physical contact which does not involve a union of the genitalia but in which there is a deliberate attempt to effect erotic arousal." According to the Kinsey studies, petting as a means of erotic stimulation is almost as universal as masturbation among boys. Among girls, approximately 90 per cent have had the experience at the end of age twenty.

Various studies indicate that by age twenty-one approximately twice as many boys as girls have experienced premarital intercourse. In the population as a whole, approximately one third to one half of the girls and approximately three fourths of the boys have engaged in premarital intercourse by age twenty-one. There is some evidence that a large proportion of girls' premarital sex experience (especially among those who go to college) is limited to relations with boys whom they plan to marry.³² As might be anticipated, the frequency of premarital intercourse in the boy is related to his social class. In general, lower-class adolescents have more such experiences than middle-class adolescents. Among college men, less than one half have had intercourse during the adolescent years, and over three quarters

of the adolescents who did not finish grade school have had premarital coitus.³³

Sex Differences in Adolescent Sexual Behavior

There are a number of factors that bear important relationships to adolescent sexual behavior. Obviously from our discussion thus far, one of these is sex membership. As we have noted, adolescent boys are much more active sexually than girls. By the age of seventeen, according to Kinsey,³⁴ practically 100 per cent of boys have experienced orgasm, whereas about 35 per cent of girls have had a sexual climax. Although boys and girls are more alike in petting, with practically all members of both sexes having this experience by age twenty one, the practice is less frequent, on the average, and more sporadic, among girls. Several theories have been advanced concerning these differences in sexual behavior, some primarily physiological and physical in nature, others primarily cultural.

One possibility is that females are less likely than males to discover sexual responses spontaneously, because the girl's sex organs are less prominent. Some authors have advanced such an argument to account partially for the greater incidence of masturbation among adolescent males than among females, because the female child's genitals are less exposed and subject to less maternal manipulation and self-manipulation.³⁵ As some authors have suggested, there may be basic physiological differences in sexual motivation among male and female adolescents in reference to the timing of the sex drive. According to Kinsey,³⁶ males apparently reach their peak sexual capacities in the midteens, whereas the female peak does not come until later. Even when there is freedom and opportunity for sex experience, it appears that the young male's drive is stronger. By the average age of fifteen the girls in the Kinsey group reported that they were having orgasm every two weeks if they were having any at all, whereas the average boy of the same age reported about five orgasms every two weeks.

Although physiological and physical factors may contribute somewhat to the lesser sexual responsiveness of female adolescents, it seems probable that the differences are, for the most part, attributable to our more restrictive social attitudes toward sexual gratification for girls. The "double standard" reflects, at least in part, the cultural factors in our society related to premarital sexual behavior. Boys have more freedom, girls are more carefully supervised, girls are warned against (and often frightened by) the threat of pregnancy out of wedlock. Both boys and girls tend to regard forbidden sex behavior as a more serious offense for girls than for boys. Boys are conventionally regarded as the ones who take the initiative in sex conduct. In a study by Ehrmann³⁷ of dating behavior ranging from holding hands to intercourse, sexual activity was initiated by the boys in about

three fourths of the instances when such behavior occurred (according to the boys themselves, 75.3 per cent and, according to the girls, 78.9 per cent of such advances). The boys and girls also agreed, to a marked degree, in their reports that when advances were stopped at a certain point, the girl far more often than the boy was responsible. To a large extent then, a girl is required and expected in our culture to be "a conscience for two" in her social relationships with boys.

Differences between boys and girls appear not only in connection with actively initiated sex behavior but also as related to more passive sex experiences. Kinsey found that nocturnal emissions ("wet dreams") were far more frequent among boys than sex dreams resulting in a sexual climax among girls. A person cannot deliberately bring about a sex dream. Undoubtedly, strong inhibitions that may be at work even when a person is asleep can prevent them. Thus, whether cultural or physical factors account for these differentiations in nocturnal emissions and other more actively initiated sexual behavior, the differences between boys and girls suggest that the sexual mechanism can be triggered off more readily in boys than in girls, especially in early and middle adolescence.

Socioeconomic and Religious Factors in Sexual Behavior

In addition to differences between adolescent males and females in sexual responsiveness, there are also differences in responsiveness related to social class membership and to religious affiliations. The effects of social class membership apparently are considerably less for females than for males. Kinsey and his associates⁸ point out: "There seems to have been no correlation at all between occupational classes of the parental homes in which the females in the sample have been raised and the incidences and frequencies of their total [sexual] outlet." Also there appeared to be little relationship between social class background of females and incidence or frequency of most types of sexual responses.

In contrast to the rather negligible influences of social class membership upon sexual behavior in females, religious affiliations seem to play a strong role, both during adolescence and in later life. Kinsey found regularly that inactive members of the Protestant, Jewish, and Catholic faiths were consistently more sexually active both before and after marriage than were moderately active church members. Devout members, in turn, were consistently least sexually active. Kinsey comments that "Among all the cultural and biological factors which might affect their sexual activity, and which in actuality had considerably affected the sexual activity of the male in the sample, only the religious backgrounds of the unmarried (and married) females had had any material relationship to their acceptance of either solitary or sociosexual contact."

Among boys implicit standards of acceptable sexual behavior vary from one social-class level to another. Research studies have indicated that among upper-middle class boys, masturbation and petting, although not specifically approved, are generally viewed as more acceptable than actual intercourse. Conversely, there is a general tendency among lower class individuals to consider these practices abnormal. As a result, masturbation and petting are more common among the higher social class groups than among the lower. On the other hand, actual intercourse, which is more anxiety arousing among upper- and middle class boys, is considered entirely normal by those of the lower class. As Kinsey³⁹ reports: "They have nothing like the strong [higher level] tabu against premarital intercourse and, on the contrary, accept it as natural and inevitable and as a desirable thing. Lower-level tabus are more often turned against any substitution for simple and direct coitus." As a reflection of these disparate attitudes, Kinsey found that by age fifteen nearly half of lower class boys but only 10 per cent of higher-status boys have engaged in intercourse.

The reasons for these social class differences are multiple and complex. They are not simply the result, for example, of greater parental punishment for sexuality by middle class parents. Probably these differences are due, in part, to the identification models available to the child and the degree to which the child adopts traditional sex role values. Throughout the earlier chapters, we have suggested that the developing self is influenced in its behavioral orientation by reflected appraisals and models of significant adults in the child's phenomenal field who are viewed as powerful, competent, and prestigious. The lower class child likely is more frequently exposed to adults (relatives, older friends, older brothers) who openly boast about sexual conquests and promiscuous relations. Thus, the lower class adolescent who is attempting to identify with these adult models will be motivated to have sexual experiences to strengthen his identification with them.

Moreover, lower class boys are more concerned with the cluster of traits that define masculinity. Working class mothers, in contrast to middle class ones, encourage the adoption of traditional sex typed behaviors in their sons.⁴⁰ The traditional characteristics of masculinity in our culture include, among others, strength, courage, aggressivity, sexual potency, and conquests. Thus, we are suggesting that the greater frequency of sexual episodes in lower-class, in contrast to middle class, adolescents is due, in part, to the fact that lower class boys more often view sexual experience as an index of masculinity, a behavioral trait emphasized a great deal in their subculture. This conclusion identifies an important phenomenon about the sexual behavior of adolescents, it is often used as a means of proving maturity like other perceived, symbolic adult behavior. Thus, the imitation of sexual

behavior sometimes may be less related to the desire for sexual gratification per se, than the need and desire to establish one's adult status, as perceived and defined by the adolescent's immediate and demanding cultural milieu

SELF AND SEXUAL BEHAVIOR

Sex and sexual behavior are an integrated part of a person's being, living, developing, and becoming, especially with the onset of sexual maturation. Every day the emerging self from adolescence throughout the other periods of development is confronted with and must struggle with the questions of sexual behavior. Everyone has a sexual life, be it reality, fantasy, or both. A person's sexual life will be intimately related to that organized core of feelings, values, concepts, desires, needs, and attitudes—the "private inner world" —that we have called the phenomenal self as perceived within a phenomenal field, which is constantly permeated with a sociocultural bombardment of multiple sexual stimuli through social heterosexual relationships and mass media.

Contrary to popular belief, sex activity is not an isolated physiological process as merely a matter of learning about sex organs and reproduction. Sexual behavior is deeply concerned also with feelings, emotions, attitudes about oneself and others. If one includes the concepts of dignity, worth, and integrity of self and others as a part of his humanistic phenomenological value system and aspires through perceptual experiences to work toward becoming a fully functioning person, he or she must then incorporate this dimension of behavior into his or her sexual activity as a congruent approach to total behavior. As we have previously mentioned, a congruent self, implying a consistency of the idealized and realistic selves within the sociocultural milieu, is one of the most significant characteristics of becoming a fully functioning person. Although it is not the intent of this section or this book to explore in detail the numerous aspects of the psychosociosexual behavior of adolescents and youth, we shall present selected discussions related to premarital sexual behavior and standards mostly as a foundation, hopefully to elicit deep and serious reflection and searching of *your own feelings* and attitudes in the all important process of *total becoming, including sexual becoming*.

Moral and Emotional Aspects of Adolescent Sex Behavior

Apparently in the sphere of sexual activity, there seems to be considerable discrepancy between what society demands and what individuals actually do. When adolescents tell about their sex activities, many justify them with the remark, "Everybody does it." In view of the traditional and pervasive

moral and religious restrictions and sanctions surrounding sex, however, it is highly unlikely that anyone can avoid conflicts concerning sex by this bland announcement. Such conflicts do not arise only in those who overtly violate a moral code but also in many young persons who covertly do forbidden things in their fantasies. The conflict is likely to be especially acute, however, when it is compounded by fear of public disgrace and fear of disapproval by others.

Conflict combined with fear apparently is more prevalent among girls than boys, for under a double standard of morality the girl is the one who is more likely to meet disapproval. Moreover, it is principally she who must bear the burden of pregnancy out of wedlock. Statistics concerning illegitimate births give only a meager indication of how justified such may be, for such statistics do not include pregnancies that have been terminated or that have been legitimized by marriage. (In one group of girls who married before finishing high school, Burchinal⁴¹ found that about 40 per cent were pregnant before marriage.) Even if complete statistics were available, these would give only a small part of the story, for they would not tell of girls who feared they might have become pregnant as a result of an indiscretion but did not or of those who are discreet but fear the thought of extramarital pregnancy.

Three fifths of a group of single women and about half of a group of married women who participated in an investigation by Landis *et al.*⁴² reported that they had been the object of aggressive sexual advances by boys or men prior to the time they reached puberty. Over half of those who had had this experience reported emotional distress, including shock, worry, shame, fear of being found out, guilt, and extreme fright. A study by Jameson⁴³ indicated that 21 per cent of a group of female college juniors reported shockingly undesirable experiences with boys during their college years. In a recent study conducted by *Seventeen* magazine,⁴⁴ concerning the premarital sexual behavior of 1,567 girls aged thirteen through nineteen throughout the nation, three out of five girls who have had intercourse stressed inner insecurity and lack of parental love as the cause. Other factors in this study, highly significant in contributing to premarital sexual relations, were the social pressure of peers and the pressure from a boyfriend combined with a desire to hold him by complying with his insistence, to "prove her love."

Apart from acute emotional stresses such as those already described, conflicts regarding sex and self arise when persons feel compelled, in spite of strong scruples, to have sexual relations in order to be popular or to conform or to prove their masculinity or femininity. Emotional conflict is likely to arise, whether consciously recognized or not, whenever a person uses sex "dishonestly" to satisfy devious needs, such as a need for conquest, a desire

to defy authority, a desire for revenge, a need to overcome feelings of inferiority, or a need to hurt others, or when he pretends a love he does not feel in order to persuade another to gratify his sexual desires.

Sex as Related to Attitudes Toward Self and Others

There are complicated interrelationships between attitudes toward sex and attitudes toward self and others. Some of the child's earliest experiences of being rejected are connected with his sexual development. If a child's elders are anxious about sex, regard it as dirty, shame him when, for example, he plays with his genitals, the child is being taught to regard a part of his own person as something dirty and objectionable. When a child is taught to view his sexual nature with shame, he is being taught to view a part of himself as shameful.

Sex may become entangled in other ways with attitudes the adolescent has about himself and others. A person's sexual behavior (including his fantasies) may reflect other trends or traits in his personality: a tendency to be responsible or irresponsible; a tendency to be considerate, thoughtful, and tender in his relations with others or a tendency to be callous; a tendency to be compliant and conforming or rebellious. The fact that sex is interwoven with all that goes into the making of a personality makes it difficult to interpret many of the research findings dealing with sexual behavior. As such, it is most difficult to visualize the feelings, attitudes, and motives underlying the observed or reported sexual behavior revealed in these research studies.

To consider an individual's problems of sexual adjustment and behavior without taking into account the culture or society of which he is a part would be relatively meaningless. Until recently, in the United States, the child's normal interest in sex has most frequently been met with stern parental and community disapproval. The attitude toward behavior even in our present-day culture obviously is a far cry from a calmly objective point of view. Inasmuch as self-attitudes often are the reflected attitudes and appraisals of significant people in one's phenomenal field, the attitude of a parent or teacher in matters of sex is of great importance to the child in the development of healthy and wholesome attitudes toward sex and self and sex. Ordinarily, a child will experience embarrassment if the adult appears discomfited and apologetic, tending either to feel guilty, shamed, anxious, or confused in his attitudes and feelings concerning sex after a succession of such incidents. Because the attitude in our society toward sexual behavior is emotionally toned, it is evident that some method of evaluating standards of behavior will need to be developed, before the disturbed emotions associated with problems of sex can be resolved. In the meantime

the child may become a psychological casualty if the adults responsible for safeguarding his growth and development do not take adequate steps to assist him in achieving healthy attitudes toward matters of sex and self and sex.

Premarital Sexual Standards

Highly related to a person's attitudes toward self and sexual behavior are the prevailing attitudes and standards of the sociocultural environment in which he lives. One of the marked trends in contemporary times is the development of a more permissive attitude toward adolescent and post-adolescent sexual expression for both sexes, which might be termed a permissive, lenient, or liberal single code of conduct. In parts of northern Europe there has been a tendency to embrace this standard openly, particularly insofar as it applies to persons seriously in love or engaged.

By contrast, in the United States, although a pronounced liberal attitude has developed toward petting, particularly in the lighter manifestations of it in the form of kissing and hugging without more intimate fondling, a strong formal taboo against premarital intercourse exists. Confusion and conflict regarding sex have occurred, particularly among unmarried youth, because of the coexistence of two contradictory ideals: one says that sex is evil and sinful, and the other that sex is wonderful and the full expression of life itself. Consequently, within the formal societal frame of reference described above, a more permissive code toward premarital intercourse is tacitly or covertly becoming acceptable, especially within certain social groups.

During the last thirty years a number of extensive research investigations concerning sexual standards and behavior have been conducted in the United States. Perhaps the greatest drawback of this research has been the accent upon sexual behavior rather than upon the sexual standards that underlie that sexual behavior. Reiss⁴⁵ has published a comprehensive study that tries to summarize all the evidence that can be deduced from the major American studies on sexual behavior by Kinsey,⁴⁶ Burgess and Wallin,⁴⁷ Terman,⁴⁸ Ehrmann,⁴⁹ Locke,⁵⁰ Kirkendall,⁵¹ and others. According to Reiss,⁵² in this area of premarital sexual behavior, there are four major standards in America that young people accept and that find support in the research evidence.

Standard of Abstinence. First, there is the formal standard of abstinence, which forbids coitus before marriage for both men and women. This standard has several subtypes, some of which allow petting, others of which allow only kissing. (Petting is defined as sexual stimulation short of full coitus, involving those parts of the body that are ordinarily clothed, such as the breast or genital area.)

Double Standard The second major premarital standard is the ancient double standard, which basically states that premarital intercourse is forbidden to women but not to men. Females who indulge in sexual relations are therefore considered immoral, but males who indulge are not. Under this standard, petting and kissing are not so severely restricted as coitus, but here too the male is given much freer rights than the female.

Permissiveness Without Affection The third major standard in America, less widespread than preceding ones, may be called permissiveness without affection, which holds that if two people are attracted physically to each other and both desire to have coitus they may do so. Petting and kissing are, of course, also allowed on the same basis under this standard.

Permissiveness with Affection The fourth and final premarital sexual standard is called permissiveness with affection. This standard is also less prevalent than the first two. Although this standard allows coitus for both men and women, it requires that a strong, stable, and affectionate relationship be present.

Future Trends of Premarital Sexual Standards According to Reiss,⁵³ the research evidence points clearly to increased permissiveness in premarital sexual standards in America. He sees this permissiveness as taking three directions:

1. An increase in abstinent believers who accept heavy petting.
2. Continued modification of the double standard to permit coitus for women when in love but still allowing men coitus anytime.
3. Permissiveness with affection—allowing coitus only when love or engagement is involved, will become increasingly accepted.

Reiss believes that the standards of abstinence and double standard will probably continue for many centuries more, but possibly within a hundred years or so they will no longer be the dominant standards in America, permissiveness with affection taking precedence. As far as the fourth standard is concerned, permissiveness without affection, according to Reiss, is too radical to obtain a large following now or in the future. Our extended permissiveness has been largely in the direction of affectionate, "person-centered coitus" rather than "body-centered coitus"; it is likely to remain that way for some time to come because of our strong association of deep affection with sexual behavior.

Self and Sexual Standards Although sexual behavior is closely related to and influenced by the sexual standards of conduct as determined and accepted by the prevailing mores of a society and its culture and subcultures,

sexual behavior is also an intimately personal matter involving deep feelings, values, attitudes, and commitments of the self. Thus, your decisions concerning premarital sexual behavior must be of necessity based upon a consistent, personal value code congruent with your total self-image, regardless of the degree of permissiveness condoned or accepted by a cultural or subcultural group standard. If you are to be a congruent self, deep personal values must be reflected in your sexual behavior; even though you must live with peers and others in your world, you first of all must live with self.

Because sex is an integral part of your life, you cannot isolate your sex life; it is an essential part of you and of your culture. Sex impulses can be treated in the same way you treat other strivings, with restraint and respect as a part of your heritage as a human being. You cannot have permissiveness in sex standards and expect congruency with some of the other values concerning self, life, and people that you cherish. *Your life is a total package; you must live it according to your own deep basic values and commitments* if you hope to become the person that you can become. In the final analysis, you and only you can give birth to yourself in the vital human experiences of encountering life in the process of relating meaningfully to self and others in working toward what we have described as a fully functioning person.

People used to think that sex was bad, because of all the harm it did. They became ashamed of having sexual feelings; they hid their bodies and refused to talk about their sex interests. The day of such prudery and hypocrisy has passed for the most part. Now we are going through what has been called a great sexual revolution, in which some people are going to the other extreme and insisting that all sex is good. Actually, sex is good, healthy, wholesome, and satisfying only when it is appropriately controlled by the self; sex that is not wisely controlled can wreck your life. Under control, sex can be a positive power for all that means the most to a man, a woman, and their children.

You are learning that sex is natural, being a God-given part of you that is not to be denied. Whatever you do with it, it still will be there. You can throw it away and yourself with it, if you wish. Or you can learn to manage it, like the man or woman you aspire to be. Your sex life will be as good or bad as you make it, no more, no less. Decisions concerning sexual behavior are deeply personal, and you cannot expect others to accept your self-commitments, *nor could they if you wanted them to assume your responsibilities and to make your decisions for living your life*. Express sex casually, as a simple biological hunger, and you go emotionally hungry as a person. Treat it as a reflex and all you have is a simple release of tension. See it as the most intimate way in which two persons can merge their lives and you find meaning that is deep and lasting. One of the tragedies of perceiving and taking sexual relations cheaply is that you miss out on the

rich fulfillment that sex in a loving marriage brings. Norman Vincent Peale speaks to this point when he writes:

Sex in the right place and the right time with the right person under the right circumstances is a magnificent thing. But almost by definition this means sex under the seal and shield of marriage. Under any other circumstances it is likely to be clumsy, guilt-ridden and spiritually enervating. . . . Sexual restraint does not mean deprivations; it means happiness in depth.⁵⁴

Self and Reputation. A good reputation—the values and commitments for which you stand—is a priceless asset in terms of present and future living. Through a good reputation you can relate openly to self and others, enter homes and other social groups, have access to many people, and be accepted among persons of all ages. We have said that the self feeds upon rich experiences with people; cut off the source of power—people—and the self suffers. A good reputation for being trustworthy, responsible, and respectable cannot be bought; it is one of the most valuable self and others perceptions that you can acquire, but is easily lost in the eyes of your world. Of all the things there are to cloud the brightness of a shining reputation probably none are so significant as perceptions related to your sexual behavior.

Sexual vitality is a powerful force to cope with as you mature. Currently, you are long on vigor and short on experience, a vulnerable combination. Like other self-strivings, your sexual energy demands expression. But more than other physiological drives, it meets up with taboos, codes, and confusions that tend to restrict it. You can lose your temper and have your expression excused as youthful immaturity, but a reputation for sexual indiscretion—real or imagined—may reverberate down through the years. Give in to your seemingly uncontrollable impulses and you will risk both your present and future status as self-actualizing human beings. The major self-commitment for prevention is in managing your sex conduct in ways that protect your reputation and preserve your dignity and self-respect.

If a person is classified by self or others as going beyond the limits of acceptable sexual conduct, he or she must necessarily protect the self-concept. In order to live with this new image of oneself, the person rationalizes his conduct and excuses his behavior. Then it becomes increasingly difficult for the individual to see what he has done in perspective and to deal with his experience as a part of his total personality. He gives himself a reputation for sexual freedom that may or may not reflect his true nature, with possibly deep conflicts of the realistic and idealistic selves. Having judged himself guilty without benefit of judge or jury in a land where everyone is innocent until proven guilty, he develops negative feelings about himself and others, sometimes out of all proportion to what he or she has

done. Duvall discusses four possible combinations of reputation and conduct that can be meaningful in predicting human behavior:

1. Good reputation plus good conduct equals positive feelings about self and others.
2. Good reputation plus poor conduct equals negative feelings about self.
3. Poor reputation plus good conduct equals negative feelings about self.
4. Poor reputation plus poor conduct equals negative feelings about self and others.⁵⁵

In reference to the first combination, good reputation and good conduct, an individual who is well thought of by others and who lives up to their faith in him is not torn apart by inner conflict. He responds to others' favorable opinion of him with feelings of warmth and appreciation. He enjoys personal integrity and self-confidence. His feelings about himself and others are positive and motivating. Not having to worry about how he appears to others nor over his own anxieties about himself, he is free to self-actualize—to love, to work, and to play. If one has a good reputation but engages in poor conduct, he or she is likely to experience somewhat severe feelings of worthlessness, personal shabbiness, humiliation, and self-recrimination. There are young people who struggle against almost impossible odds to gain a good reputation through acceptable behavior. Those who are condemned, not by what they have done, but by how they appear to others, easily fill with resentment at the unfairness they perceive. They feel hostile and hateful toward others whom they feel are not being fair.

Whatever one's background or personal code of sexual behavior, an adolescent may deviate from the acceptable rules. The person whose conduct and reputation need improvement has to find his way back to believing he is *Somebody*, mostly by searching the deep meanings of who he is. Thus you can learn to live with yourself and others. You may become more compassionate toward others' weaknesses once you have learned from experience that "to err is human." The first step in solving your problem is to face up to the facts by recognizing your behavior in relation to your reputation and your desired idealized self. Although the solution to the problem of a lost reputation may not be easy, it can be done, and *you* have to do it. You cannot afford to make excuses for yourself; blaming others for what you have done will not help. You must accept the responsibility for your own behavior; no one else can. Self-understanding rather than self-condemnation is the way to inner peace and self-respect. Examine your strong points; face

up to your weaknesses, but do not give in to them. Accept your own life—both your strengths and your limitations—as the foundation upon which you must build your future with self and others.

Premarital Sexual Behavior

One of the loudest arguments among youth for experiencing sexual relations before marriage is that everyone else is doing it. *First*, you are not everyone, but a special, unique individual who has a personal sex code as an integral part of your total value system of responsibilities and commitments for determining your own decisions and behavior. *Second*, the argument that everyone does it is simply not true.

Selected Findings of Major Research Studies

Since 1915 there have been dozens of studies of premarital sex behavior, not one of which suggests even remotely that virginity is no more even in view of the "new morality" and so-called "sexual revolution." In fact, the evidence indicates that *most* college-bound students are found to be virgins. The well-known Kinsey reports are widely misquoted as finding that premarital sex experience is practically universal. Actually Dr. Kinsey and his associates found nothing of the sort. Among the sixteen- to twenty-year-old college-bound males, more than half (58 per cent) were without premarital sexual experiences; fully 80 per cent of the twenty-year-old unmarried women were virgins.

Even though the Kinsey reports were published more than fifteen years ago, more recent studies of members of both sexes fail to turn up more startling incidences of premarital intimacy. Ehrmann's⁵⁶ intensive research reported that 87 per cent of the women and 43 per cent of the nonveteran men college students were without premarital sex experience.

Duvall, reporting on her study of university freshman girls conducted in 1964, found 88 per cent disagreeing with the dating-scale statement, "It is not important for a person to remain pure until marriage." A full 92 per cent disagreed with the suggestion, "Young people should make as much love on a date as they wish"; and 94 per cent disagreed with the statement, "When two people are serious about each other, it is all right for them to make any kind of love." Moreover, student scores became more conservative as dating involvement increased, declining steadily from those going steady to those being engaged to the most conservative accrued by those who were already married.⁵⁷

In a study⁵⁸ conducted in 1967 by *Seventeen* magazine, based upon 1,567 responses to a confidential questionnaire sent to girls aged thirteen to nineteen throughout the nation, most teenage girls—almost 85 per cent—are still

virgins. The significant minority—15.1 per cent—who have had intercourse cite “love” as their reason. “Casual” sex was vetoed overwhelmingly. Of the nonvirgins, a great majority—83 per cent—feel sexual relations wrong for “couples who are merely willing.” Seven out of ten disapprove of intercourse for couples in love but not committed to marriage, and 67 per cent feel sexual relations are acceptable only if the couple is engaged. Thus, there may be a “new morality” among adolescents, but it seemingly has not banished the older concepts of chastity before marriage, especially in the attitudes and sexual behavior of teenage girls. The studies reviewed here include statistics applying to all persons who had experienced premarital sexual relations, be it one or more times. (This is not to imply that they were consistently promiscuous.)

As indicated previously, Reiss¹³ suggests that in the United States there are two basic types of premarital sexual behavior, with their related attitudes: (1) *body centered* with the emphasis on the physical nature of sex, and (2) *person centered* with the emphasis on the emotional relationship to a given individual with whom the sexual act is being performed. The previous findings did not distinguish between those who have experienced coitus during an engagement period and those who were not engaged. There is also some research data on the frequency with which engaged couples had premarital sex relations. Burgess and Wallin¹⁴ found in their married sample that for those couples who had premarital coitus it happened “once” with only 10 per cent of the couples, “frequently” with 21 per cent, “occasionally” with 40 per cent, and “frequently” with 29 per cent. Their study also indicated that for those men who had coitus in a prior relationship, 56 per cent had intercourse with their fiancée as compared with 35 per cent of the men who had no prior coital experience. For the engaged women, the differences were even greater. For the women with a previous sexual experience 86 per cent had coitus with the fiancée, whereas this was true of only 40 per cent of the women who were virgins at the time of their engagement.

Problems Involved in Premarital Sexual Behavior

Seemingly, the research of the last fifteen years on premarital sexual behavior explodes the argument that everyone is doing it. Even with a large majority of middle class adolescents remaining chaste in attitudes and practices, many of those who experience premarital sexual relations seem to accept permissiveness upon a basis of *person centered coitus* among youth in love or engaged, rather than the practice of *body centered coitus* with the emphasis on the physical nature of sex only. Although the findings are too extensive to report here, there is also considerable evidence that the majority of adolescents who engaged in premarital sex relations experienced

strong self feelings of anxiety, guilt, dissatisfaction, and depreciation, which might retard self actualization. Duvall⁶¹ mentions that premarital sex experience is often anything but enjoyable and satisfying. She discusses several reasons why going all the way before marriage frequently brings more pain than pleasure:

1. First sex experiences are often disappointing
2. Adequacy as male and female is hard to establish in premarital sex experiences
3. Sex alone is not a strong bond between two people (Sex is a passionate search for a body; love is a passionate search for another self with whom to relate)
4. Personal communication is central to sexual fulfillment
5. Guilt is a realistic possibility
6. Fear of discovery keeps many an unmarried couple from full enjoyment of their intimacy
7. The need for concealment of premarital sexual intercourse gives little or no security to the relationship
8. Haste is a risk for many an unmarried couple
9. Being exploited is no fun
10. Uneven commitment at the emotional involvement level is or can be very unpleasant

Dynamics of Heterosexual Behavior

Thus, a review of sex standards and behavior among today's young Americans leads to the conclusion that most men as well as women feel that abstinence before marriage is really best. A majority of even those men who accept the double standard that gives men the sexual freedom denied girls before marriage say that chastity is the best policy for both sexes, and they hope for virginity in their wives. Reiss⁶² concludes his study of premarital sexual standards in America with the observation that traditional teachings still hold. Abstinence still has a grip on a great number of today's young people, who feel that they love each other too much to risk spoiling their relationship with premature sex experience. Thus the general conclusion is that everyone does not go in for premarital sexual activity, the weight of the evidence is still on the side of chastity. Even in view of the seemingly prevailing positive attitudes and practices concerning premarital dating behavior, there are numerous dynamic conflicts and problems to be solved. Research⁶³ indicates that even a majority of engaged couples were

in conflict about their behavior. If they did go all the way, they were often disillusioned, distressed, and disturbed. When they stopped short of coitus, they were physically unsatisfied. The investigators conclude, "Many couples find themselves sorely tried in refraining from intercourse, but by no means entirely happy or conscience-free if they yield."⁶⁴

Probably the most thorough and comprehensive research study concerning the premarital dating behavior of both female and male college students, in a longitudinal design with a large sample, is reported by Ehrmann.⁶⁵ The major findings of the Ehrmann study, which follow, are presented both as a foundation for the final section in this chapter and with the hope that you, a college student, can better visualize and identify with the consistent dynamics and problems of premarital dating behavior.

1. Premarital heterosexual behavior falls into compartmentalized stages ranging from no physical contact, through holding hands, kissing, and general body embrace, to sexual intercourse.
2. Although males engage in extreme sexual activities more often than females, a larger proportion of the activities participated in by males represent sporadic ventures with peers or deviant companions.
3. The typical and usual heterosexual experiences engaged in by both males and females are kissing and hugging, and all but a few indulge in this activity.
4. Although the male usually initiates love making, the female frequently makes the first overtures.
5. The limitation of premarital sexual behavior is determined by the female. The male is restrained either because of his image of the girl or because of her overt refusal to go farther.
6. Veteran more than nonveteran status among the males is associated with past and current sexual experiences, but the difference is related to age rather than to military service.
7. The sexual behavior of the male is associated to an appreciable extent with attitude toward sex, adequacy of sex instruction, age at first date, and age, and to a slight extent with church attendance, religion, happiness, father's occupation, home discipline, and adjustment to sex.
8. High frequency of dating many companions among males appears to be associated primarily with eroticism and among females with popularity.

9. The social class of the companion is closely associated with the sexual behavior of the male, but only slightly with that of the female
10. Female sexual expression is primarily and profoundly related to being in love and to going steady
11. Love tends to equate the sexual expression of both males and females. There is a convergence in such diverse attitudes and behavior as the degree of pleasure experienced in and the reasons for engaging unwillingly in sexual activities
12. The peer code of both males and females is more liberal than their personal code; that is, both sexes are more lenient in their attitudes concerning what is permissible heterosexual behavior for companions than for themselves
13. Males are more conservative and females more liberal in their expressed personal codes of sex conduct and in their actual behavior with lovers than with nonlovers
14. Whereas females rarely go beyond the limits set by their codes, males often are not able to go as far sexually as their codes permit
15. There is a marked difference in the standards of sexual behavior between males and females and within the male group. Most females have a conservative single standard but a majority of males have a liberal single standard
16. Among males, the inconsistency between codes of conduct and actual behavior occurs primarily because many males desire more heterosexual experiences than they are able to carry out
17. Females find pleasure in dating, but without petting, lovers and nonlovers alike, and in sexual activities with lovers; males find pleasure in dating lovers and in sexual activities with all females
18. Patterns of heterosexual behavior and attitudes concerning sex are most sharply defined by sex codes of conduct, conservative and liberal single standards and the double standard, and by the intimacy relationship of being or not being in love

Self-perceptions and Sexual Behavior

In sexual behavior as in everything else, there are all kinds of people. Some are openly promiscuous, many are faithful to their one and only

Some flout the conventional standards, others uphold them. Some engage in premarital sex play and brag about it, others are ashamed of it. Some are quietly intimate, others are just as quietly chaste. How do you perceive premarital sexual behavior? What you do about your sex life depends upon how you see yourself. If you have developed a positive, forward looking self concept, you keep your conduct in line with your ideals, values, and aspirations. If you have become discouraged and self depreciating, you may feel, "What's the use anyway?" and snatch whatever satisfactions you can find, sexually and otherwise.

If you can, you tend to do and to be what is expected of you by self and others. You try to measure up to those standards that self, family, and friends set. You cannot do everything that others want you to do. Ever. If you are to mature and actualize your potential you do conform to those expectations, both inner and outer, that advance your own developing sense of self. Probably more than anything else, your sense of identity determines your goals, aspirations, dreams, and hopes. You build your sense of identity over the years. A good sense of your self is an achievement that fits your potentials, your life style, and your life situation as you relate to self and the general human encounter.

As you see yourself clearly, you try to find answers to life's most perplexing questions. Who am I? What kind of person am I really? Where am I going? What am I going to be? What do I want from life? This deep self searching helps you find a place in the world of which you are a part. When you know to a fairly consistent degree who you are, for what you stand, and your "place in the sun" you have a basis for making decisions that otherwise would be different and for behaving in ways that are congruent with your own self identity. Because you have to live with yourself, somehow or other you must become comfortable in your own skin. Your personal identification is always in relation to somebody and something. You find out who you are in relation to whom, and to what.

As you interact and identify with numerous people many contradictory philosophies of life will be exposed. From these experiences with people involving conflicting values of sexual behavior and other aspects of living, you will not find it easy to set your own course. Because what you are becoming cannot be separated from the decisions you make about what you do and do not do, you need sound bases for these decisions.

One basis for decision making is possible *outcome*. In your perceptual experience, what happens as a result of premarital sexual relations? To your knowledge, what are the chances of something good coming out of such behavior? Something bad? How good? How bad? What reliable evidence is there upon which you can base your judgment? Have you talked over the problem with an informed, responsible person who knows you and what you are deciding? Have you envisaged how you would feel if your decision

were reported in the newspaper headlines? Would what you are contemplating doing make you pleased and proud? Or would you feel ashamed and guilty? Your decision should be based upon possible outcomes in terms of your own sense of what is appropriate—no one else, because you are you. Because there are many life styles, and many kinds of persons, each must resolve the issue in terms of his or her own values and self-concept. Each person must maintain and enhance his own dignity, worth, and integrity in his own way or else risk the forfeiture of self-actualization.

A second basis for moral decisions is that of *universality*. Ask yourself what would it be like if everyone did just what he or she felt like. If every boy took any girl who was available (like maybe your sister or future daughter), what kind of world would it be? If couples engaged freely in premarital intercourse, what assurance would they have of fidelity after they married? If husbands and wives were not faithful to each other, what kind of family life would result? How could a man be sure his children were his? How could either of the couple feel permanently secure in their life together? Would women, would men, be better off or worse? Would marriages be happier or under more strain? How would children fare? What kind of culture would result? Does sexual restraint make a stronger or a weaker society? *What other questions of outcome and universality need you ask and answer for yourself in making decisions with which you must live?*

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The Intellectual



I am a human being, whatever that may be I speak for all of us who move and feel and whom time consumes. I speak as an individual unique in a universe beyond my understanding, and I speak for man I am hemmed in by limitations of sense and mind and body, of place and time and circumstance, some of which I know but most of which I do not I am like a man journeying through a forest, aware of occasional glints of light overhead, with recollections of the long trail I have already traveled and conscious of wider space ahead I want to see more clearly where I have been and where I am going, and above all I want to know why I am where I am and why I am traveling at all.

--John Berryll¹

The preceding quotation expresses humbly, yet dynamically the tremendous complexity of man's being and his becoming as he strives toward self-actualization in the realization of his potential-

ties. Throughout his long history, man has pitted his abilities against the world in his struggle to survive. In this he is not unique, for all living things strive to maintain themselves, to resist destruction, and to grow and to function in accordance with their inner natures. Man is unique in that he has tremendous cognitive powers that he can develop to facilitate conscious experience, self-awareness, perception of himself and his world, thinking, reasoning, and problem-solving.

Endowed with superior mental capacities, man has few, if any, instinctive behavior patterns beyond the level of the simplest reflex. He must rely instead upon his ability to learn, to reason, to discover, to adapt, and to grow in the constant process of working out satisfactory ways of living with himself and his world. The superior mental gifts, and consequently, the superior adaptability, of man have enabled him to become the unchallenged master of the animal kingdom as he has progressed appreciably toward conquering his physical environment. But man's special cognitive gifts have also created unique problems, for man alone, to our knowledge, is faced with the responsibility of determining his own behavior—of experiencing his world and of evaluating these experiences in choosing the “best course of action”—and of developing the competencies and skills essential to implementing his decisions. In short, man is faced with the necessity of self-direction; he must live life and not be lived by life. This responsibility for autonomous direction places a heavy demand upon his special cognitive talents to determine the kind of a creature he is and the basic “roles” he should play as a human being. As Erich Fromm has stated, “Man is the only animal who finds his own existence a problem which he has to solve and from which he cannot escape.”²

INTELLIGENCE AS A PHENOMENON OF MAN'S BEING-IN-BECOMING

Throughout this chapter a recurring theme will be that man's cognitive powers—his capacities for intelligent behavior—are not predetermined nor fixed; but that they are instead fluid and ever increasing as he participates vitally in his own existence through understanding his perceptual experiences in a constant state of flow, merging the past, present, and future into meaningful living. In directing his own “human enterprise” then, man must not only acquire information about himself and his world to develop competencies for dealing with his problems, but he must also come to grips with the problem of value—of what is authentically good for him and what is not—and ultimately with the problem of the meaning of his existence, of just what is his role in the universe. Thus, man must, through the use of his intellectual capacities, search out the personal meaning of knowing who

he is and how he fits into the world around him and discovering why he is in that world, if he is to develop his potentialities maximally.

The How of Self and World

In using his cognitive powers to direct his behavior effectively, man must first of all acquire information about himself and his world. He must learn about his needs, his potentialities, his rational and irrational tendencies and the many facets of his own nature that enable him to formulate a realistic self-picture. Man must also learn about the world in which he lives: the inanimate world and the world of plants, animals, and human groups. He must learn about its dangers, its opportunities and potentialities for meeting his needs and the principles inherent in its operation—information enabling him to understand his world and to some extent control it.

Man's perceptions and views of himself and his world, whether accurate or inaccurate, are the primary facilitators of his behavior. The goals for which he strives and the means he selects for trying to achieve them are largely determined by what he conceives himself to be, by what he conceives himself able to become, and by the way he perceives the opportunities and limitations of the world around him. For example, people who view human nature as basically kind and good are likely to behave in different ways from those who view human nature as basically cruel and selfish. Similarly, people who view their environment as hostile and dangerous are likely to behave differently from those who view it as friendly and full of opportunity.

Besides acquiring information about himself and his world, man must also develop the competencies requisite for getting along in human society and for carrying out his individual purposes. Without such competencies he is all theory and no practice, and however desirable his goals, he is not likely to accomplish very much. Although the specific competencies needed by a person vary considerably from one society or subculture to another and even among individuals within a similar human group, certain general competencies are necessary for all people if they are to adjust successfully in the process of being-in-becoming. Each of us must spend a major portion of our life and our intellectual efforts in acquiring the information and competencies required for effective behavior, in acquiring the *know-how* for living. Certainly as man's scientific and technological progress continues, the amount of information and the complexity of skills he needs continue to increase. Therefore, the problems involved in acquiring the know-how for living become increasingly more and more complex and difficult, requiring greater expenditures of time and energy.

The Why of Cognitive Self

Man's being in becoming is not simply a matter of acquiring information and developing necessary competencies. Man must also solve the problem of knowing why—he must find a comprehensive value system to give him a sense of purpose and to guide his adjustive behavior in specific situations. From among the many goals, means, and ways of living that are available to him, man must choose those he thinks will best meet his needs. Inevitably, his choices are based upon his assumptions or judgments concerning value—upon what he thinks is right and will lead to his greatest need satisfaction and well being. As Kluckhohn notes: "Surely one of the broadest generalizations to be made by a natural historian observing the human species is that man is an evaluating animal. Always and everywhere men are saying, 'This is good', that is bad—this is better than that, 'these are higher and those lower aspirations.' . . . Although information helps man to see what *is* or *could be*, values are concerned with the desirable—with what *ought* to be. Maybe St. Thomas Aquinas captured the essence of the "human predicament" in saying: 'Three things are necessary for the salvation of man: to know what he ought to believe, to know what he ought to desire, and to know what he ought to do.'

Although man throughout the years has worked out many reliable values to guide his behavior in simple choice situations, the perplexing question of what type of life is best suited for him, will contribute most to his personal satisfaction as well as to the progress of the human group, is a far more complex problem. To answer it man must test the depth and scope of the intellectual capacities to fathom the whole meaning of human existence. *He must discover his role in the universe; he must answer the baffling question of 'Why?'* As Nietzsche aptly stated, "He who has a *why* to live can bear with almost any *how*." Man, in pursuit of values, is thus inescapably confronted with the problem of *meaning* with the question of what life is all about. This concern with meaning so basic to human thought and action, is unique to man. Because of man's superior cognitive powers, self awareness, reason, and imagination not only are his allies in the search for personal meaning but also may become his enemies as he creates problems that he and he alone must solve. Being aware of himself, man recognizes the essence of his being and the hopefulness of his becoming, but he also realizes his powerlessness and limitations of his existence. He can even visualize his own end—death. Thus many problems relating to man's unique cognitive powers of being capable of validating personal identity, which focus upon values and meaning, enter into and complicate the developmental process of becoming. Since man holds a unique intellectual position, he must then accept the challenge of trying to answer the question of

"Why?" As Erich Fromm has indicated, "Man must accept the responsibility for himself that only by using his own powers can he give meaning to life. . . . Man comprehends the world, mentally and emotionally, through love and reason."

Cognitive Man as a Self-evaluator

As we have mentioned, man has the power and the problem of self-direction, of his need to determine and to develop the adjustive patterns of living that are best suited to his nature and his phenomenal field. Now we must translate our concept of self-direction from *Homo sapiens* (man in general) to self (the individual man) in terms of the specific know-how and know-why needed for effective self-direction. Contextually, we may think in reference to three basic questions that each individual must attempt to answer if he is to become personally effective and fulfill his potentialities in the process of becoming: Who am I? Where am I going? Why? These questions deal with our identity, our assets and liabilities, our goals, our means, our values, and our way of life or "life style." The meaningfulness of these questions will, of course, vary somewhat dependent upon the individual's opportunities for self-direction as related to the degree of economic, social, and political freedom to promote and encourage self-autonomy and self-actualization. Normally, in the United States, with affluence, idealistic and functional democratic freedoms, and economic and social mobility, the individual's opportunities for self-development and self-direction are almost unlimited.

Who Am I? By delineating the characteristics common to all men, we can understand much about ourselves. In answering the specific question Who am I? we must recognize our own uniqueness and idiosyncratic nature. We must test our cognitive capacities in depth by searching out the problem of knowing and understanding ourselves. Berrill states the problem of finding one's identity as a double question: What am I as a human being, and what kind of an individual am I? ¹ An interesting facet of our educational system is that we study almost everything else before getting around to studying ourselves. Yet daily we must live with ourselves and work with our own resources in making our lives satisfying and productive. As Selye has pointed out, "Since man is essentially a rational being, the better he knows what makes him tick, the more likely he will be to make a success of life." ²

Adequate self-understanding lessens psychological problems in a person's adjustive development rather than promoting intellectual hypochondria in the analytical examination of possible implications of his every thought, act, dream, or fantasy. In fact, genuine self-understanding tends to *lessen* self-involvement, preoccupation, and concern. As Lehner has indicated, "the better you know yourself, the better you will be able to forget yourself, for

it is the things you do NOT know about yourself that cause you to bog down." Certainly, the person who does not have a realistic view of himself through diligent self searching and congruent self understanding will be handicapped in meeting and solving life's problems.

Where Am I Going? The question *Where am I going?* focuses upon our goals, the *means* we select for achieving them, and the hazards we are likely to encounter on the way. Goals focus our energy and effort, guide the competencies we need to develop, and provide us with criteria for deciding between alternate courses of action. Often we must think in terms of long range and short range goals, usually with long range goals requiring the attainment of many short range goals or subgoals. Although long-term goals may be thought of as the primary direction finders for our behavior, short-term goals are the ones that ordinarily occupy most of our attention and effort. With the complexity of living today, we must have a clear idea of where we are going if we are to choose appropriate subgoals and effective means for achieving them. Yet many people drift through life with little or no sense of direction other than that of meeting their immediate needs. These individuals usually feel a vague sense of dissatisfaction, of aimlessness or being "lost," with life seeming to have little significant meaning.

Depending upon how people perceive them, some goals are superior to others in the satisfactions they afford; others are more appropriate to the individual's personal resources and environmental opportunities. The pursuit of unrealistically high goals leads to failure and frustration, the pursuit of goals that are too low in aspiration level leads to wasted opportunities and lost satisfaction, the pursuit of false goals that fail to yield satisfaction when they are attained leads to disillusionment and discouragement. Thus, if we cause ourselves problems through cognitive goal orientation, we must use our intellectual powers to solve these problems through a change or adjustment in self perceptions.

Answering the question *Where am I going?* involves *means* as well as goals. Thus, in delineating both long range and short range goals, we must determine what general and specific competencies we will need to develop. Although the specific skills necessary for effective adjustment and the achieving of life goals will vary greatly with the individual, his culture, and his specific life situation, certain general areas, such as physical, intellectual, emotional, and social competencies seem basic to man's commitment to organizing his own life.

These basic competencies enter in various ways into almost everything we do and open up countless avenues for increased personal growth and self fulfillment. Failure to develop them, however, can prevent us from "getting where we want to go." Although some goals are out of our reach because of personal handicaps or situational limitations beyond our control, we must use our intellectual capacities to assess the reality of our goals in formu-

lating them. Sometimes we fail to achieve goals that are within our reach for no other reason than that we fail to develop our assets. Despite our power to reason—the priceless possession of man alone—many of us are crippled by unnecessary fears and anxieties, social incompetencies, inaccurate information, emotional prejudices, and lack of training in evaluating and solving problems.

A final consideration in using our intellectual competencies to answer the question *Where am I going?* is trying to anticipate some of the hazards we may meet along the way. Although we cannot foresee all the problems we shall have to face during our lifetime, we can increase the probability of successful adjustment if we know what hazards may be involved, what factors will be within our control, what pitfalls can be avoided, and what skills and attitudes we shall need. Thus with our powers of reason and intellectual anticipation, we can learn about basic problems we are likely to meet in an ordinary life span and prepare ourselves to meet them.

Why? Our problem of goals is intimately related to that of our values. What kind of life is good or bad for human beings in general and for me as an individual? Why is this way of life more desirable than that way? Why is this goal to be valued more highly than that one? Why is honesty the best policy? Ultimately, of course, the individual can answer these questions only in relation to a much larger why—the meaning of his own existence. For until he begins to answer this question to his own satisfaction, he lacks a general framework or perspective for making specific judgments and choices. As Cantril has said, values “are the compass which gives man his direction both as to how he should act and what his action is for.”⁷

Lacking a satisfactory system of values, a person may waste the best of his resources and find himself drifting pointlessly. A surface commitment to “the good life” is not enough. To find happiness and satisfaction—the real why of living—a person must have some purpose for being and a system of values in which he can really believe. The degree to which he trusts the soundness of his values will determine how much he actually relies upon them in making his choices, how much satisfaction he gains from following them, how free he will be from inner conflict, how successfully he can cope with setbacks and frustrations, and how much effort and energy he will be able to put forth in working toward his goals of becoming what he can become.

Although, naturally, value patterns vary from individual to individual and, even more, from culture to culture, we should not assume that the selection of values must always be arbitrary. In the light of science, religion, and the experience of the human race, we can determine certain basic values that are clearly more realistic and satisfying than others for guiding our lives. Modern science, for example, is continually helping man in his search for reliable values by discovering more and more information about man's

basic nature, his strivings, the universe in which he lives, and the environmental conditions that are conducive to his maintenance, development, and actualization.

In accumulating such knowledge, the physical, biological, and social sciences have substantially increased the likelihood of our selecting more reliable values. For as we learn more about what is "good" for man, in the sense of maintaining and improving his physical and psychological being, we become less dependent upon arbitrary, and sometimes false, assumptions of values. We can take advantage of this vast storehouse of knowledge only through the increasing use and expansion of our intellectual capacities; thus, self-maintenance and self-actualization in modern living depend upon a fluid intelligence, viewed as a phenomenon of ongoing, meaningful perceptual experiences with self, others, and situations in the world around us.

THE NATURE OF INTELLIGENCE

As we have indicated in the previous section, the capacity to behave intelligently is one of man's most precious possessions. This attribute of man makes his behavior uniquely human, enabling him to learn, reason, take advantage of the past, predict the future, manipulate his environment, and transcend in his thinking the barriers of time and space. Daily we become more and more conscious of the fact that man's destiny is shaped by his own intelligence. Nature's forces, although still awesome and powerful, are becoming man's ally through the ingenuity of his mind. Eiseley has epitomized the wonder and potential of intelligence cogently in saying, "Man's whole history is one of transcendence and of self-examination which have led him to angelic heights of sacrifice as well as into the blackest regions of despair."⁸ We recognize that the mental ability of the individual determines much of his life experience. What is intelligence, that it is so vital to human beings? What are some of the fundamentals about the nature and nurture of this key of living that transcends time, linking man's behavior from the past, to the present and into the future? How is intelligence defined? What are some of the basic concepts related to intelligence? What are some of the theories underlying the nature of intelligence?

Definitions of Intelligence

Intelligence has been variously defined by a number of authorities and represents a complex of interrelated functions rather than an isolated entity. Psychologists studying the nature of intelligence will perceive intelligence all the way from a global or unitary phenomenon to a multifaceted attribute of human behavior and from a specific capacity to a total concept. This section will explore some of the numerous definitions of intelligence with

the hope that you will select those which have the most functional meaning to you

Intelligence as Growth Bayley defines intelligent behavior as "a dynamic succession of developing functions, with the more advanced and complex functions in the hierarchy depending upon the prior maturing of earlier simpler ones."⁹ Piaget notes that "behavior becomes more intelligent as the pathways between the subject and the objects on which it acts cease to be simple and become progressively more complex."¹⁰ In this respect, the function of development is, acting within the individual organism continuously, to prepare it to operate at increasing levels of complexity in such *cognitive functions* as deduction, induction, perception, spatial and number manipulation, and verbal facility. In this ongoing fluid sense, Bruner¹¹ sees cognitive growth as how human beings increase their mastery in achieving and using knowledge. Bruner and his associates, who have conducted many research studies at the Harvard University Center for Cognitive Studies, view man's intellectual potentialities as follows:

Our point of departure is, then, a human organism with capacities for representing the world in three modes, each of which is constrained by the inherent nature of the human capacities supporting it. Man is seen to grow by the process of internalizing the ways of acting, imaging, and symbolizing that "exist" in his culture, ways that amplify his powers. He then develops these powers in a fashion that reflects the uses to which he puts his own life. The development of those powers, it seems to me, will depend massively on three imbedded predicaments. The first has to do with the supply of 'amplifiers' that a culture has in stock—images, skills, conceptions, and the rest. The second consideration is the nature of the life led by an individual, the demands placed on him. The third (and most specialized) consideration is the extent to which the individual is incited to explore the sources of the concordance or discordance among his three modes of knowing—action, image, and symbol.¹²

Intelligence as Adjustive Behavior As has been indicated in the introductory chapters on the self, the basic position of the author concerning the nature of man's intelligence and his cognitive potentialities will be centered around the perceptual and experiential enhancing freedom of the self to facilitate the discovery and the creation of its intellectual powers within the limits of genetic and cultural heritages. This definition of intelligence, relevant to the fully functioning individual in the process of becoming, will utilize the conceptual framework of Bruner's view of cognitive man with amplification of the roles of perception and experience, as implied in the following definitions and expanded in subsequent sections of this chapter. Wechler suggests a workable definition of intelligence in viewing it as,

"the aggregate or global capacity of the individual to act purposefully, to think rationally and to deal effectively with his environment." ¹³ Stoddard,¹⁴ in defining intelligence as the bringing together of past experiences to solve immediate problems and to anticipate future ones, accords a fluidity to intelligence, which enables man to transcend time.

As an early definition, Thorndike ¹⁵ suggested that, in considering intelligence, three levels or kinds of intelligent behavior may be observed: *abstract, mechanical, and social*. Abstract intelligence is one's ability to use and to understand symbols, such as words and ideas. Mechanical intelligence is one's ability to understand and to deal with objects; whereas social intelligence is the ability to understand and to deal successfully with social events, particularly those involving decision making in human relations. Later Stoddard ¹⁶ offered a functional and more precise definition of intelligence as the ability to perform difficult, complex, and abstract activities with speed, adaptiveness to a goal, social value, and inventiveness, and to maintain such activities under conditions that demand a concentration of energy and a resistance to emotional forces.

Continuing with our functional connotations of man's mental behavior, English defines intelligence as "the individual's ability to perform the usual and expected activities of his age and culture." ¹⁷ Baller and Charles say "By intelligence we usually mean a person's ability to learn, to adapt, to solve new problems. It is not an entity in itself, but simply a way of behaving." ¹⁸ Bayley, who has conducted longitudinal studies of the development of intelligence in United States children comes to the following conclusions:

I see no reason why we should continue to think of intelligence as an integrated (or simple) entity or capacity which grows throughout childhood by steady accretions. . . . Intelligence appears to me, rather, to be a dynamic succession of developing functions, with the more advanced or complex functions in the hierarchy depending on the prior maturing of earlier simpler ones (given, of course, normal conditions of care).¹⁹

Harsh defines intelligence functionally in saying that it is "a construct devised to explain the potentialities of the human being for learning, for producing, and for adjusting to the environment."

Intelligence from a Phenomenological View. Phenomenology, as we have described it, is based upon the perceptions of the experiencing organism at the moment of behavior and assumes that these perceptions, when assimilated into the essential inner core of the individual, represent the organized self-concept, which is then the perceived or phenomenal self, who views himself, his behavior, and his world as realistic in reference to his perceived experiences. Thus, in this book, we shall consider that *intelli-*

gence is a multidetermined functional, experiential capacity consisting of those perceptual and cognitive functions that allow a person the freedom and the opportunity to look, to explore, to discover, to interpret, and to understand self, others, and situations around him, so that he can deal effectively with them in the ongoing procedures of releasing his own creative potentialities in the process of becoming what he can become

In reference to the preceding definition, Doll ²⁰ has expressed some interesting ideas concerning intelligence that seem related to and compatible with this phenomenological view of man's capacities. Doll indicates that the usual concept of potential success being measured in relevance to the traditional IQ is a fallacy because there are really four IQ's that must be recognized as factors in achievement and for making the most of oneself. Briefly, he describes these as

1. *The Intelligence Quotient*, which is a measure of intellectual potential, a measure of brightness—not of capacity or maturity level
2. *The Inner Quest*, which is the individual's answer to 'What am I?' and 'What am I living for?' It is made up of aspirations and values, not always in the conscious mind. It is a strong lever for education
3. *The Ideal Qualities*, which are the traits of personality that evaluate and maintain a balance between the Inner Quest and the Intelligence Quotient
4. *The Innate Quirks*, which are the obstacles that lie between us and the fulfillment desired by our Inner Quest, made possible by our Intelligence Quotient, to the extent determined by our Innate Qualities. Some of these quirks are in the person, some are environmental ²¹

CONCEPTS OF INTELLIGENCE

Although intelligence is recognized as constituting a major component of the self, the question arises whether it is some kind of intangible agency that directs behavior or whether it is a name for the adaptive quality of an individual's observable acts. The question also arises as to whether intelligence, regardless of its nature, is a biologically inherited factor or whether its development is largely a function of environmental and self forces. The concepts of the nature of intelligence held by early students of psychology were quite simple. Intelligence was conceived by many as a general mental power or a multiplicity of mental powers that could be

measured on a vertical scale by a single score.²² These scores either were divided by chronological age and the resultant quotient called the intelligence quotient (IQ), or were translated into mental ages. Any significant changes in an individual's IQ from year to year were regarded as exceptions, thus, the theory of 'the constancy of the IQ' was developed and generally accepted.

During the past several decades there has been a continuous mounting tide of research that has not only provided valuable information about the nature of mental capacities and growth but has also opened up new areas of further study. A brief presentation of different points of view regarding the basic nature of human intelligence should serve as a foundational base for the discussion of intellectual development to follow in subsequent sections.

Intelligence as Abstract Thinking or Scholastic Aptitude

Abstract intelligence refers to the ability to deal successfully with such symbolic materials as numbers, words, codes, geometric figures, and general principles. The academic curriculum makes heavy demands upon this type of intelligence, and it has come to dominate the content of mental tests. Mental tests are really not tests of 'general intelligence', rather they are measures of one area of intelligent behavior: the abstract or scholastic aptitude, and therefore have their greatest predictive value in the academic field. Mechanical ability, on the other hand, emphasizes the ability to deal with the relationships of concrete objects rather than with the words associated with them.

- In essence, although intelligence test scores indicate the extent to which individuals differ in their ability to perform certain designated tasks, they actually reveal nothing regarding the real nature of the ability necessary to perform these tasks. As one author states it: instead of being defined in terms of innate cognitive ability or inferred from the facts of mental test scores, intelligence should be regarded as 'the ability to do what the examiner thinks is intelligent.'

Intelligence as the Ability to Adjust

The adjustment view of intelligence is harmonious with the concept proposed by Alfred Binet, the father of mental tests. Binet²³ believed that intelligence involves the ability not only to adjust but 'to take and maintain a definite direction in so doing.' He also suggested that an individual's intelligence could be determined by ascertaining the extent to which he could comprehend problems, invent ways of solving them, follow a direct

line of procedure in making adjustments, and criticize "the accuracy of what he said and did."

The Empirical Concept of Intelligence

The empirical view of intelligence evaluates it in terms of its practical consequences to the individual concerned as well as to society. As was proposed some years ago by Pintner: "We must free ourselves from the idea that there is a specific faculty of intelligence. We must remember that intelligence is merely an evaluation of the efficiency of a reaction or a group of reactions under specific circumstances."²⁴ This "operational" or "functional" view of intelligence is generally regarded as the more meaningful and soundest approach, and as being superior to the controversial ideas of the "real nature" of intelligence. In harmony with the phenomenological view of behavior, the empirical approach to understanding intelligence will be emphasized throughout this chapter and book.

Intelligence as the Capacity to Act Purposefully

Another concept of the nature of intelligence is that it is "the aggregate or global capacity of the individual to act purposefully, to think rationally and to deal effectively with his environment."²⁵ According to this viewpoint, intelligent behavior is a matter of the appropriate combination of specific abilities and involves such other personality factors as drive and incentive. Thus, intellectual ability as such is only one phase of adaptive behavior as a whole.

Intelligence as a Total Concept

In assembling the most functional and logical qualities of the various views of intelligence portrayed above, one writer²⁶ has described intelligence as "the ability to undertake activities that are characterized by (1) difficulty, (2) complexity, (3) abstractness, (4) economy (speed), (5) adaptiveness to a goal, (6) social value, and (7) the emergence of originals (inventiveness), and to maintain such activities under conditions that demand a concentration of energy and a resistance to emotional forces." Translating this composite view into human behavior, we might summarize that an individual is intelligent (at his age level) to the extent that he is able to think in the abstract, to discern relationships within difficult and complex problems or activities, to maintain a steady direction toward a goal with reasonable speed, to invent new solutions when necessary, to keep his activities within the range of normal social values, and to resist the pressures of emotional bias.

Intelligence as an Analysis of Its Components

More than a decade of exploration into cognitive and thinking abilities, through factor analysis, conducted under the direction of Guilford at the University of Southern California, has provided new insights into the nature of components of human intelligence. According to Guilford, "the most significant outcome has been the development of a unified theory of human intellect, which organized the known, unique, or primary intellectual abilities into a single system called the 'structure of intellect.'"²⁷ These studies have resulted in a classification of five groups of mental abilities: the factors of cognition, memory, convergent thinking, divergent thinking, and evaluation.

Each of the preceding areas is characterized by specific functions that can be assessed objectively in various ways. In this sense the organism is "an agency for dealing with information of various kinds in various ways," and the concepts so obtained provide a useful basis for further research. Thus, four varieties of intelligence emerge: the concrete, the symbolic and semantic, the abstract, and "social" intelligence. The last category alone represents thirty or more specific abilities, including understanding and evaluation of human behavior involving self and others. In general Guilford describes the five major intellectual abilities as follows:

Cognition means discovery or rediscovery or recognition. Memory means retention of what is cognized. Two kinds of productive thinking operations generate new information and remembered information. In divergent thinking operations we think in different directions, sometimes searching, sometimes seeking variety. In convergent thinking the information leads to one right answer or to a recognized best or conventional answer. In evaluation we reach decisions as to goodness, correctness, suitability, or adequacy of what we know, what we remember, and what we produce in productive thinking.²⁸

CURRENT THEORIES OF INTELLECTUAL BEHAVIOR

The foregoing definitions and concepts of intelligence have stressed its function in enabling children and adolescents to learn school subjects, to solve difficult problems with dispatch, and to adjust to the requirements of an orderly society. They have not, however, solved the fundamental problem of the nature of intelligence as it relates to a person's mental functioning. Because both classroom practices and the selection of curricular materials are affected by the child's intellectual organization, much theorizing and considerable statistical research have been devoted to the problem.

From early and more current research, several major points of view regarding the nature of intelligence have emerged. Although we recognize the significant contributions of the earlier studies related to Spearman's²⁰ Two-Factor Theory, Thorndike's³⁰ Quantity or Synthesis Theory, Thurstone's³¹ Primary Mental Abilities, and Kelley's³² Multiple-Factor Theory, the discussion here will be restricted to later research investigations. The more current research findings of Jerome S. Bruner,³³ J. P. Guilford,³⁴ and Jean Piaget³⁵ concerning cognitive growth and the nature of intellectual capacities seem to offer a more fluid, open, creative, perceptual, and experiential approach to an understanding of intellectual phenomena rather than the seemingly fixed and predetermined qualities of the earlier theorists. As such, these modern theories of intellectual functioning are considered to be more congruent with the attributes of fluidity, creativity, perception and experience within the self as has been described in the phenomenological approach to behavior presented in this book. Jean Piaget seems to capture the essence of modern thinking concerning the nature of intelligence relevant to phenomenological developmental behavior with his cogent remarks:

Intelligence is born of action. Any act of intelligence—whether it be on the part of man involved in scientific research, or of any normal adult in his everyday problem-solving, or the child of seven and eight—any act of intelligence consists of operations, carrying out operations, and coordinating them among themselves. . . . This gives us the alternatives between two types of pedagogy, one in which the child is receptive, the other in which he is active—education which stimulates the activities of the child in the area of his inventiveness [becoming]³⁶

Bruner's Instrumental Conceptualism

Jerome S. Bruner, psychologist and Director of the Center for Cognitive Studies at Harvard University, and his associates, with the publication of *Studies in Cognitive Growth*,³⁷ present the first major theoretical assessment of processes of cognitive development in children since the pioneering work of Jean Piaget and his colleagues. Using a wide variety of experimental techniques involving six years of intensive research, the book examines the growth of three systems for representing information—through action, through imagery, and through the symbolism of language. The approach is more pragmatic and instrumental than most contemporary continental developmental psychologists and is as much concerned with the cultural patterning of cognition as with growth from a purely maturational point of view.

Instrumental conceptualism, as this cognitive growth theory is labeled, is organized around two central tenets concerning the nature of knowing. The first is that our knowledge of the world is based on a constructed model

of reality, a model that can only partially and intermittently be tested against input. According to Bruner, much of the structure of our cognitive models is quite remote from any direct test, and that rests on what might be called an axiomatic base—our ideas of cause and effect, of the continuity of space and time, of invariances in experience, and other aspects of perceptual behavior. He believes that some of this axiomatic structure informing our models of reality (phenomenologically, reality is to us as we perceive it) is already given in the innate nature of our three techniques for representing or “modeling” reality: action, imagery, and symbolism. The physical requirements of adaptive action force us to conceive of the world in a particular way, a way that is constrained by the nature of our own neuromuscular system. Also we are restricted by the primitive properties of visual, auditory, and haptic space in our effort to represent our knowledge in terms of imagery. Finally, our representation of reality in terms of language or symbolism is similarly limited by what again seems to be our native endowment for mastering particular symbolic systems: systems premised on rules of hierarchy, predication, causation, modification, and other aspects of self and its phenomenal field.

Bruner and his associates state as their first central tenet of instrumental conceptualism the idea of the model or representation and its constraints (the conceptualist side of the matter). Their second tenet is that our models develop as a function of the uses to which they have been put first by the culture and then by any of its members who must bend knowledge to their own uses. Although his view of instrumentalism is inherent in this double emphasis on the role of use, Bruner (and associates) recognize that we cannot (except analytically) separate *cultural* instrumentalism and *individual* instrumentalism. That is, the language, the values, the ways of looking and thinking that characterize a culture have evolved by virtue of the way a culture has coped with its circumstances over a long period of time. Concurrently, the form of the language in use and of the values in use as assimilated and expressed in an individual's life reflect his mode of coping with reality within the wide or narrow constructs imposed by the culture.

The point of departure represented by this theory is, then, a human organism with capacities for representing the world in three modes, each of which is constrained by the inherent nature of the human capacities supporting it. In instrumental conceptualism, man is seen to grow by the process of internalizing the ways of acting, imaging, and symbolizing that “exist” in his sociocultural milieu (phenomenal field)—ways that amplify his cognitive powers. Thus, through self-discovery man can (within the limitations of his own organism) create and develop his intellectual capacities. He then actualizes these powers in a fashion that reflects the uses to which he puts his own life, that is, becoming what he can become as he matures toward a fully functioning self.

Bruner believes that the development of these cognitive powers will depend upon three imbedded human predicaments. The first is relevant to the supply of amplifiers (richness of the phenomenal field) that a culture has in stock—images, skills, conceptions, and other facilitating factors. The second consideration is the nature of the life led by the individual, the demands placed upon him. The third (and most specialized) consideration is the extent to which the individual is incited to explore and to develop a congruent openness of experience to harmonize the concordance or discordance (with self) among his three modes of knowing—action, image, and symbol. Bruner's instrumental conceptualism incorporates the creative, fluid, and experiential nature of perceptive man as exemplified in the following statement:

But lest we conclude on a note that seems either to celebrate the noble savage or to look darkly at the intellectual future of man, we should state one final conclusion that is crucial. Insofar as man's powers are expressed and amplified through the instruments of culture, the limits to which he can attain excellence of intellect must surely be as wide as are the culture's combined capabilities. We do not know in any deep sense as yet how we shall, in the future, better empower men. Insofar as the sciences of knowing can throw light on the growth of mind, the efficacy of the culture in fulfilling its responsibility to the individual can likely be increased to levels higher than ever before imagined.³⁸

Guilford's Structure-of-Intellect Theory

J. P. Guilford, working with his structure of intellect (SI) model,³⁹ has made perhaps the most significant and far-reaching theoretical contribution to the general nature of intelligence in the past several decades. After ten years of research on cognitive and thinking abilities with the Aptitude Project at the University of Southern California, Guilford, who regards intelligence as problem solving, proposed that it is made up of numerous factors. Analyzing human intelligence into its components through the process of the experimental application of factor analysis, he proceeded to hypothecate 120 factorial cells or types of intelligence. In view of the phenomenological approach to behavior, this fluid, perceptual, and experiential theory, recognizing that human beings may have many unique ways of behaving intelligently, seems to have special relevance to our approach to man's intellectual capacities in this chapter.

According to Guilford in his earlier report in 1959,⁴⁰ one basis of classification is in reference to the basic kind of process or operation performed. This kind of classification offers five major groups of intellectual abilities: factors of cognition, memory, convergent thinking, divergent thinking, and evaluation. A second way of classifying the intellectual factors is relevant to

the kind of material or content involved—figural, symbolic, semantic, or behavioral. When a certain operation is applied to a certain kind of content, six kinds of products are identified—units, classes, relations, systems, transformations, and implications.

Thus, his approach to the structure of intellect may be schematized as a cube, sectioned in one direction by five *operations*, and in another direction by six *products*, and in the third dimension by four *contents*, for a total of 5 by 6 by 4, or 120 cells, each containing an operation, a product, or a content. By 1959, after ten years' research with the ongoing Aptitude Project at the University of Southern California, Guilford and his associates had already identified fifty intellectual factors of the hypothesized 120. In his 1966 report,¹¹ Guilford indicated that he had discovered, by research and human assessment, at least eighty ways of being intelligent. About fifteen factors are currently under investigation, and Guilford's research has revealed several abilities for some of the cells. As such, he may well discover more than 120 factors of man's cognitive potential in the future. In essence, Guilford considers that the following components—some content, some operations, and some products—described in subsequent sections, comprise intelligence or intelligent behavior.

Guilford's Operations. In terms of operational intellectual abilities, we have cognition (perceptual discovery, rediscovery, or recognition), memory (remembering what is cognized), divergent thinking (production of originals), convergent thinking (induction or deduction from possessed knowledge according to logical procedures), and evaluation or screening (decisions as to goodness, correctness, suitability, and worthwhileness of what we know, what we remember, and what we produce in our thinking).

Guilford's Contents. In accordance with content, intellectual factors may be figural, symbolic, semantic, or behavioral. Figural content is concrete material such as is perceived through the senses. Visual material has properties such as size, form, color, location, or texture. Things we hear or feel provide other examples of figural material. Symbolic content is composed of letters, digits, and other conventional signs, usually organized in general systems, such as the alphabet or the number system. Semantic content is in the form of verbal meanings or ideas. The cognitive abilities for dealing with behavioral content, six in number, are equivalent to social intelligence.

Guilford's Products. According to Guilford, there is evidence available to suggest that regardless of the combinations of operations and contents, the same six kinds of products may be found associated with units (single experiences), relations (relevance of units and classes), classes (composite of experiences), transformations (alterations in related experiences), and implications (applicable results of related and transformed behavior). Although the products are Guilford's categories, the interpretive definitions are those of the current author. Guilford indicates that insofar as he has determined

by factor analysis, the preceding classifications are the fundamental types of products representing all kinds of psychological information

Guilford's Basic Position Regarding Intellectual Functioning

Guilford believes that input into his structure of intellect (SI) comes from both the environment and man's body, the latter offering both motivational and emotional types, and from the brain as well as from the internal receptors of the self. Filtering or screening occurs within the self, shutting off some sorts of input, facilitating other types. Filtering is much like the more traditional term attention. In this case, he refers to the fact that the organism is always evaluating, checking, and self-correcting, checking being not the final stage of problem solving, but occurring throughout the entire process. "Awareness that a problem exists and identification or structuring of the problem are cognitive operations during which there is dependence upon the memory storage and there is evaluation of cognized information. In the effort to cognize the problem, there may be a seeking for new input information."⁴²

Thus, Guilford allows man much latitude in the intelligent solutions to his problems and in the search to discover his own intellectual powers in the process of becoming what he can become. With possibly more than 120 ways of being intelligent, a person should be able to find his "place in the sun" if he can free the self for actualization in working toward personal adequacy. Guilford thinks that the factorial structure of intellect may well be complex from birth with unique potentialities for development of certain abilities lying within individuals. He believes that the publication of his recent book⁴³ "integrates intelligence into general psychological theory, thus giving intelligence a thorough psychological theoretical foundation, which it has never had."⁴⁴

Guilford's contention that the factorial structure of intellect may well be complex from birth has received support from the writings of Stott and Ball.⁴⁵ They believe that "definitely intellectual" items for testing intelligence can be devised for earliest infancy. Piaget, the Swiss child psychologist, whose theories will be discussed in the next section, would concur in this respect with both Stott and Ball and Guilford. From a learning point of view Bruner,⁴⁶ who claims that you can teach anything in an intellectually honest way to any child of any age if you go about it in the right way, would agree basically with both Piaget and Guilford in reference to the intellectual potential of the child. Others who would oppose the preceding viewpoints (such as Garrett and Spearman as discussed by Guilford) seem to believe that early intelligence is simpler or more unitary, becoming more complex and differentiated with age. Still another position is the "differentiation-integration hypothesis" presented by Lerner and Croft, who believe that

they have "shown that the structure of intelligence exhibits a trend toward differentiation from childhood to adolescence and toward integration from adolescence to adulthood." 47

Piaget's Cognitive Theory

Jean Piaget, the Swiss developmental psychologist and author of more than thirty-five books, has been a pioneer and leader in the scientific investigation of the mental development of children and the structure of intellectual capacities for more than forty years. This man behind the ideas of many of the programs to improve educational curricula is not an educator. Piaget is the seventy-four-year-old French-speaking Swiss director of the Jean Jacques Rousseau Institute in Geneva, who is also in various roles a child psychologist, sociologist, epistemologist, logician, and professor of psychology and history of scientific thought at the University of Geneva. He tells his readers and listeners that he is not an educator, but that he is a psychologist with an interdisciplinary approach, that he is an investigator using the tools of the related fields of biology, psychology, and logic to study the genesis of intelligence in young humans. All his long life he has drawn upon these three fields and others to conduct research and to build his theories of the development of intelligence in children. A brief summary of the perceptual and experiential nature of Piaget's cognitive theory should reveal its compatibility with the phenomenological approach to developmental behavior.

Although Piaget's *The Language and Thought of the Child* was published in English in 1926, it was not until the early 1950s that his ideas made any significant impact in the United States. Since that time his later books have had wide circulation and acceptance in our country. Jerome S. Bruner of Harvard University is probably responsible for the current public awareness, which can be traced to his significant book *The Process of Education* (1960) and his most recent book, *Toward a Theory of Instruction* (1966). Bruner describes Piaget as "unquestionably the most impressive figure in the field of cognitive development." Piaget, he says, "is often interpreted in the wrong way by those who think that his principal mission is psychological. It is not. . . . What he has done is to write the implicit logical theory on which the child proceeds in dealing with intellectual tasks." 48

Rationale of Piaget's Theory. For Piaget, the crucial question in the study of the growing child is how he adjusts himself to the world in which he lives. There is nothing disparaging in the concept of *adjustment* for Piaget; it involves backing and filling, winning and losing, understanding and gaining knowledge. He believes that even in order to understand, we have to invent, to create; that is, to reinvent, because we cannot start from the beginning again. He thinks that anything is understood only to the

extent that it is reinvented through our own perceptive action. As he expresses it:

Knowledge is not a copy of reality. To know an object, to know an event, is not simply to look at it and make a mental copy, or image, of it. To know an object is to act on it. To know is to modify, to transform the object, and to understand the process of this transformation, and as a consequence to understand the way the object is constructed. An operation is thus the essence of knowledge; it is an interiorized action which modifies the object of knowledge.⁴⁹

Piaget's technique for observing, recording, and understanding the way a child thinks is to get inside the child's mind and to see the world through the child's own eyes—the young self's perceptions of the phenomenal field. He has engaged in a long-term study of ontogenetic change and has developed a highly original theory of intellectual and perceptual development. The basic assumptions underlying Piaget's cognitive theory of developmental behavior are (1) approach to theory formation, (2) the order of the cosmos, (3) etiology of human behavior, (4) fundamental human values, (5) core of human behavior, (6) the newborn, and (7) the physical, social, and ideational environment (A detailed description of these attributes of Piaget's rationale is presented in Maier,⁵⁰ pages 82–91.) Piaget and his associates have studied the child's language, reasoning, moral judgment, cognitive structure, and intellectual development through careful and extensive observation of the child's spontaneous behavior. Because his formulations tend to be detailed and complicated, only the major constructs that have significance for a general understanding of human cognitive development will be presented here. His work is described in detail in numerous books.⁵¹

Piaget's Major Constructs of Cognitive Behavior. Piaget believes that intellectual operations never exist in isolation from a governing totality, an organizing principle which it is vital to discover. He has studied the structures of developing intelligence as opposed to its function and content. Content is the observable behavior, whereas function is the process by which the new is assimilated and the old is accommodated to the new. Piaget has postulated the existence of cognitive structures between function and content and has studied in detail the developmental changes in these structures, seeking to identify levels of cognitive development. Much of his work is characterized by an interest in the qualitative attributes of development.

Piaget feels that all adaptive behavior of the self can be understood only in terms of its organization as a total system (holism). He has found it possible to interpret a diverse range of supposedly unrelated behaviors in terms of their underlying structural whole, and has developed a succession of developmental stages for a given behavior, emerging in an unchanging and

constant order, each incorporating the structure of the preceding stage and each characterized by an initial period of preparation and a final period of achievement. Two processes are vital for development: assimilation, in which the child incorporates new elements (experiences) into the existing structure; and accommodation, in which the structure itself adjusts to new elements (experiences). In this approach, the child is viewed as an ever-organized entity (self-concept) that accommodates itself to external reality (perceived experiences). This position, phenomenological in nature, clearly is an organism-environment interaction position, accounting for both maturation (actualization) and learning while placing the emphasis on the interaction (self and phenomenal field).

Thus, cognitive development consists of actions (perceived experiences) that become progressively internalized (into the self-concept). Assimilation and accommodation are complementary processes that bring about adaptation (self-maintenance) and development (self-actualization).

Developmental Stages of Intellectual Functioning. Piaget has divided the ontogenetic span of intellectual and perceptual development into periods of invariant sequences, although the chronological age for each may fluctuate somewhat. In Inhelder and Piaget's latest book⁵² the over-all purpose was to trace the development of intelligence as it functions with progressively more complex problems in increasingly more efficient ways. In this publication Piaget delineates four stages in which children and adolescents proceed toward adult forms of thinking; these efforts toward intellectual becoming are described below:

The first stage (birth to about 2 years) Piaget calls the sensori-motor stage. This is the period in which the child moves from egocentrism to differentiation of self and object. Development of perception of space, time, imitation and causality are central functions through generalized behavior patterns or dispositions. Sensori-motor intelligence permits only the linking of successive perceptual states, one by one.

The second stage (2 to 6 years) Piaget calls the operational or representational stage, which extends from the beginning of organized symbolic behavior—language in particular—to about six years. Although the child comes to represent the external [outside of himself] world by symbols, he does so from a motivational model—things happen because someone “makes” them happen. For example, he believes that the sun moves because “God pushes it”; the stars, as he does, have to go to bed. He is not yet able to separate his own goals from the means of achieving them.

The third stage (7 to 11 years) is one in which the child can carry out *concrete operations*. These in turn greatly enhance his ability to organize means of achieving things independently of the direct impetus toward

getting what he wants. Through these concrete operations he [self] can deal with the properties (experiences) of the immediately present world [basic construct of phenomenology].

The fourth stage is the final childhood stage preparatory to adult thinking, and develops between twelve and fifteen years of age. It involves the appearance of *formal operations* as opposed to concrete operations. It is characterized by the development of the ability to use hypothetical reasoning based on the logic of all possible combinations and to perform controlled experimentation. Piaget uses the term "operation" here to mean a type of action; it can be carried out either directly, in manipulation of objects, or internally, when it is categories or (in the case of formal logic) propositions which are manipulated. Roughly, an operation is a means for mentally transforming data about the real world so that they can be organized and used selectively in the solution of problems. [Used in the process of becoming a stable, adequate, and congruent self.]⁵²

Implications of Piaget's Theory. Hunt⁵³ reviews five major themes that dominate Piaget's theoretical formulations. The *first* concerns the continual and progressive change in the structures of behavior and thought in the developing child. The *second* concerns the fixed order in which successive structures make their appearance. The *third* concerns the invariant functions of accommodations (adaptive changes to outer circumstances) and of assimilation (incorporation of the external into the inner organization with transfer or generalization to new circumstances) that operate in the child's continuous interaction with the environment. The *fourth* theme concerns the relation of thought processes to action. Thought processes are conceived to originate through a process of internalizing actions. The *fifth* theme concerns the logical properties of thought processes.

According to Flavell,⁵⁴ Piaget has given us more information about intellectual development than anyone else. Piaget has clarified for us that the basic realms of human knowledge related to self and space, time, number, and causality in our world grow from perceptual experiences, not from genetic capacities.

Coupling Piaget's theory with Guillard's research indicating the probability of multitudinal ways of behaving intelligently and Bruner's conviction that you can teach anything in intellectual honesty to any child of any age, we have an exciting and hopeful approach to a new concept of intelligence. Include the autonomous actualizing and creatively perceptive self of the fully functioning man of phenomenology, and we have a refreshing outlook to guide our youth into becoming the leaders who will be necessary to work toward the solution of the tumultuous problems of our complex and technological society. Piaget seems to have captured the essence of our responsibilities to children in saying:

Even in order to understand we have to invent, or, that is, to reinvent, because we can't start from the beginning again. But I would say that anything is only understood to the extent that it is reinvented. . . . Should schools attempt to create individuals who are capable of repeating all this history, or should they focus on forming individuals who are capable of inventing, of finding new things in all areas: in modest technical inventions, or in more highly developed scientific inventions—that is, people who are capable of going beyond the present and previous generations? This gives us the alternative between two types of pedagogy, one in which the child is receptive, the other in which he is active—education which stimulates the activities of the child in the area of his inventiveness.⁵⁵

The Experiential and Perceptual Attributes of Intelligence

"Intelligence is born of action."⁵⁶ This cogent statement by Piaget tells us dramatically that intelligence is a potentiality to be achieved, rather than a capacity with which one is born. During the past century anyone who entertained the idea of increasing the intelligence capacity of human beings was regarded as an unrealistic dreamer. Individuals, classes, and races were considered to be what they were because either God or their inheritance had made them that way; any attempt to raise the intelligence quotient (IQ) through experience met with contempt. The beliefs of fixed intelligence and predetermined mental development has dominated the thinking and research about man's intellectual capacities and functions for decades. Although man's basic nature has not changed during the last twenty years, our conceptions of his nature, including intellectual functioning, have been changing rapidly. Currently, numerous psychologists and other scientists, including Bruner, Guilford, and Piaget as previously noted, have been formulating entirely new concepts about the nature of man's intelligence and his cognitive functioning. The central emphasis of experience and perception as significant factors in man's discovery of his intellectual potentialities are replacing the traditional beliefs of constancy and predetermination of intelligence.

Experience and Intelligence. The concepts of fixed intelligence and of predetermined development have both rested on the assumption that unlearned behavior patterns and various capacities are somehow derived directly, automatically, and more or less completely from somatic cerebral structures and their functional properties. Although there is no doubt that somatic and cerebral structures with their functional properties are important, it has become more and more evident that experience is required for the development of these behavioral patterns and capacities, and especially for the development of those central organizations for the processing of information that are required to solve problems. Conceptions of the devel-

opment of intelligence and its dependence or lack of dependence upon experience has been in a large part a function of the more current theories and research studies relevant to the nature of intelligence and its development.

For years, intelligence has been a topic of central concern for those seeking to understand human nature; discussions of intelligence, however, have typically been marked by polemics. These polemics have usually concerned two of the beliefs or assumptions about intelligence that have dominated thought on the topic from the turn of the twentieth century through World War II. According to these two dominant assumptions intelligence is fixed and immutable, and the development of the individual's basic repertoire of behavioral responses and capacities is predetermined by his heredity.

The implications of these two assumptions spilled over in various directions. Intelligence came to be defined as "inherited capacity," and was considered as a basic dimension of an individual person. The hope of improving man's position was shifted from the eutenic strategy of enriching his upbringing and education to the eugenic strategy of finding some way to select only the more intelligent for the propagation of the race. Investigative effort concerning child nature and child development was directed toward the normative mode of measuring individual characteristics and relating the measures to age. Individual characteristics were quantified and discussed in the language of *dimensions* and *scales* without ascertaining their developmental and neuropsychological aspects. Therefore, investigations of the effects of various kinds of experience at different ages on the development of intellectual capacity and functioning were discouraged. Practical education efforts to cultivate intellectual capacity, particularly in the very young, were also discouraged. With behavioral development conceived to be a process in which anatomic maturation automatically brought with it the inherited response repertoire, experts warned parents not to overstimulate their infants with enriched experiences, but rather to leave them alone to grow as they would.

Hunt,⁵⁷ in his very thorough book *Intelligence and Experience*, without denying an important role to the genes in the development of intelligence, focuses on the relatively new evidence concerning the significance of experience in the development of intelligence. The meaning of the old concepts and facts that have been interpreted to support the assumptions of fixed intelligence and predetermination change in the light of the new conceptions of intelligence and the new evidence with respect to its development.

As the central theme of his book, Hunt assumes the phenomenological position that persons are open systems in which change will occur as a function of unspecifiable future experiences through the ongoing nature of man's discovering himself. After a careful examination and evaluation of the historical, conceptual, and evidential bases of fixed intelligence and

genetic predetermination, Hunt explores thoroughly the theories and research studies of current thinking concerning the significance of experience and intelligence. As supporting evidence for his position on the role of experience in determining man's intellectual development, he cites the recent research studies of Harlow,⁵⁸ Riesen,⁵⁹ Hebb,⁶⁰ Newell, Shaw, and Simon,⁶¹ von Neumann,⁶² Pribram,⁶³ Miller, Galanter, and Pribram,⁶⁴ and Rogers,⁶⁵ devoting three chapters to a thorough examination of Piaget's longitudinal research on intellectual development in children.

After a careful reinterpretation of the evidence that was once seen to support the assumptions of fixed intelligence and predetermined development in the light of the modern-day conception of intelligence and of its origins, Hunt cites a strong case for the role that experience plays in man's intellectual functioning and development. The following quotation summarizes his position:

In view of the conceptual developments and the evidence coming from animals learning to learn, from neuropsychology, from the programming of electronic computers to solve problems, and from the development of intelligence in children, it would appear that intelligence should be conceived as intellectual capacities based on central processes hierarchically arranged within the intrinsic portions of the cerebrum. These central processes are approximately analogous to the strategies for information processing and action with which electronic computers are programmed. With such a conception of intelligence, the assumptions that intelligence is fixed and that its development is predetermined by the genes are no longer tenable.

The problem for the management of child development is to find out how to govern the encounters that children have with their environments to foster an optimally rapid rate of intellectual development and a satisfying life. It is no longer unreasonable to consider that it might be feasible to discover ways to govern the encounters that children have with their environments, especially during the early years of their development, to achieve a substantially faster rate of intellectual development and a substantially higher adult level of intellectual capacity. Inasmuch as the optimum rate of intellectual development would mean also self-directing interest and curiosity and genuine pleasure in intellectual activity, promoting intellectual development properly need imply nothing like the grim urgency which has been associated with pushing children—these procedures, insofar as they tended to maximize each child's potential for intellectual development, would not decrease individual differences in intellectual capacity as assessed by tests but would increase them. The fact that it is reasonable to hope to find ways of raising the level of intellectual capacity in a majority of the population makes it a challenge to do the necessary research—one of the major challenges of our times.⁶⁶

Perception and Intelligence Conceptions of the development of intelligence and its dependence, or lack of dependence, upon experience have been in large part a function of the concurrent theories of psychology in general. During the decades that behaviorism dominated psychological thinking, intelligence, perceiving, and complex problem solving were all off the center of interest of the behavior theorists who were concerned chiefly with the learning process. With the advent of the phenomenological approach to understanding behavior and the view of man's cognitive powers as central processes for perceiving and problem solving, rather than the brain serving a switchboard function, the concepts of perception and experience as integral functions of intelligent behavior have been recognized and emphasized. For example, a current definition of intelligence (representative of much thinking today) views it "as a multidetermined functional capacity made up of those perceptual and cognitive functions through which the individual learns about the things, people, and situations around him, and by means of which he deals effectively with them." ⁶⁷

As implied in the preceding definition, there is a growing trend in psychology toward viewing man's behavior and his intellect as a function of perception. More and more we are recognizing that the individual's behavior is not so much a function of the physical stimuli in his environment as it is a function of his perceptions of the experiences to which he is exposed. Thus the meaning of experiential events to the person rather than the externally observed nature of these events is the crucial factor in behavior. Psychologists in increasing numbers are giving their attention to the problems of human perception and are attempting to observe behavior not from an external point of view, but from the point of view of the individual who is behaving.

What, then, is this all important attribute of man's behavior that we call perception? Crow and Crow define perception as "the organization and interpretation of sensations in the light of previous experience. Objects, persons and situations, or conditions which are recognized or identified while they are being sensed can be said to be perceived." ⁶⁸ Solly and Murphy define perception as "the structuring of stimulation. A percept is an event which is experienced. Perception can best be conceptualized as an instrumental act which structures stimulation." ⁶⁹ They continue, "The biological significance of perceptual learning lies in the flexibility it gives to the perceiving organism. By being adaptive, perceptually, to an environment, man increases his likelihood of survival." Recently, experimental work ⁷⁰ on perception has revealed the importance of the "feedback" mechanism, meaning that as the child experiences a new perception, he tends to seek further perceptual acts in developing a clear and definite percept of his symbolized experiences.

Are a person's perceptions so important that they could even affect his

level of intelligence? Combs,⁷¹ a pioneer and leader among phenomenological psychologists, in discussing the nature of intelligence from a perceptual viewpoint, suggests that this may be true and speculates that what one learns may be related to what he perceives himself capable of learning. If we see ourselves as capable, we will find ways to behave intelligently in reference to our positive perceptions of ourselves. Thus, intelligence can be discovered and nurtured by man as a function of his perceptions. Combs views intelligence as the effectiveness of the individual's behavior; he sees perception as "any differentiations the individual is capable of making in his perceptual field whether an objectively observable stimulus is present or not."⁷²

According to Combs,⁷³ intelligent behavior is behavior that effectively and efficiently satisfies the need of an individual and his society. Whether or not such behavior can occur, however, will depend upon the differentiations the individual is able to make in his perceptual field, which Combs defines as "the universe of experience open to the individual at the moment of his behavior."⁷⁴ In other words, the behavior of the individual will depend upon the perceptions existing for that person at the moment of action. The effectiveness of his behavior will necessarily be a function of the adequacy of those perceptions.

Combs believes that if an entity in the perceptive field is vague and ill defined, the behavior of the individual will be correspondingly vague and lacking in precision. Thus, the precision and effectiveness of the individual's behavior (intelligence) will be dependent upon the scope and clarity of his personal field of awareness. In Combs' words: "Intelligence, then, from a perceptual point of view becomes a function of the factors which control the richness, extent and availability of perceptions in the perceptual field."⁷⁵ The discussion of man's intellectual functioning and development, as presented in the remainder of this chapter, will be viewed in reference to the perceptual nature of intelligence and related concepts, which were explored in this section.

FACTORS INFLUENCING INTELLECTUAL DEVELOPMENT

As we have implied with a holistic approach, growth and development of intelligence constitute but one facet of the total life processes. Certainly separating this aspect of man's becoming from others and exploring it in a single chapter is simply a matter of theoretical convenience. In an individual child, intellectual development inevitably proceeds concurrently with his emotional growth, his physical maturation, his evolving concept of self, and his socialization as his life space expands and the complexity of his adjustments to self, others, and his world increase. Thus, if we see intelligence as the ability to adapt to one's environment, higher functions of

intelligence are required as one becomes more involved in the process of living.

For the most part, we no longer believe that one is born with intelligence that, barring physical damage destructive to a part of the brain, will characterize his adjustments throughout life. The current view, as explored thus far, is that one is born with a *capacity for the development of intelligence or intelligent behavior*. Some feel that the capacity itself is variable, depending upon the factors influencing its developing. For instance, if a child lives in an emotionally stable and intellectually stimulating environment, he may actually increase his ability to profit from successive experiences. Conversely, if the youngster lives in fear—in physically unhealthful and intellectually barren or culturally disadvantaged environments—he not only does not use his capacity, but by misuse or disuse some of his inherent capacity is forever lost. Whether one accepts the idea of inherent capacity (potential) or that innate capacity is altered by environment, most writers maintain that heredity sets the limits for individual intellectual status beyond which, no matter how favorable the circumstances, there is no hope for development.

As a point of departure, the major focus here will be upon self-perceptual factors, rather than genetic aspects, as facilitating or limiting a person's intellectual behavior and development. This approach seems to be consistent with the phenomenological view of this book, which views man as a dynamic source of energy, physically, emotionally, socially, and intellectually, who is in a continuous state of becoming as he discovers and gives birth to his own potentialities. If we are to view intelligence as a function of a person's perceptions, we need to distinguish between potential and functional perceptions. Combs sees potential perceptions as those that "exist in the individual's unique field of awareness and that, given the right circumstance at any particular moment, *could occur*." ⁷⁶ We are saying that even those perceptions that are potentially possible may not be active for a person at any given moment—even those perceptions that we could make active. Thus, intelligent behavior at any given time will need to be related to functional perceptions. Combs defines functional perceptions as "those perceptions in the field experienced by the individual at the moment of behaving." ⁷⁷

Then from a perceptual viewpoint, if intelligence is the capacity for effective behavior, "the intelligence of an individual will be dependent upon the richness and variety of perceptions possible to him at a given moment." ⁷⁸ Thus, to understand and to foster intelligent behavior, we shall need to be concerned with the limiting factors upon the perceptions of an individual. As such, we need to know not only what the individual *could* perceive but what he *would* perceive at a given moment of behaving. In organizing our discussion of factors limiting perceptions, we shall use the

following guidelines as suggested by Combs: (1) physiologic limitations, (2) environment and opportunity, (3) time, (4) individual's goals and values, (5) cultural effects, (6) the self-concept, and (7) threat upon the perceptive field.⁷⁹

Physiologic Limitations

The physical limitations upon the organism will certainly affect the perceptual differentiations possible in the phenomenal field. Some forms of prenatal anomalies, like mongolism, microcephalia, and similar disorders, indubitably reduce the level of operation at which the individual can function and seriously impair the ability of the organism to make adequate perceptions. Similarly, some types of mechanical or disease injury to the central nervous system may result in impaired functioning such as occurs in cerebral palsy, birth injuries, the aftermath of encephalitis or even in common childhood diseases accompanied by prolonged high fever. Various forms of endocrinopathies also seem to have limiting effects upon the differentiatonal capacity for some individuals. Although such physical or biological limitations upon the organism have been studied widely, they still account for only a small percentage of those persons operating at impaired intelligence levels.

Other less dramatic forms of physical handicaps may also have important effects upon the perceptions of the individual. This may be particularly true of persons suffering impairment of various sense modalities, which may inhibit the clarity or even the existence of some perceptions. We must remember, however, that such persons may have as rich and varied a perceptive field within their own limitations as we have within ours. Thus, even though they may not score well on the usual evaluative instruments of intelligence, they may behave very intelligently in their own frame of reference. The limitations imposed upon perceptions by such physical handicaps as the loss or impairment of locomotion or the use of arms or hands are also important in limiting certain kinds of perceptions. These people experience different, but not necessarily fewer or poorer, perceptions of events than so-called normal individuals.

Perhaps less well recognized in their effects upon perception are such factors as malnutrition, focal infections, and chronic fatigue, which may reduce both the need for and the ability to make adequate perceptions. Viktor Frankl,⁸⁰ the eminent Viennese existentialistic psychiatrist, stresses this perceptual phenomenon vividly in the accounts of his experiences in a Nazi concentration camp. These same experiences, however, eventually sharpened his perceptions and intellectual functioning to help him search out the meaning of his own existence and to crystallize his theories in establishing logotherapy as the third Viennese school of psychotherapy. Con-

versely, it is conceivable that persons suffering from chronic fatigue or severe physical deprivation over long periods of time fail to make differentiations useful to them upon later occasions. Certainly such physical factors, as we have been discussing in this section, may have important effects upon the ability of the individual to make adequate differentiations in his perceptive field. We should recognize also that individuals with physical handicaps may generate a rich perceptual repertory, fostering their own variety of intelligent behavior.

Limitations of Environment and Opportunity

The differentiations that an individual can make in the phenomenal field will, of course, be affected by the opportunities for perception to which he has been exposed. Thus, to appear in the perceptive field an event must have been, in some manner, experienced by the person who perceives it. According to Combs,⁸¹ environmental effects upon perception appear to be of two types—actual or concrete and symbolic or vicarious.

Experience with Actual Events. As a primary consideration, the perceptions possible to any individual will be limited, in part, by the actual environmental factors to which he has been exposed. Eskimos ordinarily do not comprehend bananas, nor African Bushmen, snow, since neither has had the opportunity to experience these objects in their respective environments. Even in our own country, our experience in testing children and adults in various parts of the nation has revealed that perceptions are highly limited by the environmental conditions surrounding the individual.

Isolated mountain children and adults, for example, often give bizarre responses to standardized intelligence tests, even though their answers have personal meaning for them. We have also identified similar differences between the perceptions of children and adults of rural and urban areas, North and South, mountain and valley, seaboard and plains, "culturally advantaged" and "culturally disadvantaged" environments, and rich and poor. We cannot assume that these people, from their performances on standardized intelligence tests, were less able to make differentiations or had perceptual fields less rich than their examiners or other people tested. We can only suggest that their perceptions are quite different from those of the individuals who designed the tests.

Experience with Symbolic or Vicarious Events. Differentiations may occur in the perceptive field upon a symbolic basis as well as from exposure to an actual event. Perceptions may occur in the person's phenomenal field through indirect exposure to experience as in reading, conversation, movies, television, and other means of communication. Many of our perceptions are acquired through symbolic rather than actual experience; most of our formal schooling would probably be in this category.

We must recognize that exposure to events, either actually or vicariously, in no sense completely determines the perceptions that the individual will have. Exposure to events is only one of the factors involved in determining whether or not an event will be differentiated. Even with equivalent opportunities, our perceptions are not alike, because perception is not an all-or-none proposition but a highly selective process. Thus, the same person in the same situation at different times may perceive quite different aspects of the situation and behave accordingly. The opportunity to perceive is by no means a guarantee that a particular perception will occur—a phenomenon of which teachers have long been only too aware. Because the personal field of the individual is always organized and meaningful, even with exposure to events, only those aspects that have meaning for him in his own unique economy of living will be differentiated with permanence.

Thus, we are saying that the individual in a particular culture perceives those aspects of his environment that, from his point of view, he needs to perceive to maintain and to enhance his self in the world in which he lives. This does not mean that such a person has fewer perceptions than an individual in another culture; he has only *different* perceptions. For this reason, intelligence tests designed in one culture and applied in another do not measure the ability to differentiate, nor do they measure the richness of the individual's field. Perhaps, at best, they really measure the difference between cultures. Similar considerations should be recognized in assessing the intelligence of persons from different subcultural social classes and ethnic or nationality groups within our own country. An extended study by Eells, Davis, and their associates³² explored the problems of cultural learning and the assessment of intelligence; these researchers attempted to design "culture-free" tests, but concluded that, because of the wide differences in experiences and perceptions, such instruments were still invalid in many situations.

Time Limitations

Differentiation within the perceptual field takes time. The richness of perception, therefore, will be in part a function of how long the individual has been involved with experiences. Although a perception is possible only when one is confronted by an experience, we must also realize that this exposure must be long enough to allow differentiation. If we observe an object such as a painting, the perceptions that can be made are almost limitless, depending upon how long we look at it.

In another dimension, we must keep in mind the duration of an individual's experience with an event, not of an observer's perception of his exposure. In this sense, although it may appear to an outside observer that a person is confronted by an experience, from the individual's own point

of view, he may have no contact with it whatever. A child may sit in school all day, apparently exposed to the curriculum, but may actually be experiencing and perceiving quite different aspects of the situation. Perception is an internal, individual phenomenon, and one person's perception may be quite different from that of another person, even in the same situation.

Most perceptions that we have are functions of previous differentiations we have made in our phenomenal fields. Because the process of differentiation takes time, it would seem that the longer we live the more possibilities we have for discovering intelligent ways to behave. Differentiations in the phenomenal field seem to be occurring continuously as we seek to satisfy our needs in the myriad situations of life. Intelligence never ceases to develop, but is continuously increasing so long as we remain alive and operating. Although some would believe that intelligence seems to level off in late adolescence, this conclusion is probably a mere artifact of our method of observation. As long as the person remains in school, we have a portion of comparable experience that can be tested in different people. After the school years, when individuals are free to go their separate ways, this sample of comparable experience rapidly disappears. The older we become, the more diverse are our experiences. Hence, intelligence tests based upon the comparability of experience may fail to evaluate the effectiveness of adults properly. As Henry Adams once said, "Time and experience alter all perspectives."⁸³

Goals and Values as Limiting Factors

From a phenomenological view, we are forever engaged in a ceaseless attempt to achieve satisfaction of our needs through the goals and values we have differentiated. These goals and values may be explicit or implicit, simple or complex, but they are always unique to the personal self. Our goals and values will vary in another significant dimension; they may be either positive or negative. That is, in the course of his experience, the person may differentiate some things as important to be sought, whereas other things may be considered as matters to be avoided. In addition, although there is a considerable degree of stability in the major goals and values of a particular individual, there may be great fluctuations in how some goals are perceived from time to time, depending upon the total organization of the perceptual field at any moment.

Certainly, the goals and values a person seeks have a most significant effect upon the perceptions he can have. Once goals have been established by the individual, they continue to affect his every experience. For example, the experiences of children who perceive learning and education as something to be sought are quite different from those of children who try to avoid all aspects of formal schooling. If we view intelligence as a function

of the variety and richness of the perceptual field, then the individual's goals must have a most important effect upon intelligence.

The effect of goals upon perception is by no means limited to the subject whose intelligence we wish to measure; it is equally true of the intelligence-test constructor. This leads to a complicated and confusing situation in which the test designer with one set of goals perceives certain experiences to be indications of intelligence for another person who may have or may not have similar goals. In fact, the likelihood is that he almost certainly does not have similar goals. Intelligence tests thus become highly selected samplings of perception in terms of what the test designers and testers consider important. Low scores do not necessarily mean less rich and varied fields of perception; they may mean only fields of perception more widely divergent from those of the examiner. At this point, we are reminded of the old Navaho Indian saying: "Do not judge a man until you have walked two moons in his moccasins." William Heal, may have captured the dilemma of intelligence testing in saying, "You can give intelligence a number, but nothing very important about a child can be said with a single number."⁴

Cultural Effects upon Goals and Perceptions

Previously, we have indicated that the richness of the individual's perceptual field is in part a function of the goals he has differentiated as important or as threatening to him. We must realize, however, that clearly these goals are themselves the results of the individual's experience. Inasmuch as we can find no freedom from our culture, the sociocultural milieu in which one is reared deeply affects the goals he assimilates. Cultures both restrict and encourage, approve and disapprove the formulation of goals in the individual. This selective effect of the culture determines considerably the goals sought and avoided by the individual. These goals in turn must exert important effects upon the perceptions that become part of the individual's perceptual field.

Much of the literature⁵⁵ discussing the problems and issues in helping the "culturally different" to enrich their perceptive field stresses the importance of exposing people in these subcultures to different goals and values as functions of enhancing their self-aspirations. Conceivably, low intelligence among these people and other groups may be, at least in part, no more than a function of the goals an individual is striving to reach in achieving his need satisfaction. The well-known phenomenon in which intelligence tests seem to give the best results in the school years, when experience and goals have a degree of commonality, and break down noticeably later would seem to support this view. Perhaps, then, by concerning ourselves with human goals we can affect perception, and in turn intelli-

gence, much more than we believed possible. As we have implied in our discussion throughout the chapter, can it be that the child of low apparent intelligence is not so much a problem of an unfortunate heredity as an unfortunate constellation of goals or values? If we believe this, as research seems to indicate, we can do a great deal about helping children who have been deprived in perceptual goals, values, and attitudes to discover, to create, and to implement their intellectual potentialities.

The Self-concept as a Limiting Factor

We are just beginning to recognize and really to understand the tremendous effects of the individual's concept of self upon his perceptions and behavior. Currently, psychological literature is filled with numerous accounts and studies reporting the significance of changes in self-concept relevant to increased effectiveness in behavior from enriched perceptions. Clinical experience certainly would support the importance of the self-concept in perceptual and behavioral change. Because perception is a selective process, the conception one holds of himself is a vital factor in determining the richness and the variety of perceptions selected. We can literally starve our potential capacities by our perceptions. For example, thousands of people in our society avoid perceptions related to mathematical functions by their firm belief of themselves as being "unable to do mathematics." Thus, the self-concepts we hold have a very vital effect in selecting the perceptions that become part of our perceptive fields. If, then, the effectiveness of behavior is dependent upon our perceptive fields, the self-concepts we hold must necessarily affect the "intelligence" of our behavior.

Another factor in the effect of the self-concept upon perception makes it even more potent as a selector of experience—the circular effect of a given concept of self. As an example, let us look at a child who has developed a concept of himself as being "unable to read." Such a child is likely to avoid reading, and thus the very experience that might change his concept of self is bypassed. Worse still, the child who believes himself unable to read, confronted with the necessity for reading, is more likely than not to do badly. The external evaluation of his teachers and classmates, as well as his own observations of his performance, all provide evidence to the child of how right he was in the first place. Thus, the possession of a particular concept of self tends to produce behavior that corroborates the self-concept with which the behavior originated.

Every clinician has had experience with children of ability who conceive of themselves as unable, unliked, unwanted, or unacceptable and perceive and behave in accordance with their perceptions. Inasmuch as this problem is not limited to children, one of the great tragedies of our society is that millions of people in our nation, perceiving themselves as able to produce

only a limited amount of work and success, behave in these terms. Society, in turn, evaluates them in terms of this behavior, thus supporting what is already conceived by the individual. Compared to this waste of human potential in our society, our losses on the highways may be much less tragic. *If we perceive ourselves as capable, we are likely to find ways to demonstrate our effectiveness; if we see ourselves as unable, we will probably not be interested in finding ways to be capable.* In this sense, we even create losses in intelligence. If, in our schools, we teach a child that he is unable, and if he believes us and behaves in those terms, we need not be surprised when we test him to discover that he produces at the level at which we taught him.

Most of our educational methods are directed at the provision of perceptions for the student. He is lectured, required, shown, exhorted, and coerced to perceive what someone thinks he should. In terms of what we know about human behavior, it seems possible with equal energy devoted to the matter of creating needs, goals, and values within students, keyed to a positive view of self, rich and varied perceptions in students might be more efficiently produced. What effects might we be able to produce by providing experiences that build adequate concepts of self in children and adults? What differences in the richness and variety of perceptions might result from a generation of people with "I can" rather than "I can't" conceptions of themselves? What possibilities of increased perceptions and hence of increased intelligence might accrue to such a program?

What would happen if we were consciously and carefully to set about the task of providing experiences that would lead people to view themselves as adequate, worthy, self-respecting people? If freedom to perceive is a function of adequate perceptions of self, it should not be surprising that the child who perceives himself as unwanted, unacceptable, unable, or unliked behaves in a rigid and ineffective fashion. We should, then, be able to reverse this process and to foster more adequate perceptions by systematic efforts at producing more adequate definitions of self. We believe that if a teacher, parent, or other "significant adult" chooses to make a difference (self-enhancement) in a child, he will find ways to help that child make a difference in himself (becoming and self-fulfillment).

In the circular effect we have been discussing, conceivably psychology has unwittingly contributed to this situation by the widespread belief and publication in the past of a static conception of intelligence and human capacities. The concept of severe limits upon the capacities of the organism simply corroborates the self-concept of the man in the street and decreases the likelihood of change in his concept of self. Even more significant may have been the effect upon our educational systems and teaching methodology. Teachers who believe in an unchanging character of child capacities provide the attitudes and experience that produce and maintain a child's conception of self and his abilities. Studies reveal that children's grades vary

very little from year to year through the course of schooling; this continuous and little-changing evaluation must have important effects on the self-concept of the child.

In relevance to the circular effect mentioned above, a school system may in a large measure produce a child's intelligence level if the faculty and the administration are thoroughly imbued with the idea that a child's capacities are comparatively fixed and constant. The theories of fixed intelligence and predetermined ability are psychological constructs of yesterday; the current studies and thinking of such men as Bruner, Piaget, Guilford, Hunt, and Combs tell us that *intelligence can be created through the building of richer perceptual experiences*. Are we to live by the old or the new? Are we shackled to the past theories of fixed and predetermined intelligence, or shall we exercise the freedom to discover our wasted human potentialities in the newer approaches to creative intelligence?

Threat as a Limiting Factor

The last possibility as a limiting factor in intelligent behavior to be discussed is the effect of threat upon the perceptive field. If we accept the fundamental assumption that intelligence is a function of the richness and breadth of the phenomenal field, the effect of threat upon this field becomes a most important consideration. Although these effects have been so widely understood by the layman that they have become a part of his everyday speech, the psychologists, interestingly enough, have given very little attention to this phenomenon until quite recently. According to Combs,⁸⁶ the perception by the individual of threat to himself seems to have at least two major effects upon the perceptive field as discussed in this section.

Restriction of the Perceptive Field. The first of these effects is the restrictive effect that perception of threat to self seems to have upon the individual's perception. When we feel ourselves threatened, there appears to be a narrowing of the perceptive field to the object of threat. This phenomenon, described often as "tunnel vision" in the psychology of vision, is extremely common, and most of us have experienced it at some moment of crisis in our lifetime. This type of perceptual restriction and rigidity may accompany physical, emotional, or social threats to the self. The restricted perceptive field tends to magnify the threat and to limit whatever differentiation we might make from this experience to help us behave more intelligently at that time or possibly in the future. Prolonged threats to the self would tend to foster restriction and rigidity of perceptions, which in turn would tend to limit the development of intelligence.

We have reason to believe from research studies⁸⁷ that the restrictive effect of threat to an individual's perceptions is not limited to traumatic experiences alone, but exists in lesser degree in response to milder threats

as well. These limiting effects on perception must certainly have a bearing upon perceptions available to the individual in his phenomenal field. Subjects who have participated in food deprivation experiments report uniformly that when threatened by hunger, food becomes an obsession—a narrowing of the perceptual field. Studies⁸⁸ of emotional and social threats in the home, in reference to parental behavior, have indicated influences upon children's perceptions with concomitant effects of negative changes in their intellectual and social behavior. Certainly incidents⁸⁹ of threat to children within the classroom have been reported that restricted the perceptions of the students and hence the learning activities. Thus, under threat there seems to be the possibility of rather severe limits imposed upon the breadth and character of perception. The restricted perceptual field as such tends to lessen the intelligent behavior and intellectual development of the individual who is threatened rather consistently.

Defense of the Perceptive Field. A second effect of threat upon the individual's perceptions is related to the defense reactions induced in the individual upon perceiving himself to be threatened. The perception of threat not only narrows and reduces the possibility of wide perceptions but causes the person to protect and to cling to the perceptions he already holds. Therefore the possibility of perceptual changes is reduced, and the opportunities for new perceptions or learning are decreased. Under threat, behavior becomes rigid; the fluidity and adaptation we generally associate with intelligent behavior is vastly decreased. A number of interesting experiments⁹⁰ recently have demonstrated this phenomenon particularly in its effect in problem solving. This rigidity or resistance of perception is well known to the layman as illustrated by some of the sayings of our culture, such as "Nobody ever wins an argument" or "You can lead a horse to water but you can't make him drink."

Although theorists in psychology seemingly have overlooked the threat principle in considering perceptions for some years, there is rather common agreement that intelligent behavior is quite the antithesis of rigidity. In this discussion, intelligent behavior has been viewed as a function of the variety and richness of perception in the phenomenal field. Thus, *whatever produces narrowness and rigidity of perception becomes an important factor in limiting intelligence.* If you concur with this view, then you are led to wonder about the effects of long-continued threat upon the development of intelligence. What of the child who has suffered serious threats to himself for long periods of his life, as in the case of the delinquent, for example? Or what of the child who has been seriously deprived of affection and warmth from those who surround him over a period of years? Is it possible that we have created low intelligence in such children? Axline⁹¹ has reported a number of cases in which intelligence scores improved considerably for children experiencing permissive, nonthreatening play therapy. Combs⁹²

has observed similar changes in his own clinical practice. The work of Rogers⁹³ and his colleagues in client-centered therapy has illustrated rather convincingly the possibilities of freeing the individual to perceive more adequately through the use of a nonthreatening counseling relationship.

Finally, if threat to the individual has as important effects as we have presented here, the removal of threat would seem a most significant factor to consider in the release of the individual to perceive more adequately and thus to behave more intelligently. The view of intelligence as a function of perception seems to raise serious questions about some of the common assumptions we have held in the past concerning intelligence and its development. Our conception of the limiting factors of intelligence may have been too narrow in comparison to the discussion presented on the potency of perception as a factor of intelligence. Let us explore the possibilities that exist where we cannot demonstrate biologic impairment; the limitations upon intelligence may be psychological factors of self-perceptions. Maybe we have assumed only too quickly that intelligent behavior was limited as severely as physical growth. Education, to name but the most obvious of our social institutions, has in a large measure predicated its goals and methods on a concept of humanity with certain static limitations on intelligence. If these limitations are not static, let us help our young people find the *courage to be, through freeing their self-perceptions to discover their intellectual potentialities*. Maybe Robert Louis Stevenson captured the intent of the phenomenological view to intellectual becoming in saying:

As courage and intelligence are the two qualities best worth a good man's cultivation, so it is the first part of intelligence to recognize our precarious estate in life, and the first part of courage to be not at all abashed before the fact. A frank and somewhat headlong carriage, not looking too anxiously before, not dallying in maudlin regret over the past, marks the man who is well armored in this world.

INTELLECTUAL GROWTH DURING DEVELOPMENTAL STAGES

In discussing the experiential and functional nature of intelligence and intelligent behavior as a phenomenon of man's perceptual development, we have tried to build a frame of reference for the present discussion of intellectual growth during developmental stages. Although intellectual development is somewhat a continual state of flow, identifiable characteristics have been recognized at sequential periods of growth. After some introductory statements, the discussion will follow the pattern of a previous chapter in presenting the growth states of infancy through youth. Because these devel-

opmental periods were defined at that time, general descriptive definitions will be omitted here.

Although it is somewhat artificial to separate perceptual and language (that is, conceptual) development, we have done so in this chapter, as we have also arbitrarily separated language behavior and intellectual development. The next chapter on the learning self will discuss language development and concept formation. We must recognize, however, that both perception and conception are essential parts of all intellectual activity. As previously indicated, intellectual ability is most broadly defined as the ability to adapt to the environment, and intellectual growth is characterized by (1) acquisition of language and number skills and the rules that govern the use of these symbols, (2) increased memory ability, (3) differentiation of perceptual experience, and (4) learning the rules of logic and how to apply them to reason out problems.³⁴ Though there is probably no one comprehensive theory that accounts for most of the developmental changes in the intellectual activity of the child, specific principles that describe limited aspects of intellectual growth have been identified (for example, the child's perception and concepts become less global and more differentiated with age; the child's language becomes more abstract with age). Because Jean Piaget³⁵ has probably conducted the most stimulating and extensive investigation of the detailed processes involved in intellectual activity, some of his basic ideas in his theorizing will be reviewed briefly before discussing the developmental stages of intellectual growth as he has identified them.

Interaction of Assimilation and Accommodation

According to Piaget, intellectual behavior is always involved in a person's adaptation to his environment. This adaptation is a result of the interaction between the processes of assimilation and accommodation. Assimilation refers to the fact that the child relates what he perceives to his existing knowledge and understanding. In assimilation, the individual tries to retain his present comprehension of the world intact, even if new perceptions or new knowledge must be distorted in order to fit neatly into his existing view of the world. An example of assimilation would be the child's interpretation of a new and novel stimulus such as a flying squirrel. If in his comprehension, all flying objects were classified as birds, the child may perceive the squirrel as more birdlike in shape than it really is, and regard it as a bird. Consequently, he may fail to notice that the animal has no wings, and no feathers but does have four legs. Thus, these perceptual distortions occur as the child *assimilates* the stimulus of the flying squirrel into the category "bird." At a more complex level, the child who has never seen a dog bite a child might distort the picture, interpreting the activity as an affectionate licking gesture. The perception of the dog biting a child is not

congruent with his conceptualization of dogs and their behavior with people

Accommodation is the reverse of assimilation. In accommodation the child adjusts his conceptual understanding to fit new perceptions. That is, the observed object is subject to minimal distortion. For the person uses his reference system so that it is congruent with external reality. To illustrate, suppose a four year old, who expects to see girls dressed in skirts and boys in pants, sees a child with both long hair and pants playing with a doll. He will probably 'accommodate' to the stimulus and perceive this new person as a girl, thus altering his conception of the world to take account of the new experience. One of the clearest instances of accommodation occurs when the child faithfully imitates the behavior of a parent. In this case he is attempting to perceive the behavior of another with maximal accuracy and alter his own behavior so that it matches that of another person. Accommodation and assimilation are present in all perceptual experiences and intelligent behavior, and there is always a balance between the two processes.

Piaget's Conception of Development

Piaget views development as an inherent, unalterable, evolutionary process, yet within this developmental process he locates a series of distinct developmental phases and subphases. A *phase* is a homogeneous patterning of an individual's life style for that developmental period. Each phase reflects a range of organizational patterns that occur in a definite sequence within an approximate age span in the continuum of development. The completion of one phase provides a passing equilibrium, as well as the beginning of an imbalance for a new phase, with each phase suggesting the potential capacity and probable level of behavior. Piaget intentionally avoids a statistical approach, because his concern is with patterns and order of sequence rather than with quantitative analysis. He deals with a tendency toward patterning, without relying upon a statistical measure of tendency.

Whether or not the individual will predominantly employ his potential capacity will depend, in a great part, upon the variety and richness of his perceptions, his openness to experiences and freedom from personal threat. Regardless, an individual's rate of development tends to coincide with Piaget's obviously arbitrary ranges. The important thing, as Piaget stresses, is the order succession of these phases, the succession remains always the same. Developmental phases, then, are age bound on the basis of Piaget's preliminary observations, but they are also age-free in terms of their order of sequence. Ranging from infancy to youth the five major Piagetian developmental periods of cognitive development are the sensorimotor phase, the preconceptual phase, the phase of intuitive thought, the phase of con-

crete operations, and the phase of formal operations"⁶ The aptness of the names of these five phases will become apparent in subsequent discussions.

Before presenting the discussion of these phases, Piaget's concept of development might be summarized by the six following generalizations:

1. There is absolute continuity of all developmental processes.
2. Development proceeds through a continuous process of generalization and differentiation.
3. This continuity is achieved by a continuous unfolding. Each level of development finds its roots in a previous phase and continues into the following one.
4. Each phase entails a repetition of processes of the previous level in a different form of organization (schema). Previous behavior patterns are sensed as inferior and become part of the new superior level.
5. The differences in organizational pattern create a hierarchy of experience and actions.
6. Individuals achieve different levels within the hierarchy, although there is in the brain of each individual the possibility for all these developments but they are not all realized.⁷

The Sensorimotor Phase

Sensorimotor fittingly describes the first period of the developmental continuum which depends predominantly upon sensory and body motor experience. This phase covers a period from birth to approximately the age of twenty-four months during which time the child is considered to be a baby because he uses his body for self-expression and communication. In Piagetian terminology *sensorimotor* indicates the infant's creation of a practical world entirely linked to his desires of physical satisfaction within his immediate sensory experience. The major developmental tasks of this period are the coordination of his actions or motor activities and his perception, or sensory perception into a tenuous whole. The new organism must find himself an active part of his environment and must be able to perceive his environment within the horizon of his immediate experience.

Because Piaget devotes more careful analysis to the first two years of life than any subsequent stage, he must have attributed great importance to this first period of human development. His detailed studies analyze this period in terms of six distinct stages of development. Thus, sensorimotor development can be explained in reference to these six *successive* stages of organization, which build upon one another: (1) use of reflexes, (2) primary

circular reactions, (3) secondary circular reactions, (4) coordination of secondary schemata and their application to new situations, (5) tertiary circular reactions, and (6) the invention of new means through combinations.

Use of Reflexes. The use of reflexes prevails in the first stage of the sensorimotor phase. Exercising reflexes, a continuation of prenatal developmental activities, characterizes the infant's first month of life. The very nature of reflexes, the *spontaneous repetition* by internal or external stimulation, provides the necessary experience for their maturation. Repetitive experience establishes rhythm and a *quality of regularity* and also furnishes the first traces of *sequential* use and a sense of order. For instance, the sucking reflex depends upon practice for proper functioning, which provides an experience cycle fundamental to all later development. Repetitive use of reflexes combined with neurological and physical maturation tend to form habits.

Change, or development, comes about by "living." The organism never is just something; the infant always is becoming something by the very fact that he is confronted by an environment that also makes its demands upon the individual by the fact of his mere existence in the environment. As indicated earlier, human functioning rests primarily upon the process of adaptation that comprises the interplay of the processes of assimilation and accommodation. Adaptation, as the central Piagetian process, has its start in these very early variations of reflexive actions and the ever-increasing repertory of behavior. First, it involves a generalized assimilation, with the infant incorporating more and more of his momentary, immediate environment. This incorporative process is nonselective and includes all stimulation to which his sensory equipment is capable of responding.

Repetition and sequential experience prepare the way for rudimentary generalization and recognitory assimilation. The generalization of practical experiences into such abstract categories as palpable, tactile, or visual experience implies *ordering*; also a process of differentiation in an acting environment previously undifferentiated is initiated. The one-month-old infant is in a purely autistic phase in that he adapts (assimilates) his environment entirely according to his organic demands. He experiences all objects to his own satisfaction; he initiates general organizational patterns of behavior basic to his unfolding life.

Primary Circular Reactions. Primary circular reactions mark the beginning of the second stage, in which reflexive behavior is slowly replaced by voluntary movements. Maturation readiness is requisite to this development; the infant must reach a certain neurological maturity before he can comprehend his own sensations. In about his second month, the child can consciously repeat an action; his activities primarily involve repeating voluntarily what was previously merely automatic behavior. This repetition

of behavior is now a deliberate response to the recognized stimulation of a previous experience. Accidentally acquired responses become new sensorimotor habits; they open new parts of the child's ever-expanding world.

Reactions become closely linked with the stimuli. Experience is closely tied to the environment that stimulates the reaction, and repetition, especially sequential repetition, leads to realization that a repeatedly experienced stimulus has a signal value. Here is the start of a new cycle in the behavior sequence, a *cognitive* behavioral unit, which Piaget calls "primary circular reaction." In short, primary circular reaction refers to the assimilation of a previous experience *and* the recognition of the stimulus that triggers the reaction. Piaget describes the latter as the emergence of the accommodative process. The child incorporates and adapts his reactions to an environmental reality; a synthesis of assimilation and accommodation occurs, which, in essence, is adaptation. Primary circular reaction, however simple, provides an organizational pattern, a *schema* by which two or three factors are organized into a relationship pattern, superimposed upon the previous action patterns of *reproducing*, *repetition*, and *sequentiality*. A *schema*, for Piaget, is an established pattern of a meaningful, repeatable psychological unit of intellectual behavior or its prerequisites, which can be coordinated with other behavioral events.

Secondary Circular Reactions. Secondary circular reaction, a phase aptly descriptive of the third stage of development, incorporates a continuation of the circular reaction patterns combined with a secondary function that lifts the primary circular reaction beyond its basically organic activity. Between the infant's third and ninth months his behavior continues with familiar forms of experience; his sensorimotor apparatus is capable of being aware of only those events to which he has become accustomed. Because the major part of his behavior is retention, not repetition, the child's efforts are to make events last, to create a state of permanency. This effort results in further awareness of the environment *and* accommodation to it, the child's first real acknowledgment of environmental forces.

Primary circular reactions are repeated and prolonged by the new secondary reactions. Activity remains the primary motive of experience as the infant increasingly widens the scope of his behavioral world by relating two or more sensorimotor activities in *one* experiential sequence, or *schema*. The infant will combine visible, tactile, or other differentiated experiences into a single experience. This ever-unfolding intellectual process of combining occurs predominantly by using vision as the prime coordinator, because visible fractions of an object can serve to trigger an action sequence. Most roots for future cognitive understanding are acquired during this early sensorimotor phase; these beginnings, when synthesized, indicate actual intellectual development, which, in turn, stimulates three new processes of human behavior: *imitation*, *play*, and *affect* (emotions).

Secondary Schemata Stage. The secondary schemata stage, and its application to new situations, comprises the fourth sensorimotor stage and tends to coincide with the infant's first birthday. During this stage, the infant uses previous behavioral achievements primarily as the bases for adding new ones to his expanding repertory. Familiar modes of sensorimotor activities are applied to new situations. Increased experimentation, facilitated by the child's greater mobility, directs his interest to an ever-widening environment. He now experiences new objects; he tests and experiments with new ways of dealing with them. The moment a child is aware of the continued existence of an object once it is beyond his immediate perception, he is capable of elementary reasoning. Ends and means are further differentiated by experimentation with and discovery of means originally not intentionally related to the desired end. Thus, during this period the child is involved in continued and repeated experimentation. The child can experience action by *observation*. He lets things happen and observes the results. As significant intellectual advancement, he observes in order to understand that which is beyond his immediate active involvement.

Toward the end of the child's first year, he has refined his capacity to generalize and to differentiate to the degree that specific experiential episodes are generalized into classes of experience. Each is distinguished from the others by recognized signs and each evokes different sets of action sequences. When the child can read these signs, anticipate action, and perceive his universe beyond the boundaries of his sensorimotor sphere of action, the capacity for intelligent reasoning has begun to emerge. Piaget recognizes that during this period, adaptation is one result of random experimentation. In adaptation the child fits new activities and objects of experience to previously acquired schemata. These new behavioral acquisitions are important for two reasons: first, the developing individual can distinguish objects from the related activity and can perceive them as objects; and second, he has acquired a developmental organization in which he can distinguish end products from their means.

Tertiary Circular Reactions. The discovery of new means through active experimentation refers to *tertiary circular reactions* introduced into the fifth stage, generally occurring in the first half of the second year of life. Accommodative behavior provides more balance to the processes of infancy, which were originally purely assimilative. Active experimentation continues to compose a large share of the day's activities, including the progression of primary, secondary, and tertiary circular reactions as a cyclic repetition of previous processes with the addition of newly acquired capacities. The child incorporates into his knowledge the actions of this new experimentation *and* its results. Piaget locates in this cyclic repetition the roots of rational judgment and, ultimately, intellectual reasoning; the individual tries to grasp the ongoing situation as it is and begins to observe its components.

The child can now enter into an action sequence at any point, without reproducing the total sequence.

With an awareness that objects are independent from their action sequence, the child gains an intensified interest in his environment. Not until this developmental level is achieved is the child capable of forming a beginning concept of "thing," an awareness of an object as an entity with its own properties. The discovery of objects as objects introduces the awareness of their spatial relationships. The recognition of spatial relationships between objects and of rotations and reversals of objects in space leads to an awareness of one's own movements and the movements of other people. At this point, causal relations begin to assume a new dimension. The child recognizes the existence of causes that are completely independent of his activity. Other people become autonomous centers of action; moreover, the child distinguishes himself as the actor, as the power behind the movement of inanimate objects, from other people's ability to cause action. This new outlook is essential for the evolving capacity to relate to different people, to behave intelligently socially.

The invention of New Means. The stage of invention of new means through mental combinations is entered sometime during the second half of the child's second year of life. A gradual shift in focus occurs from the actual sensorimotor experiences to an increased reflection about these experiences. This developmental stage climaxes previous acquisitions and builds a bridge to the next level of intellectual behavior. During this time, a child indicates an awareness of the permanency of objects and he simultaneously discovers a new approach to his environment. Most important, the child perceives and utilizes objects for their own innate qualities. He can use them differentially, apart and beyond his immediate experience with them.

First, the individual discerns himself as one object among many; then he discovers that objects can endure in the passage of time. With this discovery, it is then possible for newly acquired mental images of objects to be retained beyond immediate sensory experience with them. Further, he begins to relate the object to new actions (or vice versa) without actually perceiving all the actions. Closely linked with the remembered image of an object are its properties; the comprehension of each property of the object requires a separate level of intellectual maturity. The child sees and remembers as much of an object at any given period as he can understand at the time. He has already begun to anticipate action, however, by his capacity to respond to signals and, with the acquisition of retained images and the ability to relate them to past experiences, he starts to formulate new images of his own. In short, *he thinks*.

The child formulates a new relationship to his environment; he not only experiences himself as one among many but also understands himself as a

single entity. In simple situations he can think of himself in relation to past and immediate future situations as well as to those in the present. He can also conceive of objects without having a detailed personal experience of them. His previously acquired capacity to perceive cause is extended to a point where he can envisage himself as the *potential* cause or initiator of action. Sensorimotor patterns are slowly replaced by semimental functionings. The child has a beginning ability to recall without having to repeat an activity. He perceives simple causality by perception alone; he can initiate alternative forms of action without trial-and-error experimentation.

Imitation now proceeds with the attempt to copy either the action itself or the representative *symbol* of the action. In either case, the imitative process involves a predominance of accommodation of an environmental model. At this point, the child is able to work through some of his egocentric qualities. Egocentricity is the state of confusion of self and the external world, the undifferentiating state of awareness that exists prior to that of multiple perspectives. Although it has formulated its roots during earlier stages, identification as a mental process becomes evident as the child differentiates himself and objects in his world more sharply. Through this process, the child imitates and remembers the model's imitable characteristics. The ability to imitate, however, depends upon the level of the child's intellectual development, and the choice of model is related to the child's interest in assimilating the model's behavior. Thus, successful identification relies upon the intellectual capacity to differentiate and the affective incentive to imitate.

The Preconceptual Phase

The life of the child in the two- to four-year-old period appears to be one of continuous investigation. He investigates his environment and the possibilities of his activity within it. Every day he discovers new symbols to use in communication with himself and others. These symbols still have primarily a personal reference for him; he cannot at this time comprehend the more general system of meaning they hold in the adult world. Even though the child and adult employ much the same language, they do not necessarily have a mutual framework for their communication; the child's thinking is largely preconceptual in content. For Piaget, these years involve a period of transition sandwiched between life patterns of purely self-satisfying behavior and rudimentary socialized behavior.

The egocentric approach of this phase reflects a decisive advance over the autistic behavior of the previous phase. The interplay of practical relationships in the world of reality teaches the child to shift centers of space and its objects from his action to himself. The child knows the world as

he sees it; he knows no alternatives. Further, he sees his physical and social worlds only as he has previously experienced them. With this limited view, he assumes that everyone thinks as he does and understands him without his having to work to convey his thoughts and feelings. Necessarily during this period, assimilation continues as the paramount role of the child; otherwise he could not incorporate the new experiences that will lead to his more expanded view of the world. The child is constantly forced to evaluate and to re-evaluate his perception of his environment. Piaget views these processes as the results of the psychological activity of accommodation and as the child's developmental readiness to relinquish some of his subjectivity. Play, involving language and imitation, leads to communication with an outside world and to a gradual process of socialization.

Thought and reason in the two-year-old are entirely egocentric, with a predominance of self-reference. In his use of his newly learned language, the child merely replaces his earlier reliance upon pure sensorimotor behavior, but still has difficulty associating events with their over-all meaning. With the aid of words, he places his experiences in verbal proximity. Realizing that whatever occurs in proximity with something else must have a relationship, the child reasons that one event followed by another must have a cause-and-effect relationship. The child begins to think in terms of relationships and establishes his own view of cause and effect. The repeated experiencing of events in sequence is coordinated into the child's perceptual configurations of relationships in his world.

The child orders his concept of space and spatial relationships by his subjective experience; life to him is logical within his own frame of reference. Piaget's observations stress two essential phenomena characteristic of this age. First, events are reasoned and judged by their outward appearance, regardless of their objective logic. Second, in preconceptual thought, the child tends to experience either the qualitative or quantitative aspect; he does not perceive both at once or any connective relationship. The child has not reached the point at which he is able to merge concepts of objects, space, and causality into temporal interrelationships with the concept of time.

Close to the preconcept of causality and perception of phenomenistic characteristics are the tendencies of the child to bestow power upon objects. Investing a model with unusual desirability or power leads to identification. Identification at this level emerges from a combination of imitation and a sense of awe for the model, flowing from the child's continuous association with his most self-satisfying behavior sequences. Parents, for example, are probably the only models the child knows well enough to incorporate into his intellectual and affective schema. This spontaneously developed identification becomes a guidepost for all judgment. With an increased capacity for refined differentiation of affect, the child builds up

his system of values, his conscience. Identification also is strengthened by the child's accommodation to the pressure of the environment. Adult restraints and demands for obedience are as real to his experience as are episodes of self-satisfaction.

The Phase of Intuitive Thought

Most important for four- to seven-year-olds is their widening social interest in the world around them as repeated contact with others necessarily reduces egocentricity and increases social participation. This phase is an extension of the previous one in that both form a bridge between the child's passive acceptance of the environment as it is experienced and his ability to react to it realistically. In this second transitional period then, the phase of intuitive thought, the child begins to use words in his thought. At first, his thinking and reasoning are still acted out. Just as the child had to coordinate sensorimotor experience on an earlier level, so in this phase of intuitive thought he has to coordinate perspectives of different individuals, including himself. He must coordinate his own subjective and egocentric versions of the world with the real world around him. During this phase, the child increasingly acts in a consistent pattern of reasoning. He tends to behave similarly to his elders, as if he knew intuitively what life is all about; he exhibits the first real beginnings of cognition.

When the child is old enough to begin school, his thinking is largely the verbalization of his mental processes. Whereas he once employed his motor apparatus to act out his thinking, he now employs speech to express his thinking, yet his thinking remains largely egocentric. His perception and interpretation of his environment are continuously colored by his personal preconceptions, and will naturally be at variance with the thinking of his elders and with the real world. Also, he can think only of one idea at a time, because it is still difficult for him to entertain two ideas simultaneously. At this point, the child is still incapable of thinking in terms of the whole; he is preoccupied with the parts. Losing sight of parts and their relationships, or childish amnesia, frequently occurs when the perceptual field is altered or when other events or forces that he cannot comprehend intervene in a situation.

Increasingly, the child employs appropriate language without fully comprehending its meaning. Although a child in the early years of this phase knows his right arm from his left, he has no notion of the concepts "right" and "left." The child's knowledge is specific, but he applies it universally. Further, the child can think only in terms of the ongoing event; any experience is judged by its end stage or product. The child judges by a single, usually spatial, clue; his reasoning proceeds from the

premise to the conclusion in a single jump. The outcome justifies the "logic" applied in that a certain event *had* to happen. Language at this level serves a threefold purpose. First, as an important tool of intuitive thought, it is employed to reflect upon an event, and to project it into the future (self-conversation is a common occurrence at this age and is popularly described as "thinking aloud"). Second, speech remains primarily a vehicle of egocentric communication, with assimilation as its most potent adaptive process. Speech is limited to a few communicative expressions because, in general, until he is seven or eight, a child assumes that everyone thinks as he does. Arguments are simply conflicts of contrary affirmations with no understanding involved and with no motivation present to bridge any lack of understanding. Verbal arguments become vehement, because words are readily accepted as thoughts and deeds.

The child still struggles to find a better equilibrium between assimilation and accommodation. He tries to adjust his new experiences to his previous patterns of thinking. Increasing interest in occurring events brings assimilation on a broader scale as accommodative processes are extended to verify, to stabilize, and to generalize the various models for more universal precepts. Simultaneously, current development entails the generalization of symbols as images of a more encompassing concept. His organization of his expanding knowledge aids the child to gain the capacity to generalize his mental experience. Whereas wearing a sheriff's badge in the preconceptual period meant "I *am* a sheriff," now it means for the child in this phase that he is playing the part of what, in his opinion, a sheriff represents. Thus, the child must first understand the preconcept of being a sheriff, before he can realize that the concept of sheriff stands for law and order.

The Phase of Concrete Operations

In the previous phase the child became aware of relationships by a more accurate appraisal of his social position in relation to his environment. The individual in the seven- to eleven-year age range of this phase manages to see an event from different perspectives. His manifold perspective leads him to an awareness of reversibility. *Reversibility* is the capacity of relating an event or thought to a total system of interrelated parts in order to conceive the event or thought from its beginning to its end or from its end to its beginning. Reversibility is achieved either by canceling an operation (inversion or negation) or by reciprocity (reciprocal operation as an equivalent). Through reversibility the child achieves a new level of thought, *operational thought*. Operational thought refers to the mental capacity to order and relate experience to an organized whole. Piaget separates operational thought into two distinct phases: *concrete* and *formal* operational thought. Concrete operations, under consideration here, presupposes that

mental experimentation still depends upon perception rather than pure symbolic cognition.

The child can now explore several possible solutions to a problem because assimilation and accommodation can become more compatible than opposed in his organizational skills. His awareness of multiple approaches to one object elasticizes his previously rigid and intuitive approach and permits him to order his sense data along two levels of cognitive thought. First, as any whole becomes known by its parts, the child studies these parts and classifies them in relation to each other, which eventually leads to his understanding of their whole. This form of understanding grows from the realm of experience; yet his experiences with his physical and social environment, and the abstractions he learns to make from concrete experiences with objects, lead him to qualitative methods of conceptualizing—an ordering of experiences upon an equation basis. His thinking focuses upon both ends of the equation for his solution to problems in wanting to know *which means can accomplish which ends?*

Second, the child becomes equally preoccupied with establishing for himself *systems of classifications*. He will tend to see to it that he can conceptualize and classify each object as part of a larger total system. In so doing, he will organize his parts into a larger whole by the hierarchical systems either of *nesting* or *lattices*. *Nesting* is a descriptive term for classifying an internal relationship between smaller parts and their all-inclusive whole. In its conceptual use, nesting specifies that all classes of objects are additive; each larger whole sums up *all* previous parts. Children, by means of nesting, add together their world into a “fitting” whole. Suddenly, the animal kingdom (for example) or sundry previously unconnected ideas make sense to them. *Lattices* refer to a special form of classification in which the focus is upon the connective link and the parts that are linked together. Ordering conceptually by means of a hierarchy of lattices places stress upon creating subclasses of *related* objects. Related classes are conceptually linked together in order to create a coordinated whole. The lattices then establish the “whole,” the interconnected orderly world.

At this point in the child's life, relationship between pieces of knowledge is established by their logical relationship to each other, rather than merely by proximity in experience. Most important, cognition by two different systems of ordering highlight a child's increasing awareness that each object has several reference points and can be ordered accordingly. The child can now envisage any object in relation to one or several wholes which, in turn, becomes part of a still larger unity or system. His life, from now on, proceeds in an ordered world where he can organize his experiences separately or as part of a unity. The ability to order experiences and to be aware of their realistic relationship to each other helps to create

a *notion of certainty*. The child can explain his experiences or thoughts in relation to others. He can order his experience as he sees fit, although all ordering still must be done with the aid of a concrete model. If offered a choice, a child cannot choose unless he can weigh each choice and perceive the relationships between them. Basically, then, at this point in life, the child shifts from an inductive to a *deductive* mode of thinking. In all of his mental operations, his reasoning takes cognition of a larger whole and the logical relationship to it—a developmental acquisition that has relevance for his learning and his relationship to his social and ideological world.

The Phase of Formal Operations

The last phase of intellectual development, formal operations, occurs between eleven and fifteen years of age, but continues to be ongoing; childhood ends maturationally and youth begins as the nature of thought undergoes a change. The individual acquires the capacity to think and to reason beyond his own realistic world and his own beliefs. In short, he enters into the world of ideas and into essences apart from the real world. Cognition begins to rely upon pure symbolism and the use of propositions rather than sole reality. Propositions become important to the youth as a form of reasoning in which relationships are hypothesized as causal and are analyzed for their effects. Assimilative and accommodative processes are of little concern in this phase because both have been integrated into the somewhat unconscious and spontaneous processes of human functioning.

Cognitive random behavior is replaced by a systematic approach to problems. Seriation involves more than adding like phenomena; it serves to order systematically and to control an established order. During this level of intellectual development the youth begins to comprehend geometric relationships and questions dealing with proportions. Because these processes deal with relativity, balance, and equality between concepts, actions, and reactions, they affect problems of social relationships. The objective cognition of proportions opens the way to understanding relativity in ordinary situations of life. A concept of relativity emerges from two other essential accomplishments of the formal operational phase: first, reason by hypothesis, or the application of propositional statements, and second, the use of implication. The youth now is concerned with establishing hypotheses; he tends to think and to reason with propositions rather than with symbols.

The ability to reason by hypothesis furnishes the youth with a new tool and approach to understanding his physical world and his social relationships within it. One of these new tools is logical deduction by implication. As

a child, he has already managed the deduction of relationships on the basis of juxtaposition, proximity, transduction, and other irreversible relationship patterns; now propositional statements of groupings allow the formations of new concepts. Reasoning by implication as a product of deduction permits the youth to introduce simple, logical assumptions by taking a third position without resorting to verification by means other than logic. The youth undertakes a search for general hypotheses that can account for the observed and possible events that have occurred to him. Reasoning, as such, acts continually as a function of the structural whole, with all deductions anchored in the possible, and not merely in observed empirical facts.

All intellectual efforts prior to this level have tended to expand and to intensify on a *horizontal* plane. Thought was verified in terms of its horizontal relationships, its logical relation to its parts, and in terms of an integrated whole. Because adolescence is known as an age in which the youth thinks beyond the present, he establishes *vertical* relationships. He forms notions, ideas, and, eventually, concepts about everything from the past through the present into the future. The youth separates variables and combinations of variables so far unavailable to him through direct observation. His interests center around broad issues and around most minute details. Around the ages of fourteen to fifteen, the youth reflects maturity in cognitive thought, when he can depend solely upon symbolism for operational thought. In brief, he thinks by applying symbols of thinking; he develops concepts of concepts.

The youth is no longer satisfied with empirical events that are solely on the surface, regarding his observations of life events merely as points of departure or as proofs of the larger domain of the possible. With the aid of his new mental capacities and his ability to formulate hypotheses, he structures a wide variety of possible combinations of events as they might occur. Simultaneously, he attempts to prove empirically which possibilities could materialize. Once he has established a range of hypotheses, he does not proceed to any final ordering, but rather views these temporary findings, or new insights, as starting points for new combinations of possible approaches to life's problems.

Around the ages of fourteen and fifteen, Piaget sees the individual finding his equilibrium, tying together propositional operations into structured patterns of relationships and systems that eventually are structured into a single unity. Piaget concludes that "*the structured 'whole,' considered as the form of equilibrium of the subject's operational behavior, is therefore of fundamental psychological importance.*"⁹⁸ At this point, Piaget's analysis of development ends, and although he does not commit himself, he does imply that the individual's basic pattern of thinking and reasoning has been established.

Summary: Basic Principles of Piaget's Cognitive Theory

We should recognize that the charted course of intellectual functioning presented in this section describes *potential* development. Because of the uniqueness of people, the actual rate and degree of completion of each phase varies with each individual. Very likely an individual will achieve maturity in one area while reflecting incomplete development in others. Therefore, it would not be surprising that egocentric thought and mature intelligence concerning physical perspectives can exist side by side. Such divergence is apt to appear in many areas.

From the beginning of his professional life, Jean Piaget has dedicated all of his creative energies to uncovering the nature and direction of intellectual development. Probably he can best be described as a scientist researching the nature and logic of human development. As such, he has established that intellectual development follows a predictable pattern:

1. All development proceeds in a unitary direction.
2. Development progresses in a consistent order and can readily be described by criteria marking five distinct developmental phases.
3. There are distinct organizational differences between childhood and adult behavior in all areas of human functioning.
4. All mature aspects of behavior have their beginnings in infant behavior and evolve through all subsequent patterns of development.
5. All developmental trends are interrelated and interdependent; developmental maturity means the final and total integration of all the developmental trends.⁹⁹

In reviewing Piaget's research and teaching, we find that he presents us with a great variety of developmental themes that can serve as guiding principles for the study of and research in cognitive development or for more knowledgeable approaches in dealing with individuals on questions pertaining to their effective functioning. Piaget then recognizes a number of basic trends that transcend all developmental processes.

1. All development proceeds in identical sequence. At the beginning of life there is a kind of metamorphic transposition of organic processes into volitional ones.
2. All developmental phenomena reflect a natural trend of change from the simple to an ever-increasing complexity.
3. Each developmental aspect begins with concrete ordinary experiences or problems. Only after complete mastery of a concrete experi-

ence does development proceed toward the mastery of its corresponding abstraction.

4. Personality development proceeds from the *physical world* to the *social* and finally to the *ideational* world. Every new dimension is first experienced by its physical realities before social, and later ideational, considerations can be absorbed.

5. Personality development starts with an egocentric orientation, moves through a period of pure objective appraisal, and a sense of relativity emerges while moving toward maturity.

6. Intellectual behavior evolves descriptively from activity without thought to thought with less emphasis on activity. In other words, cognitive behavior evolves from doing to doing knowingly, and finally, to conceptualization.

7. An object is first known for its use, then for its permanency, its representative symbol, its place in space, its properties, and finally for its relativity in space, time, and utility.

8. Actions of all objects are first attributed to *animism*. Later, animism is limited to moving objects, and eventually, only to self-perpetuating objects. Only the acquisition of cognitive thought permits an explanation by natural or mechanical realities.

9. A sense of ethics and justice (conscience) is anchored first in complete adherence to adult authority, to be replaced by adherence to mutuality, to social reciprocity, and finally, by adherence to social integrity.

10. Previous developmental acquisitions are retained as active ingredients throughout life. Various forms of earlier behavior patterns will find their expression in instances when the individual faces new problems or feels compelled to revert to previous patterns.¹⁰⁰

Altogether, then, Piaget's theory furnishes us with a frame of reference, not to classify and to stereotype man's intellectual capacities in reference to fixed sets of norms, but to understand and to appreciate the unique cognitive functioning of the individual. His developmental trends describe individual potentiality—the capacity to become. The actual developmental profile of each individual resembles a barogram showing peaks in some areas and depressions in others. In addition, variations may exist at any point in an individual's approach to everyday problems. Basically, however, his theory pointedly demonstrates that there are regular patterns in cognitive development that are experienced by everyone; man has commonalities in intellectual functioning, but individuals may demonstrate uniqueness. In turn, such understanding allows us to predict for an individual his mode and

range of comprehension in the course of development, without stifling his idiosyncratic potentialities.

TOWARD INTELLECTUAL BECOMING

In intellectual becoming, we must have the freedom to discover, to explore, to examine, and to understand our intellectual potentialities and then the psychological courage to create our cognitive capacities by implementing them into our own self structure as we search for our self-identity in giving intellectual birth to ourselves. The major approach to intelligence throughout this chapter has been to view man's intellectual functioning as a fluid, open developmental process related to the richness of one's perceptions and experiences, rather than as a phenomenon that is fixed, constant, and predetermined. Although some recognition has been accorded to man's genetic endowment and the environmental influences in determining his level of cognitive behavior, the principal emphasis has been upon self factors as a third determinant in an individual's intellectual becoming as a unique human being. For a person achieving a sense of his own identity tends to view each situation in the light of his motives, assumptions, and feelings. Thus, the effects of a particular genetic and environmental heritage become increasingly dependent upon the way life is experienced and perceived by the individual.

The self structure consists of two major aspects of the individual's experience of self: (1) *self as object*, referring to the individual's perception and evaluation of himself as something distinct from other persons and things; and (2) *self as process*, denoting the individual's perception of himself as a knower, striver, and doer with facilities to, perceiving, evaluating, choosing, and planning in reference to himself.¹⁰¹ As we shall see in a later chapter, both of these views of self provide us with important conceptual tools for understanding human development and behavior. The consideration here, however, is primarily with the self as process relevant to the self as a knower, striver, and doer in discovering and creating intellectual potentialities. The typical pattern of intelligent, adjustive behavior in the human organism involves (1) perceiving the situation; (2) processing all the information received from inner and outer sources, evaluating its significance, integrating it with previous knowledge, and deciding what course of behavior it dictates; and (3) pursuing a course of action that seems best suited to meeting the requirements of the situation. All these processes involve the individual's perception of himself as an active and responsible agent with conscious intent, as a doer with the capacity for self-direction. In viewing the self as a knower, striver, and doer, we are focusing on the key processes involved in self-direction, the discovery and creative development of intelligent behavior.

Discovery of Intellectual Self

Maimonides, in his *Guide for the Perplexed*,¹⁰² speaks of four forms of perfection that men might seek: (1) the acquisition of worldly goods, (2) perfection of the body, (3) moral perfection and character, and (4) the true perfection of man: *the possession of the highest intellectual faculties*. In speaking of the latter, he notes: "Examine the first three kinds of perfection; you will find that if you possess them, they are not your property, but the property of others. . . . But the last kind of perfection is exclusively yours; no one else owns any part of it."¹⁰³

As the quotation implies, if man's intellectual excellence is the most among his perfections, then our discovery and creation of our cognitive potentialities becomes a major requisite in our developmental becoming. This, according to Maimonides, creates a special and unique relation between knowledge possessed and possessor—between our intelligent behavior and ourselves. Educational theorists such as Bruner¹⁰⁴ emphasize that learning through personal discovery results in increased intellectual potency, intrinsic rewards, and stimulated memory processing. From man's past efforts at discovering and creating intellectual thought we have many reminders in the mental giants who have given us a multitude of knowledge. What about the future? In what kind of social climate, what kind of cultural milieu can human discovery and creativity be developed optimally? If one were to ask the question, "What kind of nature?" one might answer that it is, and can be found, in a *free universe*. To continue this questioning: What kind of human nature? *The free man*. What kind of society? *The free society*. What kind of consciousness? *The free mind*. What kind of education? *The freedom to grow*. What kind of philosophy? *The freedom to create*.

Freedom to Create

There is a need today as never before for a reaffirmation of faith in human experience and potential, for man's capacity to behave intelligently. This capacity can be called creativity; it has content and meaning and can be understood. To believe that creative behavior in man can be developed provides much of the motivation needed to seek out its meaning and to discover its potency within our own lives. The late Viktor Lowenfeld said it in the following way, "creativity is an instinct which all people possess, an instinct with which we were born. It belongs to one of the basic drives, a drive without which man cannot exist."¹⁰⁵

If unique creativity is developed in individuals, then from this can come an intellectual art that can provide man with self and social values not yet known. The mysteries of productive personal selves, sources of

energy, change and variation, peace and harmony, and other problems of man in an only partially explored universe can be the exciting ventures of the mind tomorrow. No limits to human inquiry need to be set. Adding to our cultural heritage through releasing the creative energy of our children, adolescents, and adults seems to be our most pressing task to help man discover and develop himself. Although man has effected a degree of control over nature, his external world—his inner nature—self realization—remains yet to be achieved if, as Julian Huxley reminds us, ‘Man is not to turn into a cancer of the planet.’¹⁰⁶

We have stressed throughout this chapter that intelligence is a potentiality to be achieved. The genetic capacities are released, guided, and developed by environmental and self factors, especially the social, perceptual, and experiential attributes of enriched challenge and stimulation. As a special dimension of intelligence—creativity—which has been studied intensively since about 1950—is considered by researchers such as Getzels and Jackson,¹⁰⁷ Torrance,¹⁰⁸ Wallach and Kogan¹⁰⁹ and others as a potentiality to be actualized—rather than as a special genetic endowment. Thus, creativity, like most human characteristics, is *not* viewed as a special gift bestowed upon a limited few—but rather is conceived of as a capacity possessed in some degree by all human beings. Torrance offers the following reasons why the identification and development of creative thinking are important:

1. Creativity is important from the standpoint of personality development and mental health.
2. Creative thinking contributes importantly to the acquisition of information.
3. Creative thinking is essential in the application of knowledge and in the achievement of vocational success.
4. The future of our civilization depends upon the quality of the creative imagination of our next generation. Our creative talent must be identified, developed, and utilized.¹¹⁰

THE CREATIVE SELF

Creativity has long been regarded as a special endowment bestowed upon a chosen few individuals. Contemporary researchers have discovered that creativity is not a genetic gift possessed by the minority of people, but rather creative behavior is conceived as a capacity characteristic in some degree of all human beings. Traditionally, creativity has been associated with products—paintings, inventions, literary masterpieces, and music—but the concept has been enlarged to include ideas, decisions, relationships, and problem solving—results of man’s cognitive powers. The growing realization

of the universality of creativity, of man's heretofore unsuspected capacity for creativity, of the uniqueness of every individual, places the idea of creativity in new perspective. Phenomenological theorists of human behavior, viewing life as a dynamic, flowing, ever becoming process—see the fully functioning person who is striving for self fulfillment and adequacy cast in a creative role—those psychologists using the terms *creativity* and *adequacy* almost synonymously have indicated that there is a capacity for creativeness in every person. In examining their basic premises—(1) creativity is necessary for a fully adequate personality and (2) every person has the capacity for creativity¹¹¹—we can identify a fundamental purpose for education: the development of creativity in every individual.

Creativity in relevance to the self will be used here in the sense of freeing the individual to discover his capacities for intelligent behavior and to create and to develop his own unique cognitive powers in the continuous process of intellectual becoming. There seems to be common agreement that children start school with eagerness, curiosity, capacity for wonder and puzzlement, spirit of adventure, imagination, sensitivity to and fascination with the world in which they live—the basic ingredients of zestful creative living. Is it not interesting that some of these same curious and eager children become school dropouts in ten years or less? Although all of us start with the raw stuff of creativity, many adults are not creative; many are *passive, conforming, and fearful*. What happens on the way to adulthood? Perhaps Kelley offers a possible answer when he says:

Since life is ever moving and ever becoming, the fully functioning person is cast in a creative role. He sees that creation is not something which occurred long ago and is finished, but that it is now going on—and that he is part of it.

When the fearful person withdraws within his psychological shell, communication is shut off. It is just as difficult for such a person to give as it is for him to receive. The self then is denied that which it feeds on. The psychological self feeds on ideas which come from other people. Without the stuff of growth, the self becomes less adequate, and the whole person loses its ability to do, to venture, to create. The individual comes to see himself as impoverished—but he is not able to do much about it by himself.¹¹²

If it is true, then, that creativity exists in all of us, the problem for education becomes not the production of creativity but the releasing and encouraging of the creativity already present. The responsibility and commitment involves helping children to become intellectually through their discovery and facilitation of unique individual creative cognitive powers. Because it is the nature of the organism itself to become, we are not involved in a task in which a perverse organism must be coerced into becoming.

ing. Our goal, then, is to find ways to make becoming possible, ways to understand the nature of creative man and to set him free. Taba,¹¹³ in discussing the characteristics of creative individuals, gives us some insight into understanding the problem of freeing man to become intellectually. She indicates that creative individuals have a high theoretical and aesthetic interest; they have an openness to inner experience; they do not reduce experience immediately into slogans, stereotyped symbols, and pat formulas; they respond to their own inner experiences and create something with them; and they have a high level of perception and an ability to work freely with elements and concepts. From a phenomenological viewpoint, Combs offers some cogent words on the positive self as facilitating the freedom to become creative:

With a positive view of self one can risk taking chances; one does not have to be afraid of what is new and different. . . . An adequate person can launch himself without fear into the new, the untried and the unknown. A positive view of self permits the individual to be creative, original and spontaneous. What is more, he can afford to be generous, to give of himself freely or to become personally involved in events. With so much more at his command, he has so much more to give.

Truly adequate people possess perceptual fields maximally open to experience. That is to say, their perceptual fields are capable of change and adjustment in such fashion as to make fullest possible use of their experience.¹¹⁴

Creativity and Openness to Experience

According to the major authors of the *ASCD Yearbook: Perceiving, Behaving, Becoming*,¹¹⁵ creativity and the development of an adequate self are associated with two basic phenomena: openness and drive. The basic drive toward adequacy is characteristic of everyone, although its particular expression may be quite different from person to person. This difference is largely responsible for the creative production of intellectual becoming. How creative the individual is likely to be will depend upon the degree of freedom that is provided for this fundamental drive toward adequacy to operate. This degree of freedom is considered to be openness. The individual who is open to his experience has a much wider source of data from which to select his perceptions. The authors of the *Yearbook* view creativity as a product of (1) rich experiences, (2) trust in self, (3) openness to data, (4) attitudes that value change, (5) freedom from threat, and (6) willingness to be and to become.¹¹⁶ A basic goal of education itself must be the production of increased openness. What narrows and rigidifies human experience is antithetical to education. Rogers, a psychotherapist and one of the *Yearbook* authors, expresses the potency of openness to creative becoming in saying:

Time and again in my clients, I have seen simple people become significant and creative in their own spheres, as they have developed more trust of the processes going on within themselves, and have dared to feel their own feelings, live by values which they discover within, and express themselves in their own unique way.

A fully functioning person is a creative person. With his sensitive openness to his world, and his trust of his own ability to form new relationships with his environment, he is the type of person from whom creative products and creative living emerge.

I find such a person to be sensitively open to all of his experience--sensitive to what is going on in his environment, sensitive to other individuals with whom he is in relationship, and sensitive perhaps most of all to the feelings, reactions, and emergent meanings which he discovers in himself [intellectual becoming].¹¹⁷

Creativity and Conformity

Experiences that inhibit the individual's freedom to be and to express his deeper *self* reduce his ability to be creative and to become intellectually. Creativity is not learned from restraint, it is a product of the lowering or removal of psychological and social barriers. Creative behavior is a matter of being different, of daring to change, of venturing forth to actualize our unique intellectual potentialities. Homes and schools may have conforming children or creative children, but whichever choice is made, teachers, parents, administrators—all of us—need to be prepared to pay the price. For conformity and creativity are essentially antithetical, what produces one tends to destroy the other. *Conformity calls for restriction, order, direction, control; creativity involves freedom, experimentation, expression, and facilitation.* Thus, teachers who want creativity can count on the fact that their classrooms will not be neat, quiet, and orderly. Administrators and parents who demand rigid conformity can count on the fact that their students and children will not be very creative, except possibly in devising ways to circumvent controls.

If teachers believe that only a few people are creative, the degree to which teachers encourage creativity will be limited. Since teachers, like anyone else, behave in terms of what they believe, a belief that creativity is a highly limited capacity must necessarily have its effect upon the kinds of learning climates, situations, and tasks provided for children. Maslow¹¹⁸ believes that creativity is in large part an irrational, rather than a rational activity. Yet most of our school programs are predicated almost exclusively upon the rational. The cognitive aspects of man's existence are stressed throughout the curriculum, whereas the sensory aspects, aesthetic perceiving, creating, and aesthetic "peak" experiences of nonrational man are left to shift for themselves, and in many classrooms are even frowned upon. The *ASCD*

Yearbook delineates the following factors prevalent in many classrooms, as inhibitors of creativity and openness:

1. A preoccupation with order
2. Overvaluing authority, support, evidence and the "scientific method." Such rigid, tight concepts often permit no questioning nor exploration.
3. Exclusive emphasis upon the historical point of view, implying that past events are far more significant than present or the future.
4. Various forms of "cookbook" approaches which inhibit originality and uniqueness.
5. The essentially solitary approach to learning often emphasized in some classrooms—creativity is very highly dependent upon communication.
6. The elimination of the self from the classroom.
7. The school tends to be ruled almost entirely by adult concepts.
8. Emphasis upon force, threat, and coercion, with the use of "guilt" and "badness" as means of control through severe punishments, ridicule, and humiliation. Anything which diminishes the self interferes with openness and creativity.
9. The idea that mistakes are sinful and that children are not to be trusted.
10. School organizations which emphasize lock-step approaches, rules and regulations, managerial and administrative considerations, rather than human ones.¹¹

Facilitating Creativity

In view of the preceding factors that inhibit creativity and produce conformity, hostile or apathetic, how then can we encourage intellectual becoming and facilitate creative behavior? Certainly if creativity is to be valued and encouraged, administrators, parents, and teachers need to create situations in schools and homes in which it is possible to produce open people. Much creative behavior has its beginnings in sheer fantasy. Children and adolescents need to perceive school and home as places where imagination, brainstorming, and even daydreaming are encouraged. No idea, regardless of how fantastic it may appear, need be unworthy of consideration or subject to ridicule or reprimand. When children are accepted as basically active, responsible, and trustworthy human beings, they are given hope that they are fully capable of creative behavior. A teacher,

parent, or other "significant adult" must trust and respect each individual student as he is, regardless of behavior. A child finds it extremely difficult to trust himself or others until he knows that someone cares for and trusts him. Until he trusts himself and others, he will participate in few, if any, creative activities. Unless there is mutual trust, respect, and cooperation between teacher and students, the child cannot afford to take the risk of being creative; insecurity is too threatening.

The psychological and social climates in the classroom and in the school in general will produce conformity or facilitate creativity. If the atmosphere is basically cooperative and acceptant, rather than threatening and anxiety-producing, an openness to experience and the urge to become intellectually will be fostered. Because the dynamics of classroom climate will be discussed in a later chapter concerning the behavior of the learning self, we shall limit our consideration here to a concise presentation of the following facilitators of creative behavior as explored in the *ASCD Yearbook*.¹²⁰

1. Creative behavior is encouraged where unique differences are recognized and flexible learning experiences are available.
2. Cooperative procedures free children to learn, to become their best and most creative selves.
3. A classroom atmosphere that promotes creativity not only respects and values difference, it *encourages* difference.
4. Very closely associated with the encouragement of difference is the promotion of an atmosphere that allows communication in depth.
5. Creativity depends upon realistic problem solving, rather than meaningless static answers.
6. The atmosphere for encouraging creativity is derived from the expression of teacher attitudes that value self and others.
7. Openness and creativity are most likely to be promoted when teachers truly respect students.
8. To facilitate creativity the teacher himself must be a person who is becoming more creative and open to experience.

In short, we must allow children, adolescents, and youth the dignity and the freedom to be unique persons if creative behavior is to be facilitated and intellectual becoming is to be actualized. We must accept students as they are with unconditional positive regard and encourage them to discover and to develop their own special intellectual powers in order to find ways of behaving intelligently with self and others in solving the multitude of problems involved in giving birth to their own potentially productive lives.

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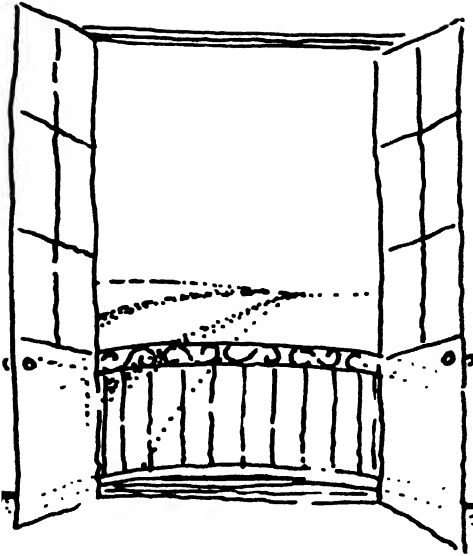
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The Learning



Life especially manifests itself in the creative grappling with situations which the world continuously puts upon us. This creative grappling considered in its continual effect on us is exactly education. Herein education is life itself. Our task as educators is to begin with life, to nurse it, to help it to grow, to help it enrich itself, always so that more of life may result in the person himself and in all whom he touches. There is no richness but life itself.

—William Heard Kilpatrick

Throughout this book, we have emphasized that man is able to direct his own evolution in living, to have a voice in determining his own destiny. This phenomenon is possible because he has developed the capacity to remember and to foresee, thus being able to accumulate experience. Knowledge, then—what we know—is the product or residue of the perception-experience process. Man's way of knowing, then, is through the phenomenon of percep-

tion, by which he becomes cognizant of his surroundings and his own uniqueness as a human life within his own world, allowing him the opportunity to solve the problem of establishing communication and understanding with others living in their unique worlds

Man's greatest personal resources are his intellectual gifts, his superior capacity for learning, reasoning, and imagining. Largely by the virtue of these resources has man been able to master so many facets of his environment. We have implied in earlier discussions that the information, assumptions, and attitudes that make up an individual's frame of reference, especially his self-concept, determine in large part what he sees and learns. What, then, is learning? What is the nature of the self as a learner? How do we develop understanding, concepts, speech, language, interests, attitudes, goals, and values? These questions are among those to be examined in this chapter concerning the learning self.

THE NATURE OF LEARNING

What is learning? Succinctly, we might say that *any change of behavior that is a result of experience and that causes people to face later situations differently may be called learning*. The learning process is fundamental in all theories purporting to explain the psychological development and changing behavior patterns of the growing child—the individual in the process of becoming. There is ample evidence that maturational processes set the limits for behavioral change and determine to a large extent the rate of learning. Another large body of knowledge has demonstrated that the child's behavior is continuously modified during the growth period in a manner that permits him to adapt himself to his natural and social environments. Because a large part of the child's adaptive behavior is directly dependent upon the particular social-cultural milieu in which he develops, this interaction between the child and his environment, as he perceives them through his accumulated experiences, is extremely important to the understanding of the dynamics of behavioral change. The results of this interaction between the child and his environment have been variously designated as conditioning, learning, problem solving, and acculturation, depending upon the theoretical perspective of the expositor.

The nature of learning has been an area of significant investigation among psychologists since the beginning of the science. Naturally numerous related concepts have been studied and a variety of theories of learning proposed. The scope of this chapter does not permit a discussion of the major approaches to learning theory, inasmuch as this book is related to developmental psychology rather than to educational psychology and learning theories. If you care to explore the intricate aspects of learning as related

to maturation, fatigue, conditioning motivation, reward, punishment, and numerous other concepts, or if you desire to examine the major learning theories as developed by Thorndike, Guthrie, Skinner, Hull, Tolman, Gestalt psychologists, Lewin, Freud, or Woodworth, you may want to consult Hilgard¹ or other basic books in this area. Our primary consideration here will be to present briefly the rudiments of learning from a phenomenological viewpoint as a background for discussing the developmental behavior of the learning self.

The "Why" of Learning

One of the essential characteristics of man is his need to make sense out of the world around him. If he cannot fit his impressions of the universe into some sense making framework, he becomes fearful and anxious in his attempts to avoid danger and make his environment a safe place in which to live. Thus, scientific research is a refined and highly developed outgrowth of man's need to explain and to understand the world around him. His earliest attempts to understand his environment were based largely upon surface phenomena—the way things appeared to him. A major project of psychologists in the history of psychology has been to explore how man learns.

The kind of learning theory preferred by most laboratory psychologists can be variously described as a stimulus-response, conditioning, or reinforcement approach to learning. Although theories based upon this approach are of considerable value to the laboratory psychologist who is interested in isolating, controlling, and studying specific kinds of responses, they are of relatively little value to the teacher because they are at the present time too limited in their scope and are not readily applicable to the learning situations in the classroom. Most of the traditional and popular theories about learning fall short of being helpful to teachers not only because they do not measure up to the practical and functional requisites of the classroom situation, but also because they ignore motivation or attempt to restrict it to rigid, unrealistic categories.

According to Lindgren,² an adequate learning theory for teachers should expand our understanding of all learning processes, extend our understanding of the factors affecting learning, enable us to make reasonably accurate predictions about the behavior of learners, be a source of ideas that will increase our effectiveness as teachers, and encourage experimentation with and understanding of the teaching-learning process. Because any theory of learning must be based upon some assumptions regarding human behavior, Lindgren offers the following as broad concepts that should underlie an adequate theory of learning: *man's attempt to become competent and effective are principally the result of learning, the learning process begins when*

man perceives new elements in his environment; and learning is a continuous, lifelong process.

Theories developed by the Gestalt psychologists and the field theorists seem to be most useful for teachers because they deal with broad concepts of behavior, utilize the background of experience the learner brings to the learning situation, and are concerned with problem-solving behavior. In this respect, the problem-solving approach to learning developed by John Dewey has had a great appeal to educators because it is based upon an analysis of the whole child in a total situation.

Because in many respects the major principles of both Gestalt psychology and field theory were forerunners of and are compatible with the phenomenological approach to learning used as a theme for this chapter, the basic concepts of these theories will be presented briefly.

Gestalt Psychology

During the same time that Pavlov was conducting his classical studies of conditioning as an approach to learning, Wolfgang Köhler,³ Kurt Koffka,⁴ G. W. Hartmann,⁵ and other psychologists were developing theories concerned with experience and perception. The inclusion of perceptual experiences in a concept of learning means that the learner approaches the learning situation with a complexity of attitudes and skills drawn from previous learning. Therefore, he has some expectations of himself and learning situations in general. Then he is in a position to initiate, terminate, and direct his own learning, within the limits imposed by his ability and experience. Instead of responding to the learning situation in terms of specific, isolated stimuli, the learner perceives it as a whole and responds to the elements that seem significant to him. In effect, the learner organizes the stimuli involved in the learning situation into some kind of pattern or whole that has some meaning for him. What the learner perceives is for him a *Gestalt*, the German word for *form* or *configuration*.

According to Gestalt psychologists, learning takes place through insight. Thus, learning that takes place through discovering similarities and relationships between two apparently unrelated events or objects depends upon insight. For example, a child trying to determine the meaning of an unfamiliar word will puzzle over it, perhaps sound it out phonetically, think of what familiar words it resembles, and try to see its relationship to other words in the sentence. In so doing, he uses his experience to test out several possibilities and tries to relate what he perceives to the larger idea embodied in the sentence. For a few minutes he makes no progress at all and may be about to give up and seek help from the teacher, when all of a sudden, he recognizes it. This then is the "Aha!" phenomenon, the flash of insight, that we have all experienced at such times.

Learning from the Gestalt viewpoint is no gradual process whereby we move closer and closer to the meaning of the unknown. Instead, there is a preliminary stage where all is confusion, and then suddenly everything makes sense. Thus learning is seen as a process whereby problems are solved through a series of discoveries—discoveries facilitated by previous experience. Hence, by such organizing and reorganizing of experience, we learn to make sense out of the world around us. The point of view of the Gestalt psychologist is one that seems to have greater value to the teacher in the classroom situation than the contributions of psychologists whose concepts of learning are limited to classical or operant conditioning. Gestalt psychology, however, does not go far enough in that it does not attempt to explain why learners develop the particular perceptions they do develop, nor does it explain why some learning situations are perceived as problems to be solved and others are not. To understand these complexities of human learning, we need to examine the basic concepts of the field theorists, an extension of Gestalt psychology.

Field Theory

Field theory, pioneered by Kurt Lewin,⁶ attempts to explain human behavior in terms of the way in which an individual responds to the forces in his environment and particularly his *social* environment of people, forces that push and pull him this way or that. The attitudes, expectations, feelings, and needs of the individual determine to a large degree the power of the forces present in his psychological field. Changes in the field produce changes in behavior. The field theorist is careful to point out that the field he refers to is the environment *as seen or perceived by the individual* (the phenomenal or perceptual field has been discussed in some detail in Chapter 2).

This distinctive aspect of learning is important to teachers and other significant adults because they sometimes make the mistake of assuming that if the psychological field has changed as far as they are concerned, it has also changed for the students under their guidance. In order to gain any understanding of a child's psychological field, adults have to develop a high level of empathy or sensitivity for the feelings and attitudes of children. If they are concerned only with their own feelings and not with those of children, they will continue to misunderstand why children behave and react as they do. Therefore, the approaches of the Gestalt psychologists and the field theorists appear to be potentially of greater value to the teacher than those of psychologists who are primarily interested in conditioning and reinforcement. Teachers are, or should be, interested in complex factors in motivation—what lies behind, stimulates, or inhibits learning behavior—a subject that also interests field theorists. Teachers are also interested in problem-solving, a subject that interests Gestalt psychologists.

Phenomenological Concepts of Learning

One of the most attractive theories of learning from the standpoint of usefulness to the teacher, and one that is generally consistent with Gestalt problem solving and the field theorists, is the current phenomenological approach developed by Arthur W. Combs and Donald Snygg.⁷ Basically, their theory emphasizes the point that each of us behaves in accordance with the way in which we view ourselves and world around us. Each individual has a private world that constitutes 'reality' for him. Combs and Snygg believe that changes in behavior (learning) are the result of changes in the way we perceive ourselves and our environment. Thus, if we are to change our behavior (learn) we must change our self-perceptions.

According to Combs and Snygg, learning is a natural and normal process for children: it is an important dimension of normal growth and development that is not dependent upon the stimulation of the teacher. Therefore, they are much concerned with the enormous amount of energy that teachers invest in *making* children learn. On this point they say: "The task of our schools . . . is not to make people grow. By their very nature they are bound to grow and the task of the schools is only to help them grow in socially desirable directions."⁸

Because of our anxious concern as teachers and parents that children fit themselves into patterns and perform tasks that are of *our* choosing, not theirs, we sometimes frustrate the main purposes of education and their learning. Such difficulties often occur when we want children to spend their time and energy preparing themselves for the adult life that lies ahead of them, whereas they can see their needs only in terms of their own and very immediate private world. As Combs and Snygg discuss this situation:

Insistence of the child on pursuing his own immediate ends sometimes arouses a great deal of indignation from his elders, who are apt to feel that the only decent way to behave is by conforming to their plans and thus ministering to their needs; but the point of view of the student is necessarily different.

As long as our schools persist in attempting to direct the child into activities which do not provide him with opportunities for immediate self-enhancement (i.e., meeting his own needs as he sees them) children will show great ingenuity in avoiding these activities. They must do so in order to concentrate on their immediate personal problems, which are the only things important to them. The traditional school has countered this refusal to deal with material that has no personal value to inventing the conventional system of marking and promotion. However, the victim of this trickery does not allow himself to be put upon. He maintains his integrity by dropping the material from his field (i.e., forgetting it) at the earliest possible moment, usually as soon as the mark has been

assured. This state of affairs often results in the pupil's disregard of the subject matter entirely except as a vehicle for gaining approval or avoiding disapproval. And what he does or how he behaves toward it will depend on whose approval he is trying to gain.⁹

Many of the difficulties teachers encounter, according to Combs and Snygg, stem from their continued attempts to feed students facts and information that have no meaning or relation to the latter's lives:

One of the primary reasons for the ineffectiveness of our formal methods of teaching is that facts exist in the phenomenal field of an individual only if they have personal meaning for him. Facts that have no relation to him or his life task do not emerge into awareness, or they cease to exist in his field as their irrelevance has been discovered.¹⁰

When students encounter material that has no personal meaning for them, they learn it with more difficulty, because such material is, as far as they are concerned, mere nonsense. Actually, such material usually does take on a kind of meaning for students, but the meaning is the kind that prevents, rather than stimulates, learning. The demand that the student

... abandon his current problems and turn to the study of the required material is pretty sure to cause him to regard that material as an obstacle to self enhancement, as something to be avoided, a negative goal. If he remembers it at all after the examination is over he remembers it with this meaning and behaves toward it accordingly. If we wish a child to like a new food we give him the opportunity to eat it when he is hungry, when it will acquire the meaning we wish it to have. We do not, if we are wise, offer it to him when it will not satisfy his need, nor do we force it upon him under circumstances which humiliate or disgust him. Some parents, it is true, do make such mistakes, but teachers should be better trained.¹¹

Combs and Snygg emphasize another relevant point in their observation that children are not able to solve problems they do not have—that is, questions or assignments that they do not perceive or experience as problems—because such problems have no relation to their everyday life or experience. Combs and Snygg have three recommendations for schools that want to facilitate learning by making use of the experience children bring to school with them: *First*, provide opportunities for students to think of themselves as responsible and contributing members of society. *Second*, students must have opportunities for success and appreciation based on positive and productive achievement. *Third*, schools must take advantage of the drive that is universal in all human beings, adults and children alike, to achieve their best potentialities and to develop efficiently and adequately.

SELF AS A LEARNER

If we could know the nature of an infant's experience as he first becomes aware of his own existence and receives impressions of happenings in the world about him, it would be a fascinating study of developmental behavior. Unfortunately, as adults we cannot see either the inner world or the outer world from an infant's point of view. Basically, what we see is heavily influenced by ways of perceiving and thinking that have developed through the years of our own experience. For many years learning was viewed from the associative viewpoint, which is based upon a mechanical association between stimulus situations and response tendencies. Although we cannot actually know the nature of a child's experiences as he grows in self-awareness, we shall concentrate upon *cognitive learning* from a perceptual point of view, which depends more upon the active use of reason, imagination, and experiential differentiation by the learner. Thus in our discussion we shall be concerned primarily with learning as a means of achieving greater personal maturity and self-direction for developing both the know-how and the know-why of the learner for living. Obviously this involves something much more complex than the mere acquisition of information or the learning of response patterns by rote.

A Perceptual View of the Self

As Will James pointed out many years ago, the newborn infant experiences the world as a "big blooming buzzing confusion."¹² He has no understanding of his environment or of where the source of discomfort lies when he cries for help. All he knows is that he is uncomfortable; he then uses the only means at his disposal—crying—to try to gain relief. As a result of maturation and learning the child gradually begins to understand (through the process of perceptual differentiation) what he sees, hears, smells, tastes, and feels. His environment begins to become meaningful to him and he begins to understand why he feels as he does upon different occasions. As a matter of primary importance, we should remember that a child reacts to situations and people in terms of his *own* perceptions and points of view, not in terms of the points of view held by adults and not necessarily in terms of the points of view of other children.

The Self

The pattern of perceptions developed by the individual as he grows from infancy to childhood and maturity is what some psychologists call the "self structure." The world appears as a confused mass of impressions to the newborn infant. He is even unaware of his physical dimensions, of where

the world begins. To illustrate, watch a baby discovering and rediscovering the important fact that his hands and feet are really a part of himself and not playthings that someone has left lying around. During the early years of childhood, the child begins to make differentiations out of the blur of impressions that are his world. Carl Rogers believes that a portion of the total perceptual field gradually becomes differentiated as the self.

According to Combs¹³ learning, remembering, and problem solving, etc., like any other behaviors, the products of the individual's perceptual field. In particular, they are the direct outgrowth of the process of differentiation, within the phenomenal (perceptual) field. He maintains that all learning of whatever variety has as its basic characteristic a progressive differentiation from a more general perceptual field. Thus, as a child learns through perceptual differentiation not only does he begin to see himself as a person somehow separate from the rest of the world and from other people, but he learns to recognize and to identify familiar faces, sounds, objects, and events. As he grows old enough to play with other children, he finds that certain things belong to them and certain things belong to him. In a way, the things that belong to him are a part of him, and when anyone tries to take them away, he both feels and behaves as though someone is trying to amputate a limb.

A child has similar feelings about the people who love and care for him. They, too, are a part of him, a psychological part of him, which is why he is disturbed when they are disturbed or why he is disconsolate if they leave him for long periods of time. As the child grows to adolescence and adulthood, he normally becomes less dependent upon other individuals and less personally attached to possessions and other things in his physical environment. Persons and things become less and less a part of him, because he has learned to differentiate between what *belongs* to him and what is physically and actually a *part* of him. Nevertheless, even a mature adult has a wide circle of persons, situations, creations, and possessions in which he has invested some of himself and in which he is personally involved. To some, they form a part of the psychological self because, as we shall see, the phenomenal or perceived self not only includes an individual's self concept, but also those aspects of the environment with which he identifies himself.

The Self-concept

Combs and Snygg¹⁴ have developed a useful method for studying the interrelationship of various aspects of the self structure. They refer to the individual's perception or view of himself as his *self concept*, the part of the environment in which he is involved or has a psychological or emotional investment as his *phenomenal self*, and the rest of the environment of which he is aware or to which he responds as his *phenomenal environment*.

Basically, the self concept is what the individual thinks of as his actual self, the part that is "really me." The perceived self *includes* not only the self-concept but also those aspects of the environment that an individual *identifies* with himself—"my family," "my school," "my friends," "my country," and so forth. Both the self concept and the perceived self are in turn included within the perceived environment or the "phenomenal field," as Combs and Snygg designate it. Other psychologists refer to it as the individual's "personal field," his "behavioral field,"¹⁵ his "psychological field," his "life space,"¹⁶ or his "private world."¹⁷ To summarize what we have been saying about the process of development, the confused blur of sensations experienced by the infant becomes differentiated during the childhood years into a private world (or self structure) consisting of himself (his self concept), the things, events, and people with which he is personally involved (his perceived self), and the world as he sees it (his perceived environment).

Perceptions and Reality

This discussion of perceptual factors related to the learning self was introduced by saying that children react to situations and people in terms of their own perceptions and points of view—as contrasted with the perceptions and points of view of adults. We must remember that the phenomenal field or private world of an individual is *reality* as far as he is concerned. We all tend to react to the world that *we* perceive, not the world as perceived by others, and the way in which we perceive it is, for us, "reality." What we perceive and the way in which we perceive it are governed by our psychological needs. This may help to explain why many of the feelings, values, attitudes, and activities of children and other people make sense to them even though the accompanying behavior observed might appear meaningless through our perceptions. Many times the behavior of children confuses us because adults are viewing the whole situation in terms of their broader experience, in terms of *their* perceived environment and not in terms of the environment as perceived by the children. Children who have problems relating to an unrealistic and incongruent self structure can be helped by skilled psychotherapists to develop and to reorganize their private worlds along more realistic lines, but any such attempts need to recognize the gap between the world as they see it and the world as viewed by adults.

Perceptions and Maturity

As children grow to maturity, their perceptions of self and environment change. In fact, we maintain that if behavior is to be changed (learning), changes in perceptions, including self perceptions, must occur. As these changes in children's perceptions take place, their behavior is modified

accordingly. Sometimes changes do not take place as rapidly as would be desirable, whereupon immaturity or maladaptive behavior may result. As much as they might like to do so, teachers or parents cannot give concepts directly to children, by insisting, for example, that they become more mature and realistic in their attitudes. Usually such direct approaches serve only to strengthen the immature attitudes that are interfering with the development of more realistic concepts and consequent behavior.

Sometimes adults, who are in a hurry and who want to get on with the business of educating children, find the resistance of children's attitudes to change a source of difficulty and annoyance. Such adults are themselves at fault in the sense that they are unable to modify *their* private worlds to accommodate the idea that children's concepts of life may be different from those of adults and that such concepts predetermine children's behavior. In fact, this tendency of adults to force certain kinds of behavior on children and to maintain *their* private worlds at the expense of the private worlds of children underlies much of the tension, irritability, and anxiety found in classrooms and homes today. This situation results in unhappiness and frustration for everyone involved: for teachers, parents, administrators, but most particularly for children.

Much of this unhappiness and frustration could be obviated if adults had a better understanding of the feelings and perceptions of children (empathy). Inasmuch as adults are more mature and actually more flexible than children, it is easier for them to understand and to make adjustments for the kinds of perceptions children have than it is for children to understand and make adjustments to adult perceptions. To reemphasize then, *the behavior of children is determined by their perceptions of themselves and of the world around them. As this perception changes, their behavior changes accordingly.* Thus, if we are to help them change behavior (learning), we must guide them into rich perceptual experiences with an understanding and empathic consideration of their phenomenal selves.

Self and Learning

According to Combs,¹⁸ the self-concept is learned. People learn who they are and what they are from the ways in which they have been treated by those who surround them in the process of their growing up; we learn about self from the mirror of other people. People discover their self-concepts from the kinds of experiences they have had with life; not from telling, but from experience. People develop feelings that they are liked, wanted, acceptable, and able from having been liked, wanted, accepted and from having been successful. One learns that he is these things not from being told so, but only through the experience of being treated as though he were

so. Thus, here is the key of people learning to become more adequate people.

How can we learn to become more adequate? As we have said, the perceptual view of human behavior holds that the behavior of an individual is a function of his ways of perceiving. That is to say, how any person behaves at a given moment is a direct expression of the way things seem to him at that moment. Thus, people do not behave according to the "facts" as they seem to an outsider. How each of us behaves at any given moment is a result of how things seem to him. What a person does, what a person learns, is thus a product of what is going on in his unique and personal field of awareness. People behave then in terms of the personal meanings (perceptions) existing for them at the moment of action.

If behavior is a function of personal meanings, then perceptions must become the center of the teaching-learning situation in order to help us learn to become more adequate in the process of becoming. If we accept Kelley's¹⁹ statement that perceptions are the stuff of growth, the basis of intelligent behavior, then personal meanings become the "stuff" of learning, the material with which we must work. As such, perceptions must take their place as a vital part of the curriculum if knowing is to be effective in the lives of students. In the past we have tended to view behavior as a problem of the forces exerted upon the individual, with teaching becoming primarily a matter of controlling these forces by telling, showing, rewarding, punishing, directing, making, arranging, manipulating, and even, when need be, forcing and coercing.

Seeing learning as a function of self-meanings calls for a quite different approach. Facts can be gathered and presented in hundreds of ways. But if learning is a matter of self meaning, this is only the beginning of the process; learning has not really occurred until some change takes place in the child's own personal and unique perceptual field. If learning is the exploration and discovery of personal meaning, we have a quite different problem, one that calls for different methods as well. Meanings lie inside people and cannot be directly manipulated and controlled. Learning occurs only when something happens inside the learner, and this is, for the most part, in his, not the teacher's control.

The classroom then must become a place where the exciting experience of exploring and discovering meaning is the central activity. If the objective of instruction becomes that of perception-building, students may become aware of, or sensitive to, the importance of meaning. In this way they learn about learning. They learn how perceptions or meanings are broadened or changed and how they are built. They learn how to learn, to become more adequate through exploring in depth their own personal meanings of self and their world.

If behavior is more directly a function of human meaning and perceiving, rather than the forces exerted upon the individual, then the methods by which people are taught and the role of the teacher in the learning process become quite different. Meanings lie inside of people and cannot be dealt with directly. It should follow that the teacher's role must not be that of a director, a maker, a manipulator, but he must be a person who assists, helps, aids, ministers to a growing, living, dynamic organism already in the process of becoming. *Teaching, then, should be a process of helping students explore and discover the personal meaning of events for them.* To do this effectively requires more than the provision of information. We must base teaching upon certain fundamental considerations for the learner and develop skills in the creation of the kinds of atmospheres that make possible exploration of meaning on the one hand and the facilitation and encouragement of the active process of discovery on the other.

Assumptions About the Self as a Learner

As a basic axiom, we have been viewing all behavior as a product of the perceptual field of the behavior at the moment of action. The adequate person is very largely determined by the ways in which he comes to perceive himself. Learning then becomes a function of having a field of perceptions rich and extensive enough to provide the individual with a meaningful understanding of self and his relationship to his world. To change behavior (learning) in this frame of reference requires that we consider certain assumptions about the learner in his perceptual field. These assumptions will be extensions of four basic principles: (1) Behaving and learning are products of perceiving. (2) Behavior exists in and can, therefore, be dealt with in the present. (3) All people everywhere have a basic drive toward health and actualization. (4) Much of a person's behavior is the result of his conception of himself.²⁰

1. Perceptions are within the individual and will not be brought out unless the climate outside is safe for them. Thus, the classroom climate must be made safe for explorations of meanings if perceptions are to be changed.
2. Because learning is the exploration and discovery of person meaning, the learning process itself must be a highly personal one concerned with the unique world of the learner himself. The learning process in a "meaning"-oriented classroom becomes that of jointly planned, as well as teacher-planned, activities, which provide each class member an opportunity to bring facts and information to bear on *his* perceptual world.

3. Even though a person's behavior is indeed a result of his past experience, how he behaves right now results from his present ways of seeing—learned from the past, to be sure, but existing in his present perceptions at this time. If, then, we can understand how a person is perceiving right now, we may be able to help him change his behavior, *even if we do not know how he got this way*. If human behavior is a function of perception and if perception exists in the present, then it should be possible to change behavior if we can change present perceptions.
4. Generations of teachers have been raised on the concept that children must somehow be made *good*—that man has to be prodded or moved into action by an external force or stimulus. The position taken here is that all of us have a basic, internal need within our inner core to grow that strains for expression and need gratification toward our own self-actualization to become fully functioning or adequate. Where once motivation was seen as a matter of stimulus response, of direction and control, this view sees man moving toward self-actualization unless growth is thwarted by need frustration; people are always motivated to become. Thus, education does not have the difficult task of directing, controlling, remaking, and molding an innately antagonistic organism. Rather, learning becomes, in this new view, a matter of working with, rather than against, the organism. Teaching consists of facilitating, helping, assisting, aiding, and encouraging an organism that seeks the same eventual aims as teachers themselves seek.
5. The phenomenological approach to behavior views man (the learner) as essentially dependable and trustworthy. His innate impulses propel him toward actualization if he is free to move. Each person is seen with a built-in desire to be the best person it is possible for him to be. Every individual has an inherent need to use his capacities in a constructive fashion, with a built-in thrust toward health, toward actualizing his abilities to *become*. The task of the schools, then, is to create conditions that are conducive to actualizing the inner core of students and minimizing the situations that inhibit or stop growth. Much of our educational practice is predicated upon a conception of human beings as static, inert. The function of the schools in this frame of reference is to make people what they are not, whereas we should be *facilitating them to become what they potentially can be*.

6. The concept of becoming calls for schools, classrooms, and teachers that see students as growing, dynamic, and creative learners. In this sense, a school is not a place where we do something to children, but a place that makes something possible, the most efficient possible growth of the individual toward self-realization. This makes the teacher not a director or coercer, but a situation provider, a facilitator of the actualization of selves. In the phenomenological sense, students will select what is good for their growth if they have a wide enough field of experiences and the opportunity to do so. Therefore, opportunities will have to be carried into every aspect of the classroom so that the curriculum comes alive as perceived by the students. This means *freedom from threats, rewards, and punishments developed to move the student toward the school's goals for him*. Instead we must have a classroom environment and a school atmosphere in which *the student feels free to have his own ideas and express himself, to explore what he basically is, and to make his own selection of the stuff of his becoming in terms of what he finds*.

A Model of the Learner

This section has explored the nature of the learning self from a phenomenological viewpoint as an introduction to a discussion of the growth of understanding within the self to follow. If you are interested, McDonald²¹ presents in detail a model of the learning organism in a recent book. Although his description differs somewhat from our presentation here, certain phenomenological overtones seem to be present. In brief, McDonald assumes in his symbolic model of the learner that (1) the learner is an information processing organism, (2) the learner is goal directed, (3) the learner utilizes information from his environment to achieve these goals -- These assumptions, according to McDonald, imply that learning experiences have certain characteristics: (1) The learning experience must be goal directed from the viewpoint of the learner. A learning experience is a way of putting the learner in a situation in which he can attain these goals. (2) The learning experience must be information providing in the sense that it provides the learner with feedback necessary for attaining goals.²¹

McDonald also makes certain assumptions about learning processes, specifically, that these processes are response systems manifested in observed behavior. He assumes the following response systems to be available in some way in each learner: (1) a motivational system, the set of responses that accounts for the goal-oriented behavior that we observe, (2) a cognitive system, a set of responses by which the learner organizes and orders stimuli

impinging on him, and by which he interrelates his conceptions of these stimuli; (3) an attitudinal system, a set of responses by which the learner evaluates the stimulus information he is continually receiving; (4) a self system, a set of responses by which the learner conceptualizes himself as a learner and evaluates himself in this respect.²⁴

According to McDonald, these response systems interact dynamically; the self system and motivational system are essentially controlling systems. They determine the degree of involvement of a learner in an educational experience. The cognitive and attitudinal systems form a sorting system, which interprets the information the learner receives from his environment. Associated with this system is a memory system, which stores information. The learner processes information from his environment and his internal systems. This information processing acts as a stimulus to evoke behavior directed to attaining a goal. The learner receives feedback, which indicates to him the extent to which he is attaining his goal.²⁵

DEVELOPMENT OF UNDERSTANDING

The type of adjustment the child makes to life, his capacity to maintain and to actualize self, is greatly influenced by his understanding of his environment, of people, and of himself. If a child does not understand people and events within his world, he will have trouble assimilating them with any degree of meaning into his perceptual field. If a child does not understand his limitations, whether they are physical, mental, emotional, or social, he will not comprehend why people treat him as they do. He may build up resentments and misunderstandings that make it difficult for him to accept self and others or be accepted by others. Furthermore, in terms of reflected self-perceptions and appraisals, he may have difficulty in increasing his chances of acceptance by others. Attitudes toward other people, toward things, and toward what is important in life are likewise dependent upon understanding.

One of the greatest values of understanding is that it enables a child to adapt to changes, both personal and environmental. Changes in body form at puberty, with their accompanying changes in behavior and interest, provide a potent illustration. The child who understands that these changes occur in a predictable pattern and who knows *why* they are taking place will react with far less fear, anxiety, or resentment than the child who does not understand. *Maturation* as a significant factor in developmental becoming provides a state of readiness to understand. Before understanding can develop, the child's brain and nervous system must develop, and the sense organs, used for perceiving, must become functionally mature. Understanding parallels mental growth. Similarly, a hierarchy of information-processing abilities (as described in the last chapter), essential to understand-

ing complex situations and behavior patterns, parallel the development of the brain's reasoning ability.

Learning, too, is essential to understanding. The child must learn how to perceive differences in things he sees, hears, smells, tastes, and feels as soon as the sensory and neural structures of his body are ready for use. Understanding begins when the child develops the ability to discriminate. As early as two weeks of age, a baby will give momentary heed to a dangling ring, indicating that he notices something different in his environment. From then on, his behavior indicates that he can discriminate differences in people and things. He will smile at the sight of people and things. He will smile at the sight of people who are familiar or familiar objects, and cry when they are unfamiliar. His understanding increases as his ability to perceive relationships between new and old situations develops. The more readily a child can associate new meanings with old experiences, the more meaningful the old experiences become and the more integrated they are, in a system of interrelated ideas.²⁶

The Components of Understanding

Mental activity resulting in an understanding of self and the world about us is a complex process. Interpreted broadly, the attainment of understanding includes sensation (the receiving of sensory impulses), perception, imagery, memory, conceptualization, judgment (discrimination), reasoning, and problem-solving. As discussed in the last chapter, a factor exerting considerable influence on the effectiveness of an individual's power of understanding is his degree of mental acuity or the intelligence he has developed. As a means of gaining a working knowledge of understanding we shall discuss percepts, concepts, and the thinking processes.

The Formation of Percepts

The sense organs often are referred to as the gateways to learning and understanding. Sensation is the first response to the stimulation of sensory nerve ends. A "pure" sensation has little meaning in the experiences of a person. In order to function for the benefit of the individual it must be identified and interpreted in an experiential framework. Only during infancy are "pure" sensations experienced; all later sensory experiences are associated with one another in the nervous system. The individual builds a sensory background, consisting of sensory discrimination (auditory, visual, olfactory, and so on) and sensory recognition (object, person, or condition). *The organization and interpretations of sensations in the light of previous experiences are known as perceptions.*²⁷

To the degree that an individual's sensory mechanisms are functioning

adequately, active interpretation based on integration continues in the cerebrum. Perception includes both the sensory function and learning. During our waking hours we constantly are responding to sensory stimuli within our phenomenal fields and experiencing perceptions. The ongoing fusing of percepts makes our experiences more meaningful. The quality and extent of an individual's perception depend upon factors such as the richness and psychosocial climate of his phenomenal field, sense organ sensitivity, kind and amount of sensory stimulation, previous experience and learning, attitudes and feelings, degree of attention to and concentration upon the details of the sensory experiences, and functioning of the integrative process. Faulty perceptions are common and may be caused by any of the preceding factors and others separately or in varying combinations.

Concepts and Understanding

Understanding is based upon concepts. Concepts are not direct sensory data; instead they result from the elaboration and combination, the tying together or linking of discrete sensory experiences. The common elements in diverse objects or situations serve to unite objects or situations into a common concept.¹⁰ Conceptualization then can be interpreted to mean that the mind is capable of forming abstract ideas (concepts) independently of concrete existence. Through the process of mental integration, percepts become mental images and result in concepts. A mackie has defined concepts as

cognitive organizing systems which serve to bring pertinent features of past experience to bear upon a present stimulus object. . . . They are selective systems which, in conjunction with attitudes, operate in the control of response. They represent the organization of experience and determine the meaning of objects. . . . They develop during the learning process, becoming more complex and, in general, more differentiated and efficient with increase in age.¹¹

Our purpose here is to present a brief resume of the nature of concepts and concept formation as a frame of reference for a subsequent discussion of the stages in the development of understanding. If you are interested in a more detailed exploration of the processes involved in concept development, both Hunlock¹⁰ and McDonald¹¹ would be helpful. We have said that through the process of cognitive integration, percepts become mental images and then concepts. An image may be defined as a "representation in the mind not perceived at the moment through the senses or a product of the reproductive imagination or memory of things seen, heard, touched, or experienced through other sensory activity, including the accompanying emotionalized attitudes."¹² In perception, certain aspects of the stimulus

may receive so much attention that others are ignored; hence, the accuracy of a mental image depends on the amount and correctness of perceived details. In turn, the quality of concepts then will be related to the adequacy of perceptions and mental imagery.

We have been implying that concepts are symbolic in that they depend upon the properties of absent situations and objects as well as upon the properties of situations and objects present at the time the response is made. Frequently concepts have an affective quality, an "emotional weighting," which becomes a part of the concept and which determines how the individual feels about the person, object, or situation of which the concept is a symbol. This emotional weighting determines, to a large extent, the type of response the person will make.³³ Thus, concepts are complex affairs that are continuously changing with experience and with the accumulation of knowledge as the self emerges in the process of becoming

Concept Formation

Concepts may relate to *objects*, to *people*, to *qualities*, or to *relationships*. Also concepts may be *definite* or *indefinite*; they are not always conscious, nor are they always verbalized.³⁴ Some concepts are well developed, some only partially developed, and some very inaccurately developed. Some concepts will develop more fully and be corrected with time, and some will never develop beyond the foundation stages laid in childhood.³⁵ Concept development is a long and difficult process. If concepts are to be accurate and if the child is to develop enough concepts to meet his needs for understanding his world, the following essential conditions, according to Hurlock, must be satisfactorily met: (1) ability to see relationships, (2) ability to comprehend underlying meanings, and (3) ability to reason.³⁶

The child's concepts are important because they determine what the child knows, what he believes and, to a large extent, what he does. Furthermore, the accuracy or inaccuracy of his concepts affects his understanding. The more concepts a child has, the better developed they are, and the more accurate they are, the greater his understanding will be. Russell has indicated children often "show clear understanding of a concept but inability to verbalize it."³⁷ Concepts develop rapidly because of the child's curiosity about the world in which he lives. Estimates indicate that before children enter school they have a store of several hundred concepts. These are simple, for the most part, and many are partially or totally inaccurate. By adolescence, the child has built up a storehouse of several thousand concepts. Furthermore he has added new meanings to old concepts and corrected many of his inaccuracies. Because of their limited knowledge and experience, children cannot perceive an object or situation in the same way that an adult can, even though their sense organs are equally well developed.

As Russell has stated, this means that children's concepts are often developed slowly "out of percepts, memories, and images, and their development is aided greatly by language or other symbols."³⁸

Because children are subjected to different influences, all children of the same age and level of development will not have the same concepts. Of the many factors that influence concept development, the following, according to Hurlock,³⁹ are the most significant. (1) condition of the sense organs, (2) intelligence, (3) opportunities for learning, (4) type of experience, (5) amount of guidance, (6) type of mass media, (7) sex of the person, and (8) personality. Concepts that may seem "illogical" to an adult are not so from the point of view of a child, whose experiences are different and whose knowledge is more limited. To understand children's concepts and to know how children themselves, their world, and their relationship to it, we must recognize some of the outstanding characteristics of children's concepts. Hurlock emphasizes that children's concepts are (1) personalized, (2) hierarchical, (3) developmental from undefined to specific, (4) developmental from specific to general, (5) cumulative, (6) emotionally weighted, (7) sometimes resistant to change, and (8) very influential in relation to behavior and types of adjustment to life, both personal and social.

Cognition, Thinking, and Understanding

Earlier we noted that the components of understanding included not only sensation, perception, and conceptualization but also multiple facets of the cognitive and thinking processes. According to McDonald, "*The cognitive processes are those processes by which man organizes and interrelates the data of experience*"⁴⁰ Thus, we may view the learner as an information-processing organism; he sorts and interprets sensory inputs. The cognitive processes are the responses he makes to sort and to interpret this input. McDonald notes that various kinds of behavior are associated with these processes: (1) *classifying behavior*—concept formation; (2) *interpreting behavior*—the making of generalizations (interrelations among concepts) and application of critical thinking; (3) *associative thinking*—storing of information as means of interpreting experiences.⁴¹ These cognitive processes are integral to man's personality and his developing self. We should recognize that they are dynamic processes influencing the behavior we observe among human beings.

Thinking involves the ideation or mental manipulation of images or concepts. To think is to form by the mental process or to examine mentally. When we are thinking we are manipulating ideas (thoughts), emerging as a result of previous sensory experiences (percepts) that have been identified, interpreted, and remembered. Cognition, the act or power of apprehending or knowing, is closely allied to thinking. The thinking processes include

perception, imagery, conceptualization, the utilization of language symbols, and subvocal speech. Awareness of stimuli present to the senses and memory of past experience are involved in the thought processes which are aimed at a goal that may be clear and specific or relatively indefinite and vague within the individual's phenomenal field.

Levels of Thinking

All attributes of thinking potentially contribute to the development of understanding in the emerging self. If we interpret the term *problem* broadly, all thinking includes some aspects of problem-solving. Basically, differences in thinking depend upon the nature of the problem situation, the end in view, and the approach utilized. According to Crow and Crow⁴² the levels of thinking are *revere* or *daydreaming*, *aesthetic appreciation*, *acquiring of information*, *reflective thinking*, and *creative thinking*. Although these have the common factor, problem-solving, as it contributes to the development of understanding, the goal to be attained differs with the level.

In *revere* or *daydreaming*, we are motivated by interest and association to leave the world of reality temporarily for that of fantasy. Ideas are permitted to succeed one another in a pleasing sequence with little or no conscious control of their practical significance. *Aesthetic appreciation* is the emotionalized channelling of mental responses in the direction of an evaluation or appraisal of beauty in one form or another. We lose ourselves in the appreciative absorption of nature's phenomena or in an emotionally satisfying production of man's art. The end result is the enjoyment to be derived from the stimulus situation as it affects the self. The thought processes involved in *acquiring information* are pointed toward a definite and specific purpose. The individual becomes aware of his need for certain information. He engages in mental activity aimed at seeking, assimilating, and recalling new facts or experiences that have extrinsic or intrinsic value.

The most complex and difficult level of thinking is reflective or creative. In reflective thinking, usually designated as *reasoning* or *problem solving*, the thinking activity is set into motion by the need to solve a difficulty. The thinking process of collecting and manipulating relevant experiences, which is continued until a solution is found, is called *inductive reasoning*. When the thinking process attempts to discover the extent to which a general principle applies to particular phenomena or instances it is called *deductive reasoning*. Creative thinking differs from reflective thinking in that, when one is creating mentally, experiences are projected toward the formation of new ideas or concepts.

According to Crow and Crow, the stages of creative thinking include (1) a period of *preparation* during which the various aspects of the situation

are investigated and preparatory materials organized, (2) the period of *incubation*, varying in length, during which vague ideas are taking form, and (3) a more or less sudden *insight* or *illumination*.¹³ As might be expected, however, all constructive thinking utilizes the same mental processes—experience, association, and expression. With the preceding brief discussion of the components of understanding as a frame of reference, we shall turn our attention to the stages in the development of understanding. In addition to the aspects of sensation, perception, and thinking processes as they relate to understanding, we should also include the multiple facets of the intellectual self as discussed in the previous chapter.

Stages in the Development of Understanding

The development of understanding does not proceed in an orderly fashion, beginning with sensation and then continuing, with growing maturity, step by step, along a progressive pattern of perception and imagery, followed by conceptualization, and ending with problem solving and creative thinking. Although sensation is basic to the other steps in developing understanding, all the elements of thinking are present from an early age, and are built upon one another. Now we shall trace the developmental stages in the thinking process as it progresses in the normally intelligent child, cautioning you, however, to remember that the thinking patterns of individual children differ considerably depending upon the adequacy or inadequacy of their phenomenal fields and their cognitive potentialities.

The Early Years. Normally, an infant possesses all his sense organs at birth. He responds to light during the first few weeks of life, turning his eyes toward the light and becoming disturbed by a strong light. The extent of his hearing is not known precisely, although loud sounds may elicit changes in respiration and body movements. The taste of sweet solutions seems to be liked and that of salty solutions rejected. The young baby also appears to be sensitive to pain and pressure, hunger and thirst, and heat and cold. His responses to pleasant and unpleasant stimuli at first are diffuse, involving body movements, facial changes, smiling and crying. Later, he seems to be able to differentiate among his sensations and his reactions become more localized and definite.

The Formation of Percepts. Although the child's first sensations are no more than awareness, he gradually comes to associate meaning with things and people in his phenomenal field as he begins to form percepts. He relates percepts, which usually are of general outlines and often inaccurate, with other percepts. Also he makes simple judgments concerning them, especially in relation to himself. As early as the age of six months the baby shows some signs of self-awareness. He seems to recognize himself in relevance to those who care for his needs; he turns away from strangers. By the end of

the first year he looks for and perhaps tries to retrieve a toy or a spoon that he has dropped.

Memory is short, however, during this early period of life, rarely covering more than a period of one month. The child gradually comes to understand and to remember that some things can be eaten, although at first anything that is small enough goes into the mouth until he learns that some obviously enticing bits of matter are not for eating. In a similar way he discovers that some moving objects that attract his attention can be played with, such as a ball or his father's moving foot, and that others are not to be handled. Until the child is able to talk, the simple reasoning about himself and the elements of his environment shows itself in his behavior toward them.

Children gradually become able to interpret their sensory experiences so as to recognize subtle likenesses and differences in form, size, and color of objects. Form discrimination, beginning in the first six months, is aided, as the child grows older, through experiences with forms of different sizes and shapes. During the first two years, *form* rather than *color* is the basis of discrimination. From then until about the age of four-and-a-half years, color as a key to discrimination appears to predominate. From that age onward, discrimination is likely to be by form rather than by color. *Intensity* of form or color, however, is an important factor of choice.

Perception of gross size begins during the first year of life. Fine discrimination in size is acquired gradually and is more likely to occur if the objects compared have the same form. Some young children give evidence of good discrimination between objects in relation to form, color, and size.⁴⁴ Perception of position and spatial relationships is a learned activity and begins with general percepts. During the first year the baby learns the meaning of *up*; if he is in his crib and wants to leave it, he will raise his arms and say "up" or "baby up." The meaning of *down* comes later. The terms *nearer* and *farther* probably are not understood until about the age of four years. The two-year-old child, if asked where he sleeps, usually answers *at home*. The answers *in my bed* and *in the bedroom* come later. Relative positions such as *over* and *under* or *before* and *behind* at first are general but, during the period from the third year to the fifth year, are qualified to become *way up* or *way down*, *nearer* or *farther*, and the like. During the third year when the total vocabulary is increasing, children appear to begin perceiving and using words to describe an increased number of space relations.

By the time a child reaches his sixth year, he has learned to perceive short distances, and has become more precise in his use of the words *back*, *from*, and *over*. He can distinguish between quick and slow motion, and can recognize objects in relation to other objects and to himself. He also acquires greater skills in matching forms and distinguishing between two lines of different length or two objects of different weight. As they develop acuity in their perceptions of forms, many children become adept at putting to-

gether the parts of simple—sometimes relatively complex—picture puzzles, block formations, or building sets.

THE FORMATION OF CONCEPTS

The young child's concepts of form, size, and space are abstractions that are built upon his experiences with real objects. At first, because he tends to ignore the details of perceptions or meaningful sensations, his concepts develop as generalities, and he fails to discriminate among details. For example, my adult who cares for the child's needs in the absence of his parents may be Mom or Daddy; my furry animal is a doggie or a bunny. During his later preschool years, the child's widening experience with different people or things, his improving memory, and his increased facility with language usage help him develop more accurate concepts of the elements of his environment. Adults, however, often make the mistake of assuming that the child's concept of an object or condition is similar to theirs.

The child's first concepts of distance are limited to his immediate environment; hence, places remote from his home have no meaning. Only gradually does he learn to find his way if he leaves his house or the block on which he lives. The six-year-old usually must be accompanied many times by an older person on his trips to and from school, even though the building is in close proximity to his home street. Time measures are conceived in relation to home experiences. Not until he is introduced in school to the use of the ruler does he have any definite conception of the length of an inch, foot, or yard. To obtain a clear understanding of the length of a mile is almost impossible for a child, and difficult even for some adults. Although the verbalization of "so many city blocks to a mile" may seem to help, it does not necessarily produce a completely accurate concept.

Orientation in time is difficult for the young child.¹ Because he lives in the present, the concepts of yesterday and tomorrow are vague terms until he is at least three years old. Before that age he may have gained some understanding of *now*, *before now*, and *after now*, usually in relation to sleep. Even then he verbalizes the terms *yesterday*, *today*, and *tomorrow*. Yesterday came before he went to sleep, and tomorrow is when he awakens from any sleeping period, regardless of whether it is an afternoon nap or a night's sleep. The six-year-old may not be able to name the days of the week, except as certain days are associated with special events, such as going to Sunday School on Sunday. By his seventh year he knows what a month is, but he cannot name the months of the year until he is eight. The child also finds it difficult to learn to tell time, and he needs much practice in this area. The child may not be able to comprehend large time units until he is twelve or older. To the average young child, a *minute* is no longer than a moment.

Number concepts also are difficult for the child to master, although he seems to gain an understanding of *bigness*, *littleness*, *muchness*, and *moreness*, fairly early. When he begins to use words, he is likely to say "more" if he has finished eating food he likes. Also he may stretch his arms upward, saying "so big"; the concept of exact number comes later. Normally, the two-year-old can distinguish between *one* and *more* or *many*. The number *two* has meaning to the three-year-old. He gradually learns to count objects, but this is done at first by naming them, as one, two, three, four, and so on. Before they enter school, some children are taught by their elders to count to twenty or higher, but this usually is merely verbalization without much meaning.

Progress in concept formation for the child is the process of gaining a clearer picture of earlier concepts, thereby adding depth and extent to their meanings. We should remember that many abstractions that are relatively meaningful to adults are beyond the child's capacity of understanding. Preschool children have difficulty with terms such as *God* and *death*. The child of religious parents is likely to be told by them that God is everywhere and that he rewards a good child and punishes a naughty one. The idea of being everywhere is beyond the child's thinking, because his understanding still is limited to the concrete, knowing that his parents, his friends, and he himself can be in only one place at a time. The rewarding and punishing aspect causes the child to confuse God with his father, or, if he has seen pictures of God as having a long, white beard, to identify him with Santa Claus. Also, death as a final departure from the family or social circle is difficult for the child to understand. He is likely to think that a person who has died has gone away for a time, but will return eventually. Usually, only when a beloved member of the immediate family dies does the child come to realize that death means an irreparable loss.

Beginning at about six months of age, a child gradually increases in self-awareness. The baby gives evidence of the concept of himself as an individual. He enjoys looking at himself and seems to derive pleasure from playing with his toes or other parts of his body. When he begins to vocalize intelligibly, he is likely to refer to himself as "nice baby." By the age of three years he has learned, with proper motivation, to identify parts of his body, know whether he is a boy or a girl, and know his first and last name. The four-year-old is likely to know much about himself and to be interested in his appearance. The developing child frequently views himself as two different selves—the objective and the subjective. He knows that the features of his body—height, color of hair, and facial contours—are more or less different from those of other children or adults. He is also aware of his inner self—his thoughts, attitudes, and feelings. His concept of the inner self cannot be perceived except through his behavior. Sometimes the child's recognition of these two sides of self may continue to cause him to be confused.

In this personalized process of becoming a self, he wonders who and what he really is. Detailed discussions of the development of the self-concept and the search for self-identity in the process of becoming will be presented in subsequent chapters.

Growth in Reasoning and Problem-Solving. The young child's lack of experience causes his reasoning or attempts at solving a problem to seem to the adult to be erroneous or even far-fetched. Early in life the child gains some idea of cause-and-result relationships. He discovers that to touch or handle some objects or to throw things on the floor receives adult disapproval. Hence he associates parental frowns, the slapping of his hands, or other forms of punishment with his engaging in this or that "wrong" action. The child becomes confused, however, if certain acts that seem to him no different from others he performs are greeted with smiles of approbation, whereas others receive disapproval. Especially bewildering is parental inconsistency; at one time a certain form of behavior is punished, but at another time it is disregarded or even approved. Another deterrent to a child's building definite cause-and-effect relationships is fostered by difference in attitudes between his parents. For example, his father may ignore or actually encourage behavior of which his mother disapproves. Hence, he learns that cause and effect vary with people, and as he grows older he may learn to play parent against parent. Thereby, he is gaining skill in reasoning that will serve his immediate purposes. This developed behavioral attitude may continue to color the child's thinking and problem-solving well beyond childhood.

The child's mental processes function much in the same way as do adults' problem-solving activities. Because of his immaturity, however, he often cannot comprehend all the implications of the raw mental materials he is attempting to manipulate; he does not recognize the significant inferences inherent in the problem. Inadequacy in understanding of the problem causes him to evolve erroneous conclusions. Too often, unfortunately, adults, not realizing the child's normal inadequacies, conclude that a child is mentally retarded, stupid, or uninterested.

Increasing Maturity and Development of Understanding. Between the ages of seven and eleven, the child begins to engage in logical thinking. Although he is still somewhat self-centered, he is able to get outside himself and recognize cause-and-effect relationships in the world about him. Natural phenomena take on added meaning. For instance, the seasons of the year become real concepts, representing weather and temperature changes. Yet the seasons may be identified more definitely in light of personal interests: summer means vacation from school, play, and trips from home; winter brings Christmas gifts and fun. Boys, especially, tend to associate the seasons with different kinds of sports. Many childish evaluations of things and conditions continue through much of some people's adult experiences.

During later childhood and early adolescence, the young person is likely to be extremely curious about his world. He is intrigued by all the different people and things that stimulate his senses. He wants to experiment and, through his experiences, build new and satisfying concepts. As such, he looks for cause-and-effect relationships and enjoys solving problems that arise in his daily life. Previous experiences, however, still tend to affect the accuracy of his conclusions. The elementary school child gains much satisfaction from comparing his thoughts and feelings with those of his peer-age associates. Although he may ask adults many questions concerning matters that are not clear to him, he seems to believe that other children of his own age are more understanding than are most adults. He may be fearful of adults' laughter when he expresses an opinion that to him is very serious but to them may be amusing. Because he no longer perceives himself as a baby, he wants his ideas to be accorded the respect he thinks they deserve.

As we have implied throughout the chapter, the accuracy and richness of an older child's percepts, concepts, and understanding are dependent in good measure upon the kind of experiential stimulations he received in his earlier years as well as the opportunities for the development of his mental acuity. A child with adequate cognitive potentialities reared in a home where, from earliest childhood, he has experienced many different and stimulating situations and has been encouraged to think and make simple decisions under adults' guidance can be expected to develop good habits of thinking that will serve him well throughout his life. This section describing briefly the developmental stages of concept formation concludes our discussion of the dynamics of understanding as a part of the self in becoming. The next section will explore the multiple aspects of communication as integral and significant dimensions within the learning self as understanding continues to grow.

COMMUNICATION AND THE LEARNING SELF

Communication is a major aspect of human behavior. Except for the physical closeness of a parent and infant or of two adults in love, people probably get closer psychologically to each other through language than they do in any other way. In his efforts to understand children and to help them learn, the teacher must therefore be continually alert to their attempts, both spoken and unspoken, to communicate. Effective communication with one's fellows is fundamental to successful participation in life activities. From earliest childhood, the individual possesses the urge to respond by one or another form of expressive behavior to self-stimulating elements of his phenomenal field. Responses may take the form of body movement, gesture, grimace, or spoken language. The felt need to give expression to

one's wants and interests is innate. The ability to communicate with others through the utilization of the spoken or written word is learned. Baldridge seems to point up the essence of communication for the learning self in saying that speech is

. . . a kind of behavior which helps to form the world of the child; to transform him from an egocentric to a social being; to make assumptions for him; to set up conventions to guide and control him; to inform him; to instill in him thoughts, feelings and attitudes; to make him feel secure and insecure—all these effects and many more may be brought about in the child through the use of words.⁴⁵

The Nature of Communication

One of the most crucial and difficult problems of human life is communication between people. Basically, this is the process by which one human being can, to a degree, know what another thinks, feels, or believes. Communication is the means by which an individual's need for others can be satisfied; it is the source of all growth except body building, and the key to human relatedness. The perceptive stuff of growth, as we shall see, which controls attitude, knowledge, and behavior is acquired through communication. By communication, the basic loneliness of the self can at least to a degree be overcome and the hunger for others may be assuaged.⁴⁶

Man, the talking animal, exerts his most powerful influence upon his fellow beings through the use of symbols, particularly through words and gestures compounded into language systems. Symbolic interaction is the basis of human communication and the intricate network of understandings that both results in and is derived from group behavior. Collective life of any kind requires communication; both to build and to maintain the society and the self, human beings must communicate. To examine and to share the *what*, the *why*, the *how*, the *ends*, and the *means* of individual and group behavior we must communicate effectively. Through communicative acts we develop *consensus, the shared perspectives toward decisions, values, beliefs, sentiments, or definitions of situations among persons engaged in joint action*.⁴⁷ This consensus contributes to the predictability and the understanding of the behavior of others. As a result, there is greater freedom for the individual to grow in self-understanding through his interaction with people as he engages in symbolic relatedness.

The scope of this writing does not permit a detailed examination of the theoretical considerations in the process of communication. Our purpose is to offer a basic definition of communication as a framework for discussing language as a vehicle of communication in the developmental growth of the symbolic, learning self. If interested in the theories and models of com-

munication, you should consult Berlo,⁴⁸ Lundberg,⁴⁹ or Schramm.⁵⁰ According to Lundberg, communication is

. . . the process through which a set of meanings embodied in a message is conveyed to a person or persons in such a way that the meanings received are equivalent to those which the initiator(s) of the message intended.⁵¹

In describing a communication model, Berlo⁵² indicates that all human communication has some *source*, some person or group of persons with a purpose, a reason for engaging in communication. Given a source, with ideas, needs, intentions, information, and a purpose for communicating, a second ingredient is necessary. The purpose of the source has to be expressed in the form of a *message*. In human communication, a message is behavior available in physical form, the translation of ideas, purposes, and intentions into a code, a systematic set of symbols. How, then, are the source's purposes translated into a code, a language? This requires a third communication ingredient, an *encoder*. The communication encoder is responsible for taking the ideas of the source and putting them in a code, expressing the source's purpose in the form of a message. In person-to-person communication, the encoding function is performed by the motor skills of the source, his vocal mechanisms (oral word), the muscle systems in the hand (written word), the muscle systems elsewhere (gestures).

We now have a communication source with purpose and an encoder who translates or expresses this purpose in the form of a message. Now we are ready for a fourth ingredient, the *channel*, a medium or carrier of messages. Thus far, we have introduced a communication *source*, an *encoder*, a *message*, and a *channel*; but if we stop here, no communication has taken place. For communication to occur, there must be somebody at the other end of the channel. If we have a purpose, encode a message, and put it into one or another channel, we have done only part of the job. When we talk, someone must listen; when we write, somebody must read. The person or persons at the other end can be called the communication *receiver*, the target of communication.

Communication sources and receivers must be similar systems. If they are not similar, communication cannot occur. The source and the receiver may be the same person; as such, the source may communicate with himself; he listens to what he says, he reads what he writes, he thinks. Psychologically, the source intends to produce a stimulus within the phenomenal field of a receiver. The receiver responds to that stimulus if communication occurs; if he does not respond, communication has not occurred. We now have all the basic communication ingredients except one. Just as a source needs an

encoder to translate his purposes into a message, to express, purpose in a code, the receiver needs a *decoder* to retranslate, to decode the message and put it into a form that the receiver can use. Just as the encoder was a set of motor skills of the source, we can view the decoder as the set of sensory skills of the receiver. If decoding then depends upon sensory skills, we must then look quickly at the perceptual aspects of communication because perception involves the interpretation of the sensations within our experiential world.

Communication and Common Perceptions

We have noted that if communication is to occur, communication sources and receivers must be similar systems. Thus communication is not so easy as has been assumed. Even if we are to communicate with ourselves, we must have somewhat congruent selves as described earlier. Because of the nature of perception, no two individuals can have precisely the same perception or make the same use of it. Thus, we really have no given common world with any other being, but only the possibility of achieving one to a degree through improved attempts at communication. Although we do not have common perceptual fields, we may have powerful social needs, effective cognitive potentialities, and common languages and cultures to aid us in the difficult process of communication. Combs and Snygg⁵³ view communication as essentially the process of acquiring greater understanding of another's perceptual field.

One of the most potent difficulties of communication is the need that we have to build invisible barriers between ourselves and others and their perceptual fields. Because the individual's primary objective is self-enhancement, an automatic concomitant of enhancement is defense. We place value judgments upon what we perceive in terms of enhancement or threat. If we are to enhance ourselves, part of the process involves concealing our recognized weak spots through hiding our inner selves from those out front. Some persons have built their barriers so thick and high that they are all defense. Words and other attempts at communication bounce off such human exteriors, and these individuals are deprived of the perceptive stuff of growth—meaningful experiences with people.

Although these psychological barriers are somewhat automatic and inescapable, they can be reduced by experiences that generate confidence in other human beings. People who feel the least need for the protection of barriers can enhance themselves the most. They are the ones who can best take advantage of the rich possibilities for growth through human communication—the acquisition of a greater understanding of their own perceptual field in relation to the perceptual fields of other people.

LANGUAGE DEVELOPMENT

There is research evidence to indicate that the average American spends about 70 per cent of his active hours communicating verbally, listening, speaking, reading, writing, in that order. In other words, each of us spends about ten or eleven hours a day, every day, performing verbal communication behaviors. Although language is only one of the codes we use to express our ideas, we can visualize the tremendous impact that language development has upon the emerging self in expanding the world of experience.

Because language is the basis of communication among human beings, it is the most valuable actualizing mechanism that man possesses. With language man acquires the prevailing culture of the society into which he is born; without it he remains alone and ignorant of his heritage. Language is the key to his participation in social life, a vehicle for self-realization, expression, and communication, and an instrument for the organization of his mental processes. To a remarkable extent, language makes us human. The scope of language encompasses every means of communication in which thoughts and feelings are symbolized, including speaking, writing, reading, art, facial expressions, and gestures. The word *language* commonly carries the strong connotation of "the spoken word." The act of speaking involves complex muscular coordination that depends upon the maturational process, as does every phase of child development.

Although the processes of speech development are virtually the same for children all over the world, the rates vary according to each child's intelligence, maturity, physical stature, motor development, sex differences (girls tend to vocalize earlier than boys under similar conditions), environmental and cultural influences, emotional well-being, and motivation. The achievement of skill in language follows a generally continuous pattern of development. According to Crow and Crow,⁵¹ the sequential steps of progress can be classified roughly as (1) feeble gestures and reflex sounds, (2) babbling, (3) use of a simple spoken vocabulary, (4) relatively meaningful one-word sentences, (5) combination of words into thought units, at first oral and later written, (6) development of skill in reading, and (7) improved mastery of all tools of communication.

Prespeech Communication

Actually an individual's language begins when someone understands and responds to his efforts to communicate his wants. For example, the infant whose mother feeds him as soon as she observes him stroking his tongue back and forth between his lips has developed a language. He has not developed speech, however, which has its beginning in some form of vocali-

zation. Normally crying is considered the commonest and the earliest form of communication. Before a young child can give vent to his feelings through intelligible speech, he tends to use body movements and gestures to make his wants known.

Sometime between the second and fourth month the infant engages in spontaneous cooing, makes sucking, smacking, and gasping sounds, and generally experiments with vowels which are the earliest noncrying speech sounds. By the time the child is eight or nine months of age, he is able to make a variety of babbling sounds combining vowels and consonants in repetition. From this babbling stage the infant learns to produce sounds similar to those heard in his environment. As he interacts with people in his world, the infant, through imitation and awareness, learns that he can control his environment by the use of language.

Oral Language

During the child's first year, cooings gradually give way to or are accompanied by simple vocalizations that become increasingly intelligible. These are accomplished in relative sequence by greater understanding of gestures and commands, and by one word and then two or more word sentences. There have been a number of studies of language development that attempted to trace linguistic progress from infancy through four or five years of life. The intent of this section is to discuss briefly the major facets of oral language, particularly vocabulary development. If you are interested in a review of the most significant research studies of speech development, consult Garrison¹ or Hurlock.²

Vocabulary Development. Theoretically, the development of speech involves the building of both a passive vocabulary and an active vocabulary, the formation of sentences, and pronunciation. Both the infants and the two-year-olds' comprehension of words (passive vocabulary) far exceeds his ability to use them. The development of this understanding vocabulary depends first upon the child's mental maturation and second upon the amount of language he hears. Because sounds and words are largely undifferentiated at the early stages, the child builds his understanding primarily through his reactions to tones of voice and through his understanding of gestures. Normally, the eighteen-month-old child, by using gestures and some vocalizations, is able to communicate his needs and desires to other members of the family. Long before he enters school he is able to understand commands and directions given by people other than those in his family; also, he understands stories that are told or read to him.

As is compatible with the principles of growth and maturation, the ability to develop a new skill such as language generates the desire to do so, al

though sometimes the necessity of other developmental tasks interferes temporarily. For this reason, language development suffers a series of lulls, the major one occurring when the child is learning to walk. Garrison⁵⁷ reports studies showing the sequential development of vocabulary sizes by ages, if you are interested. Throughout the preschool years, the child's interest in language vacillates as other new motor skills are acquired; however, the acquisition of vocabulary progresses with extreme rapidity when children do become interested in talking.

The language of the small child is largely a matter of naming and labeling, because he is verbalizing his percepts and attaching labels to his activities in order to retain them. The preschool child learns the names of objects first, and his speech patterns contain a greater number of nouns and verbs. Pronouns, particularly *me* and *my*, begin to appear frequently with the development of an increased awareness of self. Davis⁵⁸ found that by the age of four, children seem to have acquired the commonly used pronouns, prepositions, and conjunctions, and that after the age of five-and-one-half years, nouns and verbs represented over 70 per cent of the different words used. As the child enters school, where he must master new ideas in this setting and in his ever-expanding perceptual field, obviously the number of nouns and other words increase. During the elementary-school years, the child's oral language capacity develops at a fairly even, although rapid, pace. Usually the first-grade child possesses a greater vocabulary than is required by basal reading books.

Children's Conversation. Although the kinds of words used by children may be of interest, the question of why the child uses language is more significant to an understanding of the dynamics of child behavior. Piaget, who was primarily interested in studying thought processes, divided the conversation of children into two classifications, egocentric speech and socialized speech. In egocentric speech, according to Piaget, the child "does not bother to know to whom he is speaking nor whether he is being listened to. He talks either for himself or for the pleasure of associating anyone who happens to be there with the activity of the moment. . . . [He] does not attempt to place himself at the point of view of his hearer. Anyone who happens to be there will serve as an audience."⁵⁹ Thus, the child's speech is related to his own actions and thoughts, but he is not actually speaking to anyone, merely talking in the presence of others. This kind of egocentricity is a product of the child's intellectual limitations; egocentric speech aids the development of his thinking.

Socialized speech, which is an aid to a child's social adjustments, is subdivided into (1) *adapted information*, involving an exchange of thought or ideas; (2) *criticism* of the behavior or work of others, directed to an audience; (3) *commands, requests, and threats*; (4) *questions*; and (5) *answers*.

During this stage of a child's speech development, Piaget says, "the child speaks from the point of view of his audience. The function of language is no longer merely to excite the speaker to action, but actually to communicate his thoughts to other people."⁶⁰ Basing his observations on the spontaneous expressions of children, Piaget noted that socialized speech sounds predominated between ages five and six. Vigotsky,⁶¹ although agreeing that much of the three-year-old child's speech is egocentric in structure, maintained that it is social in general function. His research indicated that by the age of seven, the child's speech was clearly social both in structure and function. Obviously, the age of progressing from egocentric speech to socialized speech will vary. Among other factors, personality plays a dominant role; an egocentric self-concept, for instance, will require more time for necessary interest in others to begin operation. Also, the number of opportunities a child has to share experiences with both children and adults and how he perceives these experiences will determine his degree of social maturity.

Development of Other Language Skills

Basically, communication involves the utilization of four vocabularies: listening, speaking, reading, and writing. The various aspects of language development do not progress in isolation. As the child acquires skill in oral expression, he also is learning to become an effective listener, begins to read simple written or printed material, and later starts to gain mastery of written expression. Although there is a close relationship between intelligence and language development, maturation, experience, and self factors play important and influential roles in the child's acquisition of language.

To acquire an understanding of oral language necessitates the development of the power to listen intelligently to the spoken word and to put meaning into each word heard. The acquisition of listening skill progresses gradually and depends upon maturation, training, self-perceptions, and motivation. The attainment of skill in reading is closely associated with the development of adequate understanding and use of spoken language. Although reading is commonly regarded as the ability to obtain ideas from the printed page, a better description of reading might be the capacity of an individual to put meaning into symbols to which he responds visually in much the same way as he has learned to give thought to language symbols to which he responds through hearing. As with the gaining of skill in oral language, the development of reading skill depends upon maturational progress, environmental stimulation, and positive self-perceptions of the reading process. The prime factor of written language is, of course, the

ability to present ideas that are worthy of putting into written form. In order to express one's thoughts clearly, succinctly, and intelligibly, skills are needed in grammatical construction and punctuation, in correct spelling, and in legible penmanship.

THINKING—OUR INNER-SELF LANGUAGE

Thinking, that is, communication within ourselves, is a language that is closely interrelated with oral and visual language. As the child matures and acquires language skills, his dependence upon nonverbal clues decreases, with a corresponding increase in his dependence upon language. Thereafter, language becomes the child's chief vehicle for thinking and reasoning. By means of language a child increases his understanding of things and people not in his immediate environment, to retrospect into the past and to peer into the future. Through language, he is able to transcend both time and space in his search for meanings and relationships, to group together ideas that have some similarities, and to develop concepts. As such, thinking and reasoning, along with a self-awareness, self-deception, and socialized speech, develop gradually from a feeble beginning in infancy.

According to Piaget,⁶² whose theories were discussed in the previous chapter, the child does not begin to grow conscious of his reasoning activities until after the age of seven or eight; nonetheless, the child's intellectual development serves at a relatively early stage to give him a better understanding of himself and his world. Piaget⁶³ describes three stages of development as (1) sensorimotor activity; (2) egocentric thought and language; and (3) rational thought. During the first period, the infant explores his world and comes to deal with it as something apart from his self. He discovers that symbols are closely related to the objects and happenings in his world and gradually learns that there are others to whom he must adjust. Language during this period is classified by Piaget as egocentric, since the child's world is still interpreted largely in terms of self. In the second stage, the child's speech includes the elements of egocentricity discussed earlier. According to Piaget, the child is capable of rational thought during the third stage, emerging between the seventh and eleventh years.

We have viewed thinking as an inner language of the self and its developmental relationship to language. Thus, language is not only our chief means of understanding objects and people that are not in our immediate phenomenal field, but also our chief vehicle for thinking and reasoning. The development of our cognitive powers of reasoning is directly a function of our language abilities. As such, the factors that have either direct or indirect influence upon the one form of language will have a comparable effect upon the other including thinking, our inner language. Thus, as the child matures

and progresses in his acquisition of oral and then visual language, he makes greater use of inner language to explore and to understand self and its phenomenal field as he learns more effectively to deal with maintenance and actualization needs in the process of becoming.

LEARNING A POSITIVE SELF

In a chapter concerning the dynamics of the learning self, it would seem quite appropriate to explore briefly the positive view of self because of its tremendous significance for the multiple aspects of the learning processes. According to major assumptions of phenomenological literature concerning the actualization of the self, adequate people seem to be individuals who view change and adjustment to circumstances as opportunities for renewing and revitalizing their sense of adequacy. Their positive view of self has been achieved through an accumulation of success experiences and an attitude toward problems as challenges to a strong self, rather than as threats to a restricted self they cannot trust. From the phenomenological view of behavior, the *sense of self is learned*, thus, a *positive self is teachable*.

People who have developed some degree of self-actualization have positive views of self. They tend to see themselves as liked, wanted, worthy, and "able to do." Adequate persons, feeling able, can more effectively assess their strengths and weaknesses, act on their needs for self-improvement; handle their feelings constructively, initiate change as well as accept change, assess situations and design approaches to them; revise their values and establish new value-goals; cope with problems inventively as well as realistically; stockpile successes as guides to future self direction; accept and set reasonable, realistic situational limits; keep growing steadily in their desired or chosen ways, reach out and up for peak experiences in the process of being-in-becoming. If a positive self is as important to the learning organism in the development of the truly adequate personality as phenomenological theorists have suggested, then our success in the production of positive views of self in the children and adolescents under our guidance must stand as a major criterion of our success or failure with them.

If the self is learned as a function of experience, then, whether we are aware of it or not, children learn about themselves in the classroom. They learn about themselves from the kinds and quality of experiences we and they provide. With the self being of major importance to learning and developmental becoming, then it behooves those of us who have responsibility for the educative processes to be aware of its significance and of the contribution that teaching can make in the formulation of a positive self. Because the self is learned, *what is learned can be taught*. The question is not one of whether we approve of teaching for a positive self in the public

schools; *we could not avoid affecting the self if we wanted to.* We may ignore the self in our teaching; we cannot, however, escape the fact of our influence upon the self or our ultimate responsibility with respect to whether the effects of schooling are positive or negative. If the public schools accept the responsibility for their effects upon the self, it is clear that *the self must be recognized in the classroom.* The effect of schooling upon the child's self must be viewed as equally important with the acquisition of subject matter. Research by Staines⁶⁵ has shown that self-actualization can be achieved in regular classrooms with no loss of learning in traditional subject matter.

Self-learning, learning about self, now is known to be an essential element if other learning is to progress. This has been made rather clear to us through the research studies of children who have had blocks to learning. As children are given help in understanding self and in developing more positive self-concepts, they can more readily exercise self-help in overcoming their difficulties. Conceptions of self are not cold, hard facts. They are deep personal meanings, beliefs, values, attitudes, and feelings about oneself. If we were to view the classroom as a powerful laboratory in human resources, then imagine the tremendous possibilities for human learning, including learning about self. If positive self-concepts are important, then these considerations must be an integral part of the classroom climate and the learning processes:

1. The teachers must be aware of this importance.
2. They must be willing to admit concern about the self-concept into the classroom as a legitimate part of the educating process.
3. They must find ways of creating a climate in the classroom that will permit the exploration and the discovery of the self.
4. They must find ways of actively encouraging the discovery of the students' self in a positive fashion.
5. Teachers must view themselves, learning processes, and the learners positively if they are to generate positive views of self within their students.⁶⁶

As Jersild has stated so cogently in his book *When Teachers Face Themselves*: "The teacher's understanding and acceptance of himself is the most important requirement in any effort he makes to help students to know themselves and to gain healthy self-acceptance."⁶⁷ In essence, the habit of positive thinking seems to have an affinity for fortunate events in the lives of people.

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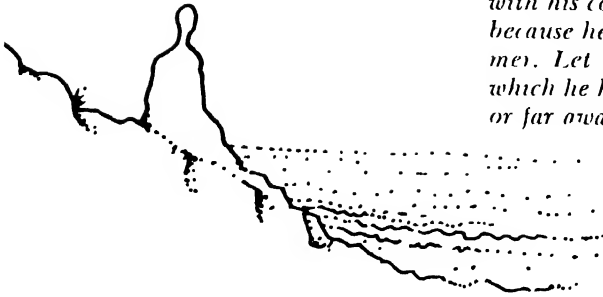
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The Personalized Self



If a man does not keep pace with his companions, perhaps it is because he hears a different drummer. Let him step to the music which he hears, however measured or far away.

—Thoreau

The above quotation, coupled with Erich Fromm's thought that "Man must accept the responsibility for himself and the fact that only by using his own powers can he give meaning to life,"¹ should capture the essence of this chapter, the emerging personalized, unique self in the process of being-in-becoming. Gebattel tells us that "only in the process of becoming does the form of life complete itself and the 'eidos' of the person become realized."² Thus far, we have developed the theme that man is no abstraction, but a multi-dimensional being who can understand and unify the human self only in the dy-

namic interactive merging of the social situation and the uniquely human condition, the awesome human predicaments of living. In the phenomenological-existentialistic approach to humanism, man experiences his own truth and reality for living as he participates in it, is conscious of it, and has some relationship to it. The unique and personalized self emerges as a developmental product of an individual's experiential perceptions of himself, others, and the distinctly human circumstances contributing to his own awareness, identity, and commitments as a human being.

THE NATURE OF THE PERSONALIZED SELF

Carl Rogers, through his many experiences with clients in therapy sessions, believes that people have a basic quality of being able, even though emotionally disturbed, to seek out and become intensely aware of their own personalized selves. The client finds himself confirmed not only in what he is but in his potentialities. He can affirm himself, fearfully to be sure, as a separate, unique person. As such, he can become the architect of his own future through the functioning of his awareness and his consciousness. Because the person is more open to his experience and has faced up to self rather than avoided it, he can permit himself to live symbolically in terms of all the possibilities. He can acceptantly live out, in his thoughts and feelings, the creative urges within himself, the destructive tendencies he finds within, the challenges of being, of living, and of becoming, and even, the challenge of death. He can face, in his consciousness, what it will mean to him to *be*, and what it will mean not to be. Thus, he becomes an autonomous human person, able to be what he is and to choose his course. We identify ourselves, then, as an emerging personalized self, as Rogers has aptly stated, in terms of "The way to do is to be. The way to understand is from within."⁴

In a long chapter on the self, Bonner⁵ argued against the concept of the self as a mere learning process described in terms of an individual's expectancy. In its place, he suggested that the self can be described more meaningfully by considering the individual's *intentions*. According to Bonner, the self is not a being, but a process; an enduring, but constantly changing individual. The self is not a set of conditioned or learned responses merely, but more significantly, a mode of action directed toward the future. "It is directional as well as reactive; future-oriented as well as adjustive."⁶ Bonner defines the self as "*the set of attitudes that a person has toward his own behavior.*"⁷ James, one of the earlier pioneers in self theory, cogently recognizes the personalized nature of the self in saying, "So our self-feeling depends entirely on what we back ourselves to be."⁸ Murphy has recognized the dynamic complexity of the personalized qualities in succinctly describing the self as *something to be realized*.⁹

The Concept of Self

An adequate concept of the self is basic to an interpretation of personality. In any discussion of the self in psychological literature, connotations such as the following are used to denote the various aspects of selfhood: "self-consciousness," "self-realization," "self-preservation," "self-confidence," "self-assertion," "self-dependence," "self-esteem," and others. The gaining of a child's insight into his personal qualities of self is a slow, difficult process that may not be achieved adequately until adulthood, if ever. According to Crow and Crow, "The *self* or *ego* can be interpreted as including all an individual's feelings and actions."¹⁰ Although lay definitions of the term *personality* tend to be more narrow and stereotyped, psychologists view the concept of personality as related to the whole feeling, thinking, behaving human being. Basically, they do not think of the individual as *having* personality, but as *being* one, a unique person with certain distinctive qualities of self. In this respect the individual actually views his own personality through the somewhat distorting lenses of his own personal experiences. Depending upon past failures, success, hopes, fears, and attitudes, he may verbalize about himself in a variety of ways. These perceptive remarks reflect the speaker's self-concept, or personality as viewed from within.

Dimensions of the Personalized Self

Throughout this book, we have emphasized the subjective-humanistic approach as a means of trying to understand the complex behavior of the individual. This approach starts with the assumption that behavior is purposeful and caused and that people behave as they do because of the way things seem to them, and not solely because of set external stimuli. As such, a person's behavior at any given time makes sense to him in terms of how he perceives the situation. Meanings are personalized; therefore, each human being views life in a unique manner. Man's uniqueness rests upon the fact that he is a social being, able to have attitudes, to interpret and to give meanings to all the stimuli about him. In effect, we create our own personalized, unique selves with distinctive multiple dimensions. The question of the origin of the self is a fascinating one, and much research¹¹ has been conducted concerning the nature of the self. As a prelude to the discussions of various activities of the emerging self in the process of becoming, we shall take a quick look at the multiple aspects of that which we consider to be the differentiated, personalized self.

The Bodily Self. As discussed in a previous chapter, the infant and child have some awareness of their physical bodies; vague bodily perceptions are experiences of children as well as adults. The sense organs of the child by means of which he perceives objects around him are the same sense

organs by means of which he perceives his own body. His body is as real to him as are other objects in his environment and as much a part of him as the external objects that he has not yet learned to discriminate. As the child matures, he develops a body image representing his identifications, feelings, and attitudes concerning his body and certain aspects of it. Throughout continuing differentiation and the growth of the bodily self, experiences relevant to the physical self come to occupy a most important place in the perceptual field of the young child. In such experiences as staring at his closed fist, feeling the sensory impulses flowing through his body, being startled or pleased by the sound of his own voice, and enjoying the kinesthetic sensations running through his muscles, the child comes to know himself as a physical body, his bodily self. Probably every normal individual dimly perceives his body as part of personality structure.

The Social Self. The self is not an inborn phenomenon; like so many other aspects of personality, it is acquired in association with others. Although awareness of oneself is not wholly dependent upon consciousness of others, their attitudes toward oneself are nevertheless important determinants of our views of self. The child's differentiation of himself from others—first from his mother and then from other family members—is dependent upon their attitudes toward him. The perceptual self, discussed in the next section, is effectively shaped by how we think others perceive us. Early in his becoming, the child forms an image of himself as he appears to others and by the way they judge or evaluate him. Before long he reacts in specific ways toward their judgments and conducts himself in accordance with his understanding of their evaluations.

Security and self-esteem, two of our basic needs, are significantly related to the social self and some forms of anxiety and stress are undoubtedly dependent upon the way others see us. Insecurity and self-devaluation are largely ways in which an individual reacts to other people's opinions of him. The need to keep up social appearances is largely an expression of the fear of other people's judgments. Self-esteem, fundamentally social, is normally acquired in the child's interaction with members of his family. If the child's parents express a favorable view of him, if they are free of the self-righteousness that impels some parents to demand that the child accede to their every expectation, the child has an excellent chance of developing self-confidence and self-respect. If the opposite circumstances prevail, the child learns to mistrust and to devalue himself, and in time to mistrust and to devalue others.

Some insight into a person's self-esteem illuminates our understanding of him. Clinicians and child psychologists agree that both excessive and deficient self-esteem are detrimental to the formulation of an effective social self. An exaggerated or a deficient sense of self-importance implies a dis-

torted perception of our status in other people's eyes. The distortion results in misunderstanding and conflict or in neurotic efforts to fortify a feeble self. In extreme cases, the need to maintain a favorable image in the eyes of others drives men into self-deceptions ranging from paranoid projections to grandiose schizophrenic delusions.

All of this discussion underscores the central fact that although our self-attitudes are largely produced by others' attitudes toward us, a significant factor in our self-conception is the manner in which we internalize the attitude of others toward us. Thus, a person's self-esteem is not entirely socially bound but is dependent upon his perception of his relation to others. As such, changes in himself or in his behavior are changes in his perception of his relation to others. William James noted that our social selves depend upon the opinions held of us by various social groups. Each group forms an image of its members, so that we may say that a person "has as many different social selves as there are distinct *groups* of persons about whose opinion he cares."¹²

The Perceptual Self The social aspects of the self are always interpreted by the individual in the light of his own experiences and intentions. The views others hold of him are continually transformed by him in accordance with his own perspectives. Thus, when we say that the self is the view of other persons regarding oneself, we are stating only a partial and even less important truth about the self. Actually, the most important truth about the individual's self is that it is *his way of perceiving himself*. This perception of oneself in the light of his own interpretation of his behavior is called the *perceptual self*. As such, the perceptual self is an organization of self-attitudes and the only self that an individual can truly and intimately know. All other aspects of the total self are partially removed from direct perception and are inferred by others. Because the concept of the perceptual self is paramount to developmental behavior as viewed by the phenomenological approach, we need to recognize the matrix in which it arises and functions. This matrix, *perceptual reality*, in which the individual experiences himself as a person, along with other aspects of the perceptual self, will be discussed subsequently in the next major section, "The Dynamic Structure of Personality."

The Ideal Self Of all the animals, man alone has the capacity of setting up ideals and striving for their realization. In effect, man is a maker of myths, and among the myths he creates is the ideal self. Certainly it would be erroneous to think of this self as an intellectual fantasy, for it is a dimension of the total self that affects the behavior of the individual possessing it. Although self-enhancement and level of aspiration are often identified with the ideal self, they are not the same. The ideal self is the image a person has of the kind of person he would like to be. The ineffectuality of the ideal

self in directing a person's behavior, especially in the face of harsh reality, is that many times it is composed less of dynamic personalized striving toward a previsioned goal than of poorly motivated wishes and of what the current ideals of the "good" man happen to be. Moreover, the idealized self-image sometimes serves as a tyrannical taskmaster, as in the case of those distraught neurotics who strive for perfection.

Nevertheless, a wholesome ideal self is frequently the only psychological agency by means of which man can personalize his strivings and surmount the tribalism of his age. When the ideal self is founded upon a realistic assessment of one's own capacities and limitations, it can serve as a compass to guide the individual's behavior, his long-range goals and his planning and implementation of aspirations—a road map for his effective living. In some people, the ideal self is what Allport calls "a criterion for conscience";¹⁴ in other cases, by striving to implement his ideal of what he wants to be, man not only may change himself but may aid in the transformation of the moral environment in which he lives. Thus far we have described some of the dimensions of the self, with particular emphasis on the perceptual self, which may offer some insight into the nature of the personalized self. Before proceeding to explore the rudiments of the self-concept, a few lines by John Masefield may serve to illustrate the multiple, yet unified nature of the self.

And there were three men
Went down the road
As down the road went he
The man they saw, the man he was
And the man he wanted to be

The Impact of the Self-concept upon Personality

As a child grows and develops, he learns not only the world about him and his place in it but about himself. Such learning is intensely personal, is in a large part private, is heavily symbolic and often illogical, and yet is of vital importance to both private happiness and public behavior. Every person lives with *himself* and, to some degree, is always alone. No one can ever completely know the self of anyone else, although the quest for understanding oneself and others has generated much human thought, including the science of psychology. For centuries man has cherished the hope of answering such universal questions as Who am I? What am I? How did I come to be this way?—and their logical consequence, the search for purpose: Why am I? The self-concept is a psychological construct that includes the area of one's essentially private experience and self-evaluation—essentially

private even though it is in part translated into action by most of the things we say and do, by the attitudes we hold and by the beliefs we express.

Sullivan,¹⁷ who has devoted much thought to theories of self, considers the self concept or self dynamism central to human personality. Actually, from the viewpoint of human learning the self concept is the apex—the culmination, of all the social and personal experiences the child has had. All but very young children have formed some concept of themselves as people and numerous studies¹⁸ of the nature of the self concept and its relation to behavior and adjustment have been conducted. Although the self concept is highly complex, most of the research to date has been focused on one dimension—the good/bad or positive/negative dimension. (A rather thorough summary of the literature in this area is available in McCandless.¹⁹) According to McCandless the self concept may be thought of as “a set of expectancies plus evaluations of the area or behaviors with reference to which these expectancies are held.”²⁰

Thinking for the moment in terms of the good/bad dimension of the self concept, we may say that the total self concept of an individual may vary from extremely poor or negative to very good or positive. Thus the overall self concept may be visualized as more or less in algebraic total, if in considering the many areas making up the self, *more* and *more important* areas are regarded as good than bad, then a positive self concept can be inferred—and vice versa. Ellsworth believes the positive self concept of a person can be defined as “feeling adequate, capable of dealing with the world, likeable, valued, intrinsically worthy, and free.”²¹ From these personal feelings come self-respect, self-confidence, dignity, and honor, not to mention great happiness and the joy of living. How do people develop positive self concepts? Briefly, they discover their humanity, the truth about their identity, by being treated—for real—for who they really are—by the significant people in their perceptual world. The psychological construct of the self concept has been presented here only briefly; throughout the rest of the chapter a variety of phenomena relating to the development of the self concept will be explored.

THE DYNAMIC STRUCTURE OF PERSONALITY

The fact that the child's (or any other individual's) personality is dynamic and is therefore subject to change cannot be denied. How these changes come about and to what extent the inner self factors interact with the external factors of influence in the developmental process of being-in-becoming are matters that challenge the careful study of all who are concerned with child rearing. Many psychologists have theorized concerning the nature and the structure of the personalized self. Currently, most authorities in the field

of personality theory recognize the holistic approach or the totality of the dynamic factors interacting as they relate to the integrated development of a unique person. In modern psychiatry, for example, the term *personality* refers to the psychological, physical, chemical, and social aspects of the individual as they combine at any given instant, a process that is continuous from birth to death. Illustratively, Menninger views personality as pertaining to "the individual as a whole, his height and weight and loves and hates and blood pressure and reflexes; his smiles and hopes and bowed legs and enlarged tonsils. It means all that anyone is and all that he is trying to become."¹⁹ The phenomenological approach, emphasizing subjectivity, experience of the moment, perception, and the dynamic qualities of the self, would tell us that *only when we try to discover and to understand the subjective or interior organization of a child's behavior can we truly gain insight into his real personality.*

Nature of Personality

Of the many proposed definitions of *personality*, as it is viewed scientifically today, probably the most inclusive, for our purposes, is that of Allport, who has defined personality as "the dynamic organization within the individual of those psycho-physical systems that determine his unique adjustments to his environments."²⁰ In viewing the definition, the term *dynamic* stresses the changing nature of personality; it emphasizes that changes can and do occur in the quality of a person's behavior. *Organization* implies that personality is not composed of a number of different traits, one added to the other, but that they are interrelated. This interrelationship changes, with some qualities becoming more influential and others less as there are changes within the child, in the environment, and the interaction of the child within the environment.

The *psychophysical systems* are the habits, attitudes, values, beliefs, emotional states, sentiments, and motives that are psychological in nature but have a physical basis in the child's neural, glandular, and general bodily states. Although these systems are not the product of heredity, they are based upon heredity foundations; they have been developed through discovering potentialities and learning as a result of the child's experiences. In effect, the psychophysical systems are the motivating forces or self-strivings that determine how the child will behave in relation to himself and others in his phenomenal field. Because each child has different learning experiences, the behavior manifested is *unique* in the sense that no other child, even an identical twin, will behave in exactly the same way. One very influential factor in each child's unique style of behavior is the perceptual reality of the self, to be discussed in the next section as a background for the subsequent examination of the structure of personality.

Perceptual Reality of the Self

Although previously we explored the perceptual self briefly, we have relegated a discussion of perceptual reality to this section as a significant aspect of the structure of the self. Perceptual reality as experienced by the individual as a person is the matrix in the development and organization of the perceptual self. A basic concept of all holistic psychology (involving a consideration of the total person in a state of dynamic interaction), particularly in such influential theories of personality as those of Allport, Goldstein, Lewin, Murphy, and Rogers, is some variant of a psychological environment. Our approach to developmental behavior will include the concept of a perceptual field. Because a fundamental property of all fields, either physical or psychological, is mobility or change, a psychological field is a dynamic pattern of individual and interacting persons. Thus, causation in such a field is instantaneous rather than linear; consequently, the behavior of a person, although historically connected with the past, may be functionally independent of it.

No one then can experience the past of his perceptual field, nor its future, but only its immediate present, accordingly, the perceptual field of every individual is inescapably unique and thoroughly personalized. *This perceptual field of the moment of being-in-becoming is the person's only psychological reality, it is where his experience derives its meaning and it serves as the facilitator of perceptual reality—the matrix of the perceptual self.* As such, behavior is not merely a function of the impact of external stimuli upon the individual, but more profoundly of his perception of them in an organized field. In fact, a person's perception of the organized field is his organized perceptual field of reality in which he views and interprets his experiences.

One of the startling and often confusing phenomena in everyone's experience is the marked contrasts in his perception of the field at different instances of its occurrence. Yesterday's imperative striving may be today's trifle of life because the total perceptual field is undergoing transformations while remaining the same. Thus, the field is much like the transposable absolute of the physical sciences, the form that is forever changing while remaining stable. Without flexibility of the perceptual field, the individual could not modify his behavior in the advent of changed circumstances; but without a degree of stability personality could never achieve structure, organization, and duration.

The Organization of the Perceptual Self

As we have indicated, a person perceives himself as immersed in perceptual reality. Perceptual reality, like all totalities or wholes, is character-

ized by organization and relative stability. The stability of the perceptual self is only as great as the solidarity of the perceptual reality in which it is based. An organized perceptual reality tends to produce a consistent perceptual self. The healthy individual seeks both change and stability; but change and stability are effected by unity of organization and consistency.

Self-consistency

An important characteristic of the perceptual self is consistency. Although there is no empirical proof of the validity of Lecky's postulated *need* for self-consistency as the sole basic need of a human being, its significance for phenomenological psychology is tremendous. Self-consistency serves as a practical device for making human experience orderly and intelligible. For example, just as a person may rationalize his failures in order to cope with them, so he organizes his perceptions in order to assimilate his own maze of individual experiences. This, then, is his "substitute," but "realistic," world, which he can accept and understand and from which important standards of behavior are derived.

The consistency and stability of the perceptual self are not biological properties, but, as learned qualities, they arise from an individual's experiences. For instance, if a child, through negative experiences with parents, has formed an image of himself as unaccepted or unwanted, he continues in his belief, even in the face of contradictory evidence, because this is the only perception he knows. Because everyone interprets his own experience in the light of his perceptual field, the child perceives himself in the light of the only image he has. Although our stress on consistency and stability of the self may mislead you into believing that it is rigid and unchangeable, naturally in the light of being-in-becoming this is not true. The number and degree of changes are largely a function of modifications in the perceptual field of the individual. As the perceptual field changes, the person who organizes his experience within it also changes. Thus, when an individual's perceptual reality changes, his perception of himself and, hence, of his world also changes.

Self-concept

One of the most important aspects of the personality pattern of the perceptual self is the self-concept—the "core." The self-concept, which is a composite of thoughts and feelings that constitutes a person's awareness of his individual existence—his conception of who and what he is—contains an image or picture that the individual holds of himself.²¹ This self-image has two dimensions: the *physical* and the *psychological*. The physical self-image consists of the individual's concepts of his physical appearance and

his concepts of the importance of all parts of his body in relation to his behavior and to the prestige they give.

The psychological self-image consists of a person's perceptions of his own individual qualities such as honesty, independence, security, inadequacy, and so forth.²² The self-image is a "mirror image," determined largely by the nature of the individual's relations with others. The role or status a person occupies in a group or in society thus influences the concept he holds of himself.²³ Thus, the child's concept of himself as a person is a mirror image of what he believes significant people in his life think of him. The personality, then, is organized around the various concepts of self, each of which has a definite sociocultural referent or has resulted from the perceptual and experiential interaction of the individual within his specific phenomenal field. The organization of these concepts is *hierarchical*, the first and most basic concept of self being born from the "womb of family relationships." Secondary concepts of self are acquired in other group milieus outside the home. These concepts may be favorable or unfavorable, and they have varying degrees of importance in the general concept of self, the core of one's personality.²⁴

A PHENOMENOLOGICAL VIEW OF PERSONALITY

Probably Carl Rogers, eminent psychotherapist and originator of client-centered therapy, is best representative of a somewhat organized frame of reference concerning the phenomenological approach to personality dynamics. To Rogers, client-centered personality is a self-centered theory of personality. In his formulation of a theory of behavior and personality these major themes seem to be emphasized: (1) the self as an experiencing organism, (2) self-actualization, (3) self-maintenance, and (4) self-enhancement. According to Rogers, all behavior stems from an internal frame of reference. Actually in his theory of personality no one can give an explanation for another because only the introspective self can validly explain an inner mechanism or an inner feeling. In this sense, then, the only explanation that is possible for each of us is to interpret our own behavioral phenomena for ourselves and then hope to communicate the personal impact of this behavior effectively to others. As Rogers himself says: "From my own phenomenological point of view, the best explanation of a given behavior comes from permitting the individual to explore his behavior in a safe climate and thus to learn its basis and its explanation."²⁵

We should emphasize that whatever theory of personality Rogers may have delineated currently is purely a formulating one; in fact, Rogers himself does not consider himself to have evolved a definite theory of personality. Rogers describes his attempts to understand man's behavior as "a theory of therapy, personality, and interpersonal relationships as developed

in the client-centered framework.”²⁶ In describing man’s behavior, Rogers is an optimist in that he feels that humanity is positive, forward-moving, constructive, realistic, and quite trustworthy.²⁷

We can best discuss Rogers’ theory of personality by examining the twenty-two propositions relevant to man’s behavior that he formulated in 1951 and 1959 in Koch.²⁸ The first nineteen propositions were formulated in 1951, whereas the last three were added in 1959 as he discussed his theory in Koch’s book. Because the self is central to the theme of each of the propositions, we can readily assume that Rogers’ theory of personality revolves around the concept of self. That is, all of the propositions discuss either the individual, the person, or the self. They are not abstractions about society as a whole or theoretical statements about life itself; each places a primary emphasis upon the uniqueness of a single human being. Although each of Rogers’ propositions stands on its own, we shall add statements in some cases as a means of clarifying the precise meaning.

Rogers’ Propositions Concerning Personality Dynamics

The first nineteen propositions are quoted from the chapter “A Theory of Personality and Behavior” in Rogers’ *Client-Centered Therapy*,²⁹ whereas the last three are paraphrased from Koch’s *Psychology: A Study of a Science*, wherein Rogers presents the latest contributions to his developing theory of personality.

1. “*Every individual exists in a continually changing world of experience of which he is the center.*” This viewpoint stresses introspection, which is central to phenomenology. We all live in our private world of experience, in a world that is never the same from day to day. Our experiences may be conscious or subconscious. When the experience is conscious, it may be translated into a world of symbols. A person’s private world can be known only to himself.
2. “*The organism reacts to the field as it is experienced and perceived.*” This perceptual field is, for the individual, “reality.” Even though reality may be abstract to the philosopher, reality for each person is tested and accepted by his own perceptual system. When the individual has a perceptual system that is consistent for him, he has a certain degree of predictability upon which he can depend.
3. “*The organism reacts as an organized whole to this phenomenal field.*” Rogers believes that one of the most basic characteristics of an individual’s life is his tendency toward total or organized goal-directed behavior. Therefore,

he feels that he cannot accept any simple stimulus-response type of behavioral explanations.

4. *"The organism has one basic tendency and striving—to actualize, maintain, and enhance the experiencing organism."* Rogers borrows the trichotomized phrasing above from Snygg's and Combs' ³⁰ perceptual views of individual behavior. Later we shall examine the dynamics of actualizing, maintaining, and enhancing the self, as viewed by Rogers, in a section discussing his major themes of personality.
5. *"Behavior is basically the goal directed attempt of the organism to satisfy its needs as experienced, in the field as perceived."* Rogers feels, as does Allport,³¹ a recognized personality theorist, that motivation—personal strivings to meet needs—exists principally in the present. Thus, there is no behavior except to meet a present need.
6. *"Emotion accompanies and in general facilitates such goal directed behavior, the kind of emotion being related to the seeking vs. the consummatory aspects of behavior, and the intensity of the emotion being related to the perceived significance of the behavior for the maintenance and enhancement of the organism."* Personality (the self) tries to integrate the two kinds of emotions, the unpleasant or excited feelings and the calm or satisfied emotions. In this respect, perception determines the intensity of the emotional reaction.
7. *"The best-vantage point for understanding behavior is from the internal frame of reference of the individual himself."* Rogers is saying that what may seem to be meaningless and strange behavior to an observer may be very purposeful behavior to the individual. There are many difficulties in recognizing and trying to understand the introspective feelings of any particular individual. Because there are counterparts in our own life, drawn from some commonalities of human living, to the life of another individual, we may be able to empathize and to infer introspective behavior. Preconceptions on our part, however, may destroy the opportunity and the ability to see "within the skin" of another human being.
8. *"A portion of the total perceptual field gradually becomes differentiated as the self."* Rogers points out that although some authors use the term *self* as synonymous with *organism*, he uses the word in a more restricted sense to mean the awareness of being, of functioning.

9. *"As a result of interaction with the environment and particularly as a result of evaluational interaction with others, the structure of self is formed—an organized, fluid, but consistent conceptual pattern of perceptions of characteristics and relationships of the 'I' or the 'me' together with the values attached to these concepts."* In essence, experience with others helps to develop a sense of self; parental influence is essential at this formative stage in structuring the self.
10. *"The values attached to experiences and the values which are part of the self-structure, in some instances are values introjected or taken over from others, but perceived in distorted fashion, as if they had been experienced directly."* Our experiences facilitate the assimilation of personal values within the self. These values may be formulated from direct experiences or gained from others, distorted; but whatever their source, they grow out of our experiences.
11. *"As experiences occur in the life of the individual, they are either (a) symbolized, perceived and organized into some relationship to the self (b) ignored because there is not perceived relationship to the self structure, (c) denied symbolization or given a distorted symbolization because experience is inconsistent with the structure of the self."* We should recognize that the self is the keystone to both open perception and to perception which is below the level of consciousness.
12. *"Most of the ways of behaving which are adopted by the organism are those which are consistent with the concept of self."* A person hopes and strives to maintain behavior that is consistent with the picture he has of himself.
13. *"Behavior may, in some instances, be brought about by organic experiences and needs which have not been symbolized."* Some behavior may be inconsistent with the structure of the self, but in these instances the behavior is not "owned" by the individual. Thus, when behavior is not controlled, it is regarded as not belonging to the self.
14. *"Psychological maladjustment exists when the organism denies to awareness significant sensory and visceral experiences, which consequently are not symbolized and organized into the gestalt of the self structure. When this situation exists, there is a basic or potential psychological tension."* The personality cannot actualize itself if the

experiences are not true to or congruent with the real self.

15. *"Psychological adjustment exists when the concept of the self is such that all the sensory and visceral experiences of the organism are, or may be, assimilated on a symbolic level into a consistent relationship with the concept of the self."* Inner tension within the self is reduced when the personality has a new, yet consistent feeling about itself
16. *"Any experience which is inconsistent with the organization or structure of the self may be perceived as a threat, and the more of these perceptions there are, the more rigidly the self structure is organized to maintain itself"* Events and experiences that threaten the personality may frequently elicit "maintenance stress" and rigidity within the self, which preclude the perceptual openness necessary for enhancement and actualization
17. *"Under certain conditions involving primarily complete absence of any threat to the self structure, experiences which are inconsistent with it may be perceived and examined, and the structure of self revised to assimilate and include such experiences"* Change in a personality is effected when the self, through revisions of its perceptions, can accept a new facet of a self structure
18. *"When the individual perceives and accepts into one consistent and integrated system all his sensory and visceral experiences, then he is necessarily more understanding of others and is more accepting of others as separate individuals"* When the personality can develop a consistent self-concept, there is little need for the rigidity of self-defense, hence, the self can afford to share itself with others and to develop effective interpersonal relationships with human beings in its world
19. *"As the individual perceives and accepts into his self structure more of his organic experiences, he finds that he is replacing his present value system—based so largely upon introjections which have been distortedly symbolized—with a continuing organismic valuing process"* As we gain confidence in our own valuing processes, we find the old systems unnecessary and no longer threatening to our self structure.
20. *This proposition concerns the personality's desire for social esteem. At times our desire to be right and praised*

and esteemed worthy by others in our society overtakes and overrules the values that the self deserves. When it becomes important for the personality to be considered worthwhile by others, we may overrule the inner functions and inner dynamics of our organismic selves.

21. *Rogers also believes that an extremely strong desire for self-esteem operates in a parallel system with the desire for social esteem.* Because we have this need or desire for self-esteem, which grows out of our experience, it is possible for the personality to ignore the pressures of society that gave us the desire for social esteem.
22. *Because of the forces, desires, and demands of social esteem and self-esteem, an attitude of self-worthiness develops.* This quality of self-worthiness helps us in the stresses, tensions, and confusion of everyday life. Thus, the personality's feeling that we are worthy of something helps to buttress our desires for self-esteem and our capacities to obtain the feeling of social esteem.

Certainly an examination of Rogers' original nineteen propositions and the latest three propositions reveals the strong emphasis that he places upon the self. In fact, the term *self* (or its synonyms, *individual* or *person* or *organism*) is inherent in each of the twenty-two propositions. Seven other terms are noticeably conspicuous in the formulation of Rogers' theory; indeed the propositions could not have been written without their use: *experience*, *perceived*, *phenomenal*, *field* or *gestalt*, *structure of self*, *symbolized*, and *inner values*. Thus, these words are highly significant for Rogers' theory of personality or human dynamics. Without these explanatory terms, it would seem, Rogers would not be able to construct a theory of personality.

Major Themes in Rogers' Theory of Personality

Overwhelmingly, the major emphasis in Rogers' approach to personality dynamics is the use of the concept of self. At this point, it would be in order to offer a definition of the word *self* as viewed by Rogers.

Use of Self in Rogers' Theory. Probably the most complete definition of the term *self*, as Rogers uses it, would be the entire twenty-two statements noted in this section; the shortest definition, as Rogers conceives the term, is "the awareness of being, of functioning." If we were to expand this shortened definition of personality we could consider or define the *self* as being "the strivings, emotional feeling, and ideas that the individual recognizes, interprets, and values as his very own."³³ Rogers probably comes as close to defining the self in some detail in Proposition 9 when he states, "the

structure of the self is formed: an organized, fluid, but consistent conceptual pattern of perceptions of characteristics and relationships of the 'I' or the 'me' together with values attached to these concepts."³⁴

The personality or self, as Rogers considers it in its perceptual dynamics, attempts to seek for independence, greater spontaneity, and an integration of all the life forces that impinge upon it. One of the greatest strivings of the personality is for self-consistency. When the self attempts to change its behavior, the change results not only from learning; changes in the individual's picture of himself are highly involved. In essence, the personality is much more than a learning mechanism, it looks within the skin to determine that whatever is being learned is worthwhile, follows its own value system, and can be integrated into the self-picture. Thus, personalities that wish to examine what they are can best "explore within" rather than coldly or objectively "observe the self." Socrates' cogent statement, "The unexamined life is not worth living," would have current meaning in Rogers' theory of personality dynamics.

Obviously, then, Rogers' theory of personality is pointed toward one major, consistent goal—an examination or consideration of the self. Let us now examine Rogers' three secondary principles in which the self operates relevant to the world of living things and people. These three subsidiary themes are self-actualization, self-maintenance and self-enhancement.

Self-actualization Principle. Rogers finds the term *self-actualization* a convenient one, though not necessarily all-inclusive, for the dynamics describing man's becoming, starting as an infant and growing into adulthood. He further considers in self-actualization all the processes by which man differentiates himself from others and his organic functions from his social functions, moving toward the direction of self-responsibility. Actually, before the personality can do anything at all, it must *begin*; in a sense, then, this is what Rogers views as the impact of self-actualization. Thus, self-actualization proceeds from the simple to the complex, beginning at conception and throughout maturity—a continual state of arrival. In a 1958 paper, "Becoming a Person," Rogers characterizes this self-actualization process by saying, "The goal the individual most wishes to achieve, the end which he knowingly or unknowingly pursues, is to become himself."³⁵ In this respect, Rogers shares a common theme of Plato's classic words: "The first and best victory is to conquer self; to be conquered by self is, of all things, the most shameful and vile."

The urge to create seems to be one of man's inherent strivings. The greatest thing that man can create in his entire lifespan is himself. Thus, *self is the epitome of creativity*. Actually, out of the self that the man creates from childhood emerge all the other things that are normally considered as creative: artistic works, inventions, social systems. But we must remember

that man has to create a self—by actualization of his potential as a human being—before he can create anything else.

According to Rogers, one of the central themes in actualizing a self is to have as many experiences as possible. Only by the personality experiencing activities and knowing what it is experiencing can the self be actualized. Rogers recognizes that some of the experiencing involving the personality may not be at the fully conscious level. There is a difference between the conscious and unconscious levels of experiencing. Rogers believes that one of the prime factors in experiencing that leads to a true self-actualization is *congruence*: “being aware of and being open to all of the experiences which are integrated by the self.”³⁶ Thus, Rogers feels that it is not sufficient merely to have experiences in a haphazard, incoherent fashion with no other dynamics involved; he believes that experience must tell the self its own significant and authentic meaning if experiencing is to serve its proper function in the self-actualization of a person.

Self-Maintenance Principle Rogers believes that once the personality has been actualized to the fullest extent possible, the person must continue to maintain himself. This writer would differ somewhat in this respect, viewing actualization as an ongoing personalized function that is never fully attained. Possibly, Rogers implies this continual state of arrival in the being-in-becoming process when he indicates that it is *not enough to be something; but one must keep being something*. Perhaps this statement represents his way of merging the self-maintenance and the self-actualization needs. Rogers considers the self-maintenance level to be the one at which we achieve self-understanding at its fullest potential. Thus, the self-maintenance level brings out the richness, maturity, and ramifications of the total personality.

According to Rogers, self-maintenance dynamics operate from current needs, pressures, and tensions. In contradistinction to some personality theorists, Rogers, although not denying the efficacy of past events in our lives, feels that behavior is not directly caused by things that have happened in the past in saying: “there is no behavior except to meet a present need.”³⁷ Rogers warns, however, that self-maintenance is not to be confused with homeostasis. He believes that individuals move dynamically; there is a “*flow*” in the continuum of life. Succinctly, *life is a process, not a position*. As a potent part of the process of maintaining oneself, Rogers feels that the personality should have an “openness to experience.” Thus, only as a person is willing to try new things in his experiential world can a constructive feedback to the self be created. In effect, if the personality ignores the richness of the process of experiencing for self, he is likely to create an extremely faulty personal frame of reference.

Self-enhancement Principle. Rogers believes that even though the human being has inner strivings for both self-actualization and self-maintenance, the personality has also an additional basic need to enhance him-

self. Life is much more than getting and preserving what we have; we wish to transcend the status quo. Rogers refers to this human process as *self-enhancement*. Self-enhancement does not flow smoothly, but consists of struggle and pain—a process of going backward and forward, the losing and gaining of goal structures.

Man, according to Rogers, should be much more than a robot or a controlled pawn of another individual. He feels strongly that one of man's supreme privileges is to enhance himself. In a timely article in a recent journal, where Rogers discusses the place of the person in the new world of the behavioral sciences, he takes issue with the goals of behavioral technology as stated by B. F. Skinner. Rogers makes a strong plea for freedom of the individual to enhance his own personality. He sees as dangerous the possibilities of prediction and control of human personalities in the future. He feels that the subjective value choice of any given personality must never be threatened. In his conclusions, Rogers states:

We can choose to use the behavioral science in ways which will be free, not control; which will bring about constructive variability, not conformity; which will develop creativity, not contentment; which will facilitate each person in his self-directed process of becoming; which will aid individuals, groups, and even the concept of science to become self-transcending in freshly adaptive ways of meeting life and its problems.³⁸

With this provocative statement as a frame of reference and Rogers' theory of personality as a background, let us now turn to an exploration of the dynamics of the self in action as it transcends the past and future in the being-in-becoming process of the now.

EXPRESSIONS OF THE SELF IN PERSONAL DEVELOPMENT

Psychologists who view man primarily as a *reactive* organism have tended to emphasize heredity and environment as the chief determinants of human development; *active* theorists, such as Rogers, have emphasized the role of self. Actually, however, we should view heredity, environment, and self as interactive forces that continually work together in shaping individual development. Heredity does not complete its role at birth, but continues to operate throughout the lifetime of the individual facilitating his genetic potentials to unfold as he interacts with his environment. His environment (perceptual field), in turn, is meaningful in terms of contributing to the basic personalized style of life of the individual and providing opportunities for self-growth. Thus, the self as a third determinant of personality development becomes a potent force in man's becoming. For as the individual

achieves a sense of his own identity, he tends to view each situation in the light of *his* needs, assumptions, and feelings. Thus, the impact of a particular environment becomes increasingly dependent upon the way it is *experienced* by the individual.

Role of Self in Being-in-Becoming

In viewing the concept of self as the third major determinant of man's development, we should be careful to avoid the idea of some "little person" sitting in the brain deciding how we should behave. As indicated throughout this book, psychologists, when referring to the self, are thinking in terms of a *conceptual* structure rather than a physical one. As such, the self cannot be observed directly, but is inferred from various phenomena that seem to operate according to some unifying principle. Thus, the self is not a mystical entity but a useful and seemingly necessary construct for explaining the many complexities of individual behavior. As discussed in an earlier chapter on the nature of the self, there are two major aspects of the individual's experience of self: (1) *self as an object*, involving the individual's perception and evaluation of himself as something distinct from other persons and things; and (2) *self as a process*, referring to the individual's perception of himself as a knower, striver, and doer with facilities for perceiving, evaluating, choosing, and planning in reference to himself.

Self as an Object In viewing the self as an object, we are thinking about the individual's self image. This image incorporates the individual's perception of what he is really like (self identity), his value as a person (self-evaluation), and his aspirations for growth and accomplishment (self-ideal). From this viewpoint, then, we can regard the self as the core of the individual's own becoming, his assumptions concerning facts, values, and possibilities.

Self-identity. Although identity of self will be discussed more thoroughly in the next chapter, we shall look at it quickly here. Man is not born with a sense of self. As self-awareness and the rudiments of a self structure become a part of the infant's being, he realizes that he is something unique apart from his world. This identity as a separate self is a central reference point for his adjustive behavior; he sets goals, hopes, fears, feels, and makes decisions. *He* exists as the center of a changing world of experience, and most events in his world are perceived and dealt with in relation to the *I* and *me*. As the individual's experience broadens, his self-image gradually extends to include certain things outside of himself with which he feels personal involvement. Thus, when we think of the *me* or *my*, we may include possessions such as our home, the people we love, the groups to which we are loyal, and the values we believe in. A child, as he identifies with his parents, is extending his sense of self just as he does in personally

relating to pets, toys, or other possessions, animate or inanimate. As we grow older, we identify with many groups and search out our own identity within them. In extending our sense of self to others, we in turn have experiences that facilitate opportunities for growth and evaluation. Thus, it is our awareness and identity of self that makes existence meaningful, providing continuity between past, present, and future.

Self-evaluation. The individual's sense of personal identity can be equated generally with his assumptions of reality about himself—his perceptual ideas of what he is really like. Naturally, because these assumptions include an assessment of a person's assets and liabilities, they relate closely to his feelings of self-worth. With the multiple facets of behavior involved, obviously there is no one-to-one relationship between a person's ability and the way he evaluates himself. For example, the highly talented individual may be one with deep feelings of inadequacy; the mediocre person may feel proud and self-satisfied. In effect, then, our feelings of personal worth and adequacy, or their opposites, are more closely related to our self-image than to our actual achievement.

To delineate somewhat, as a child comes to achieve a clear sense of self-identity, he begins to evaluate himself as superior or inferior, worthy or unworthy, adequate or inadequate. Basically, whether these feelings about self are positive or negative depends upon the child's experiences, most particularly, upon his relationships with other people. For during the early years of a child's development, he has no other evaluative standards for measuring his adequacy than those supplied by his parents and other important people in his life. If then words and behavior label him as inadequate and unworthy of love and acceptance, he has little choice but to accept this evaluation as the truth. If, on the other hand, he is warmly accepted and receives verbal assurances that he is essentially an adequate person in his own right, his self-evaluation will probably be positive. Thackeray captured the essence of this developmental phenomenon years ago in saying, "The world is a looking glass and gives back to every man the reflection of his own face."

These early evaluations of self-worth have a continuing effect on personality development as cogently described by Combs and Smygg:

In his interaction with father, mother, and siblings, the young child begins his differentiations of self as liked or disliked, wanted or unwanted, acceptable or unacceptable, able or unable, worthy or unworthy, adequate or inadequate. These are the kinds of perceptions through which the individual is able to symbolize his own degree of self-actualization. The more positive self-definitions he acquires, the greater is the feeling of adequacy and need-satisfaction, and, conversely, the more negative self-definitions he acquires, the more frustrated and unhappy he becomes. Experience later in life may change the concepts developed as a product

of family life but never easily or quickly. The most basic of such self concepts may be so deeply rooted in the individual's organization that they cannot easily be changed even by the most drastic of later experiences.³⁹

Self-ideal. The self as an object includes not only a person's view of himself in terms of his identity and worth but also his aspirations for growth and personal accomplishment. Certainly implicit in the individual's self-ideal are his assumptions of possibility—his ideas of what he should be able to achieve or become and his assumptions about what is desirable in his life. This ideal image, of course, is built in relation to the perceptual view as the individual sees himself now, or his assumption of his own reality of fact.

We say that a person has a high or low *level of aspiration* depending upon whether a person's aspirations are difficult or easy to achieve in relation to his abilities. For a healthy self-ideal, the individual's level should be realistic, because if it is too high the personal striving will lead to failure and self-devaluation, and if it is too low, to a waste of personal resources and opportunities. Ideally, a person selects goals that are congruent with his interests, aptitudes, and opportunities, but outside pressures in the social-cultural milieu often tend to push him in other directions. For example, family and social expectations can work constructively as incentives for the individual to achieve the best of his potentialities; however, when they allow too little room for individuality, they can force him to accept "ideal" goals that are incompatible with his abilities, emotional qualities, and values.

Often our self-ideals are related to *identifications* we make with various human models—parents, teachers, athletes, national heroes, or other persons whom we admire and would like to emulate. The identifications we make in childhood, especially those with the parent of our own sex, are the source of many of our most basic goals for self-growth and are very important in providing direction for development. Although this process of identification can continue to operate constructively in later years, the actualizing person is more likely to set his aspirations in terms of carefully devised values and a realistic assessment of himself as an individual. When a person accepts the manners, attitudes, and goals of others too readily, there may be an indication that he lacks a clear sense of identity, an integrated frame of reference, and a congruent self.

Self as a Process

A human being could function theoretically at the mechanical level without a self structure, as other living energy systems do. But once the sense

of self develops in the human being, the individual always behaves in reference to it and comes to perceive himself as an active agent in determining his own behavior. According to Coleman,¹⁰ our experience of inner direction actively involves the self as a knower, doer, and striver.

Self as a Knower. Coleman notes that basic to all functions associated with self as a process is the ability of the human being to perceive himself somewhat as he would another object. In effect, all the knowing activity of the human being is effected in relation to the self. The vast quantity of information we receive from our internal and external environment is evaluated, integrated, and stored with reference to its perceived significance for us as individuals.

The information that we "know" about ourselves and about other persons, events, objects, and ideas as they relate to us comprises the frame of reference that we use in choosing and carrying out any course of action. Then, for the human being to behave effectively, the self must function adequately as a knower, building a personal frame of reference that is essentially accurate and realistic. Thus, to the degree that our "knowledge" is distorted, we will be unable to cope with situations as they really are.

Self as a Doer. Coleman believes that the typical pattern of adjustive behavior in the human organism involves perceiving the situation; processing all the information received from inner and outer sources—evaluating its significance, integrating it with previous knowledge, deciding what course of behavior it dictates; and pursuing a course of action that seems best suited to meeting the requirements of the situation. All of these processes then take place with reference to a person's perception of himself as an active and responsible agent with conscious intent, as a doer with the capacity for his own self-direction. Developmentally, a child's "discovery" of himself as an active agent in his own life is a paramount step in the emergence of his self-concept. Thus, the negativism that is normally characteristic of children at about two years of age is nothing more than a testing of independent power and, as such, is basic to self-development. In viewing the self as a knower, doer, and, subsequently, as a striver, we are focusing upon the key processes involved in self-direction and self-growth. In the next two chapters we shall elaborate upon these activities of the self, but let us now briefly examine the self as a striver.

Self as a Striver. Like many other phenomenologically oriented writers, Coleman views each of us as motivated to seek or to avoid things in terms of their meaning for us, whether they promise to benefit us in some way or seem to threaten our physical or psychological well-being. This would mean, then, that regardless of the many external influences that press in upon us, we perceive the self as the active force in initiating our strivings. Thus, significantly, it is *I* who wants or needs this and who tries to avoid that.

Because the self structure is experienced as the very core of our being-in-

becoming, its maintenance and enhancement become matters of very special concern. If our assumptions concerning ourselves and the world in relation to these selves were to crumble all at once, indeed we would be lost, for we would have no reference points to guide our behavior. Precisely for this reason, we tend to defend our existing assumptions from attack and to relinquish them only if different ones have equal or greater appeal, that is, if they raise our feelings of personal worth and adequacy. In many large and small ways, we strive to maintain and to enhance the ideal picture we have of ourselves. We set goals for self-improvement; we try to do effective work; we share our accomplishments so that others will notice our achievements; we try to dress attractively, to be witty and charming, and to make a good impression on others so that we can have an adequate image of ourselves. These are perfectly normal expressions of the self for making us feel more secure and confident in coping with everyday situations. Although we continually strive for self-enhancement, we often encounter situations that threaten to undermine our self-image. When we fail or the self is otherwise threatened with devaluation, we usually have to rely upon various unconscious defense mechanisms to protect ourselves from psychological hurt. Thus, we may alter facts to fit our biases or rationalize our defects as moral victories. Or our faults may be projected to become the deficiencies of others. In the next section we shall examine these dynamic mechanisms of self-defense in relation to their significance of personal development and adjustment.

DYNAMISMS OF THE SELF IN PROTECTIVE ACTION

Self, the very core of a person's being, looks out upon the surrounding world in terms of its enhancement or defense. This dynamic and continuous process of self-maintenance and self-growth is intimately related to our perceptions and assumptions concerning our self-image, self-identity, self-ideal, and self-evaluations. Throughout this book, we have emphasized the urgent striving of the self for consistency and stability. This struggle for self-maintenance is an effort to preserve one's self-image, one's perception of oneself as an enduring person. Defense-oriented behavior typically involves one or more automatic, unconscious mechanisms for protecting the self structure. These mechanisms or dynamisms of the self are triggered into operation automatically when the integrity or worth of the self is endangered.

Although typically defense mechanisms do not alter the stress situation appreciably, they help allay anxiety by concealing or distorting the threat to self. Thus, we may learn to blame others for our failures or justify our misdoings as "what everybody else does." These protective dynamisms of the self may be either normal or neurotic. Normal self-defense is the desire

to maintain one's integrity and self-esteem without utilizing crippling mechanisms; neurotic self-defense consists in the use of self-deceptive techniques that serve to hide from the person, and presumably from others, his real or imagined defects and weaknesses. Defense mechanisms are self-impairing only when they lead to false perceptions of oneself and others and when they distort and damage interpersonal relationships. Generally, they are normal and somewhat inescapable dynamisms of adjustment that, if their employment is not abused, contribute to personal equilibrium.

Whether we conceive the defenses of self as normal or neurotic depends upon whether they contribute to constructive or creative adjustments or to negative, destructive behavior. Thus, the dynamics of protective defenses by means of which the self seeks to maintain its integrity are not necessarily bad. When used constructively as guidelines for the future, as aids in attaining important long-range goals, they are constructive and useful. Thus, stripped of its negative associations, self-defense serves as a stabilizer of the personality. In this sense then self-defense is, indeed, as Murphy remarked, "a central concept of personality study."¹¹ Let us now examine the more prevalent mechanisms or dynamisms of self-defense commonly used in everyday life.¹²

Rationalization. Rationalization is a very well-known process in which we justify our behavior by attributing acceptable and logical motivation to it. Thus, if we decide to go to a movie when we know we should study for an examination, we can usually think up a variety of reasons to justify our decision: we live only once, we need to see this movie to be knowledgeable in our changing world, the relaxation will help us feel fresh for the exam. Or we may try to justify cheating by pointing out that others cheat, we have to meet our competition to survive, and that in real life, society does not ask too many questions as long as you are successful. By such means we can usually justify about everything we have done, are doing, or propose to do. Many of the other defense mechanisms often involve varying degrees of rationalization.

We also use rationalization to soften the disappointment of thwarted desires. For example, people with little money may emphasize that the really important things in life such as love and friendship cannot be bought with money. An extension of the preceding "sour grapes" form of rationalization is the "sweet lemon" mechanism. Thus, not only is what we cannot have not worth having, but what we do have is remarkably satisfactory. So be it; not only are the most important things in life free, but it is actually better to be poor, because money is the root of all evil.

Rationalization is a very complex self mechanism and one that is often difficult to detect because our rationalizations frequently contain an element of truth. As some guidelines, we may suspect that we are rationalizing when we (1) hunt for reasons to justify our behavior or beliefs, (2) are

unable to recognize inconsistencies, and (3) become emotional when the reasons for our behavior are questioned. Usually, however, our own rationalizations probably deceive us if not other people, thus accomplishing their purpose of protecting the self from threat.

Projection. Projection may involve placing the blame for our failures and difficulties or ascribing to others our own unacceptable strivings. Thus, the student fails his test because the professor is unfair or incapable of designing a valid test. If a person likes to dominate every situation, he may accuse others of being authoritarian. If he is dishonest, he tends to believe that "you can't trust anybody." A man with strong homosexual tendencies may accuse other men of continually trying to seduce him.

Projections typically center around the alleviation of inferiority feelings resulting from failure and around ethical attitudes relating to hostility, honesty, and sexual desires. The use of projection relevant to sexual desires is particularly common among individuals with rigid conscience development and high self-ideals. Their high personal standards make it impossible for them to accept unethical desires perceptually as part of themselves. Because these desires are so threatening and self-devaluating that they usually cannot be handled even by rationalization, they are projected to someone else, who now becomes the sinful person while the individual himself remains conveniently "pure" in his thoughts, actions, and behavior.

Compensation. As the name implies, compensation involves the substitution of more rewarding qualities or activities for ones that make us feel inferior or inadequate. This mechanism normally operates as an unconscious automatic defense against possible feelings of inferiority by giving us reasons for a favorable picture of ourselves. Because a discrepancy between our self-ideal world leads to inferiority feelings, we unconsciously protect ourselves by downgrading the value of accomplishments in areas where we are weak and focus our interest and attention upon areas where we can excel, at the same time placing a high value upon success in these fields. For instance, if we know we are "neither a beauty nor a brain," we may tend to belittle the value of good looks and scholarship and regard helpfulness and a sense of human kindness as more desirable qualities.

Sometimes compensation is undertaken deliberately and consciously as simply a more or less realistic reaction to the existing situation. A boy who is too frail and sickly to excel in sports, for example, may compensate for his lack of athletic prowess by concentrating upon achieving scholastic prominence. Although compensation in certain instances may thus result in desirable and useful behavior patterns, it is not likely to do so when its primary purpose is self-defense. More generally, the rejected and insecure child may show off, trying in this way to receive some of the attention and approval he so badly needs; the boy who feels inferior and inadequate may become the neighborhood bully; the adolescent girl who feels unloved and

unwanted may eat too much, resort to fantasy compensations, or become sexually promiscuous. Insecure adolescent boys sometimes resort to anti-social behavior as a means of demonstrating their bravery and masculinity.

Regression Regression is essentially an unconscious retreat from the present into the past. As such, it alleviates the stress of feelings of failure and inadequacy by providing an escape from the problems and challenges of maturity. This retreat may involve either (1) greatly lowered levels of aspiration, or (2) substitution of less mature modes of behavior that brought satisfaction at some earlier stages of development, or (3) a combination of both these factors.

In the face of stresses that do not respond to current approaches, we might expect that a person would try out previously successful patterns of response. Regression, however, is a more comprehensive mode of response than this, for it is an unconscious retreat to a dependence upon immature patterns of behavior that place less demand on the individual and, if successful, permit more ready achievement of satisfaction with little or no effort. Thus, the new bride feeling insecure in a strange familial milieu may go home to the ready and protective arms of her mother at the first sign of marital discord.

Denial of Reality One defense mechanism that many people learn to use for protecting the self from unpleasant or devastating circumstances is the refusal to face the situation. Thus in much the same way that we turn away from an unpleasant sight, so we may turn away from facing our failures and faults, or we may refuse to face the faults of others with whom we identify. Mothers are often blissfully unaware of the limitations of their children; a person in love often refuses to see qualities in his future mate that might conflict with his idealistic dreams and hence with his own needs.

One major form of this denial of reality is *escapism*. We may escape the need to face reality by procrastinating, by becoming ill, by not being in the proper mood, or by avoiding any situation in which we think we might fail. We can even 'escape into our reality' if we manage to keep so busy with work or the social whirl or some form of 'busy work' that we have no time or energy to face our real problems. In effect, keeping busy with such seemingly important tasks prevents our having pangs of conscience about not facing our more difficult problems.

Denying reality is not the same process as ignoring it when our expected reality is not relevant to our present purposes. Basically, denial consists of falsifying reality, either by convincing others it does not exist or by perceiving it in a distorted way. Denial, in this sense, certainly may offer us a prettier picture of our world for us to see. But to the extent that we must use our picture of ourselves and our world for a map to guide our behavior, it should be accurate if we are to travel where we want to go and work toward becoming a congruent self.

Fantasy. Not only do we tend to screen out unpleasant aspects of reality, but we also tend to imagine things as we would like them to be. Many fantasies are readily available for us through movies, television, soap operas, magazine stories, and novels; others we create in our daydreams.

Sometimes fantasies involve hostile themes and enable us to discharge our hostile tensions by conquering against great odds and, in fantasy, destroying all opposition. Such hostile fantasies are likely to occur after some unsuccessful encounter in which we feel someone has taken advantage of us or embarrassed us. Thus, through imagination, we relive the situation as we would have liked it to be, with our success rather than failure; in so doing, feelings of self-devaluation are lessened, at least temporarily. Such "conquering hero" fantasies are, of course, the fulfillment in daydreams of desires that are frustrated in real life. Hence, the fantasy of being a great person enables the individual to enjoy social status and accomplishments that he is denied in real life; fantasies of the destruction of his enemies give safe expression to hostility normally denied expression.

"Suffering hero" fantasies are those in which the individual imagines that he is suffering from some horrible affliction or handicap or is an adopted and abused child; when people discover the difficulties besetting him, they will be sorry for their treatment of him and then give him the attention he deserves. By such fantasies, the person avoids the admission of personal inferiority or lack of worth and to some extent also avoids the necessity of striving more strenuously toward his goals. Under the circumstances, he has actually demonstrated remarkable courage and is highly successful, considering the handicaps of his life. In essence, he merits the sympathy and admiration of all.

Escaping temporarily from the stresses of everyday living into a more pleasant fantasy world relieves us of our burdens for a time and adds the dash of excitement and encouragement that enables us to return to the struggles of our life with renewed vigor and zest. But certainly fantasy becomes dangerous to the self in its dynamic effort to actualize if we begin to substitute the easier accomplishments of make-believe for real-life endeavors.

Displacement. As a defense mechanism, displacement is an unconscious shift of emotion and symbolic meaning from one person or object to a substitute. Typically it involves discharging hostility onto a safer person or object than the one that aroused it. For example, a common theme in cartoons is the portrayal of the employee who, instead of expressing his hostility toward his boss, which would jeopardize his job and economic security, takes out his feelings upon his wife for some minor irritation such as being late with dinner. His wife then scolds the child, who, in turn, displaces his anger onto the dog or cat. Displacement often involves other emotions as well as hostility. Fears, for instance, may be displaced from the actual

source to related situations, as in the case of the irrational fears that are known as *phobias*.

Displacement may have considerable adjustive value when it enables the individual to discharge his hostile tensions without risking loss of love or retaliation from parents or authority figures and without having to recognize the true nature of his feelings toward such persons. Sometimes active sports such as bowling, pistol-shooting, or body-contact games serve to displace emotions in socially accepted ways. Thus, usually it is more healthful to recognize and to acknowledge emotional reactions in their primary form, even when unpleasant, and try to devise constructive channels of expression instead of letting them go underground where we cannot control them.

Repression. The mechanism of repression blinds the individual to certain unpleasant internal realities by screening out painful memories or desires that are dangerous to his self-esteem or feelings of adequacy. Sometimes, especially in sudden, very traumatic experiences, repressive defenses, which may cause amnesia, operate only on a temporary basis until time and other factors have somewhat desensitized the individual to the shock of the experience so that he can handle it without too extreme disruption of his self structure. In a less dramatic situation, a person with strong feelings of hostility toward his parents may have these feelings so well repressed that he is unaware of his hatred. Similarly, sexual desires that the individual considers to be immoral may be blocked from consciousness. Sometimes repressive defenses have to be bolstered by other defense mechanisms. For instance, the problem of intense hostility toward an autocratic and feared father may be handled by a combination of repression and displacement.

When repressive defenses are in danger of failing, a person becomes extremely anxious, for he is again placed under threat. This, in turn, tends to reinforce his defenses or to induce new ones. If his defenses fail and the forbidden material enters his consciousness, the experience is a highly traumatic one. In severe instances, such as those involving repressed homosexuality, the conscious realization of such desires may completely disorganize the person's psychological functioning. Repression, in general, may be considered one of the more harmful defense mechanisms of the self, for it results in the inadequate handling of relatively severe stresses.

Reaction Formation. In reaction formation a person not only represses his actual, unacceptable attitudes and wishes but develops others on the conscious level that are the exact opposite. Thus, persons with underlying homosexual desires may strongly condemn such behavior and react with strong disgust and aversion to the very mention of it. Persons who crusade militantly against loose morals or the evils of alcohol are often helping to safeguard themselves from such errant behavior. Such self-appointed protectors of the public morals may voluntarily devote their lives to ferreting out obscene passages in books or magazines, crusading against the

inadequate or inappropriate attire of youth or other "sinful creatures," or otherwise publicly condemning the alleged vice and corruption they presumably discover. By making such activities their "duty," they undoubtedly gain some vicarious satisfaction of their own unacceptable desires without damage to their self-ideals.

Reaction formation often, of course, is much more subtle in its operation. For example, a person who experiences what he considers immoral sexual attraction to his friend's wife may develop conscious attitudes of antagonism toward her. Or the member of a jury who has had tempting impulses toward embezzling funds from his own company may be unduly severe in condemning the defendant for similar behavior, demanding the most extreme penalty the law permits. Thus, by such condemnation and punishment, he helps to hold his own dangerous impulses in check. Reaction formation, like other defense mechanisms, does help us to maintain socially approved behavior and protects us from the stress of acknowledging that we have antisocial or unethical desires. But certainly the self-deception involved is not conducive to a realistic and effective solution of our problems, and the harshness with which we treat others shows neither understanding nor fairness as values in our self structure.

Undoing. Undoing is a defense mechanism designed to negate or atone for some disapproved desire, idea, or behavior, apparently developing from our childhood when we may have been punished or forced to apologize or make restitution for our misdeeds. In adult life we may consciously attempt to atone or make restitution for our misdeeds, or this negating action may take place on the unconscious level, the latter being the mechanism of undoing. Illustratively, the unethical businessman may give large sums of money to his church or to some charitable organization. Or the rejecting mother commonly showers her child with toys and other material possessions or other external indications of solicitude.

Sometimes the only possible atonement for our sins appears to be punishment itself, so we may unconsciously devise ways to "get what's coming to us." Because it is socially desirable that we make restitution for our misdeeds and because undoing assists us in avoiding devaluating and disturbing guilt conflicts, the use of this defense mechanism may be considered generally beneficial. If we unconsciously rely upon undoing to protect and maintain the self too much, however, its use may be at the expense of understanding and improving our behavior.

Sublimation. In sublimation we accept socially approved substitute goals for sexual or other strivings whose normal goals are blocked. Hence the girl who fails to marry may find some substitute satisfaction in her teaching career, in oil painting, in gardening, or in volunteer work in an orphanage. Although Freud visualized this sublimated activity as rechanneled libido or sexual energy, there is some doubt as to whether the energy

released in these kinds of activities is the same as that involved in a sexual relationship. More likely, new interests are developed and that constructive activity reduces sexual tensions rather than rechanneling them.

Emotional Insulation. In emotional insulation the person withdraws from stress by reducing his degree of emotional involvement in situations that might prove disappointing and hurtful. Hence, in looking forward to a date with a very attractive girl, the individual may not let himself become too excited or enthusiastic about the event for fear that something will happen to prevent it or that he will be disappointed in her or she will not like him. Because we all experience many disappointments in life, most of us learn to keep our hopes and anticipations within bounds, until the hoped-for event is too close to get away. We are careful to avoid premature celebrations or to let our hopes rise too high. As it were, we are usually careful to hedge our emotional bets somewhat when the aspired event is one in which we are deeply self involved.

Emotional insulation, up to a certain point, is a highly important method of defending ourselves from unnecessary disappointment and hurt. Life, however, involves calculated risks, and most of us are willing to take our chances on participating in the stream of life rather than withdrawing from it; we choose to become emotionally involved in marriage, close friendships, and group concerns. Unfortunately, individuals who have been badly bruised by life's blows may withdraw from further involvement in which they might be hurt. Thus, the sensitive youth who has been badly shaken up by a broken love affair may insulate himself to such a degree that he finds it difficult to achieve a close affectional relationship again. This reaction is especially common among people who have been rejected and hurt in early childhood and who by adulthood have learned to insulate the self with a protective shell of aloofness and detachment that makes it impossible for them to give or to receive love or to participate enthusiastically in life with any personal meaning and zest.

Intellectualization. A self-dynamism related to both emotional insulation and rationalization is intellectualization, in which the emotional feeling that would normally accompany certain events is prevented by "rational" explanation. As it were, grief over the senseless death of a child may be softened by the conviction that the good die young. Sometimes we avoid actively dealing with unpleasant aspects of life that would ordinarily make civic and emotional demands upon us by becoming cynical or by making exhaustive analyses of the situation, thus convincing ourselves of our righteous position. We may argue that there is no point in trying to expose graft or to improve political institutions because people are stupid and greedy and you cannot change them. Or we may verbally deplore racial discrimination but assume we can do nothing about it alone.

Identification. The mechanism of identification is not only an important

guide to development but also one of the most successful means of enhancing one's feelings of worth and importance. Hence, by identifying himself with his father, a child can recognize the qualities that make his father seem so effective and can gain a sense of adequacy from his father's exploits far beyond that which comes from his own seemingly immature achievements. As we grow up, the same mechanism continues as we identify with important aspects of our life. The college we attend, the company for which we work, and the clubs or other elite organizations to which we belong can all enhance our feelings of personal worth, as can living in an exclusive residential section or driving a prestigious car.

Actually, in terms of rather continuous self-needs, it is *not* difficult to identify ourselves with the organizations, people, or possessions that affect our status. We can conveniently forget that the glory in which we bask as a member of a highly respected group does not all emanate from us personally. Identification is undoubtedly of value as a self-defense mechanism in making us feel more adequate and secure in the face of everyday stresses, although again, as with other dynamisms, we caution against the dangers. 'The person who relies upon others' accomplishments rather than his own will eventually experience a deep sense of frustration and a nebulous meaning of self-achievement.

Introjection. Although introjection is really a type of identification, the term refers more specifically to the internalization of attitudes with which the individual may not basically agree but which seem essential to his survival or to the improvement of his status. This process is illustrated early in life by the child's learning and accepting ethical values that come to limit his impulsive actions and function as internal controls in directing his behavior. By internalizing society's value attitudes, he acquires inner controls that tend to ensure his behaving in approved ways. Unfortunately, the same process occurs whether the social group has healthy or unhealthy values. Much adolescent conformity is a defensive internalizing of values inconsistent with the teenager's own real convictions but adopted to bolster his needs for acceptance, belonging, esteem, and security.

Overdependence of the Self on Defense. In defense-oriented action, as we have noted, we are dealing with a self structure threatened by devaluation, typically in the form of failure, guilt, inadequacy, or lowered worth. Probably some use of defensive mechanisms is universal and is a valuable psychological safety valve for helping us to maintain the self-confidence we need for the realization and the actualization of our potentialities. But certainly overdependence upon them is dangerous, preventing us from living the openness of experience, understanding and accepting ourselves, and generating the trust in our own being as one of dignity and worth, which is so necessary to becoming the fully functioning person described by Rogers⁴³ and by Combs and Snygg.⁴⁴

The individual who relies constantly upon defensive patterns of behavior is one who rightly or wrongly has deep underlying convictions of his own inadequacy and inferiority. This person is the victim of his own perceptual failures and an inadequate personality is described very cogently by Combs and Snygg.¹ As such, he *has* to be continually on the defensive with himself and his world, for he has so little margin of security and confidence. The more inadequate he feels, the more need he has for these unconscious defenses, but the more he depends upon them, the more out of touch he becomes with reality and its requirements and the more inadequate he becomes. If, however, the person follows the wholesome pattern of self-realization and self-actualization discussed in the subsequent chapters, he works toward a state of continuous becoming that allows him more and more to develop a congruent self that finds it less and less necessary to be protected from itself and the surrounding world even under circumstances of stress and strain.

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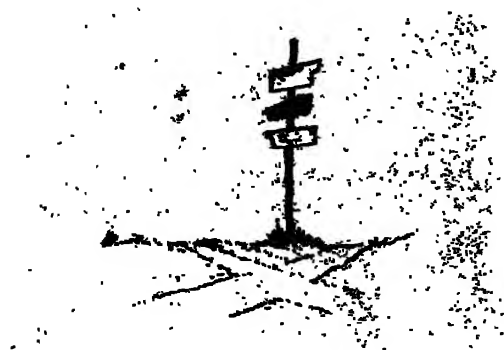
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PART 3

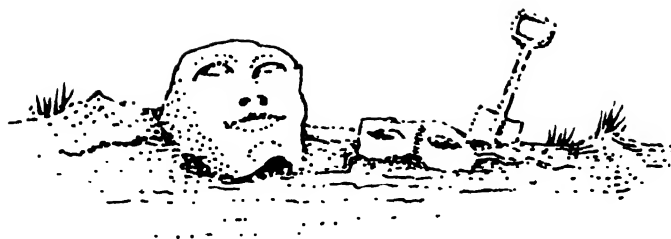
THE SEARCH FOR PERSONAL MEANING



13

Identity Validation and Self- Fulfillment

*Man's existence consists,
in the last analysis,
of his freedom—
Truth is freedom.*
—Heidegger



Who am I? Who will I become? Why am I? Where do I fit uniquely into the world of people? These are basic questions of identity validation and of self-realization. As such each person in his own way attempts to formulate a "core process" or an image with which he can live comfortably. From the indirect and direct guidelines set up by a society, man internalizes values, establishes standards of behavior to follow, identifies roles to play, and hopefully delineates an identifiable concept of himself that can be consistently endured. This formalization is carried over into all of life's activities, individually and collectively. Thus, each per-

son goes through life expressing himself in his own terms and through his own efforts.

Man then must develop for himself a comfortable existence in the cultural mainstream of a society, and at the same time be able to live adaptively with his self while accepting the responsibility of personal uniqueness. Reconciliation of these two forces depends upon the understanding of our internal needs and of the social pressures under which we exist through the vital processes of identity validation and self-fulfillment.

THE PEER GROUP AS A FACILITATOR OF IDENTITY

As a facilitator of becoming and self-fulfillment, all persons need to have points of reference for the identification of goals and values to establish a self-identity. Self-identification in contemporary society is difficult for children, particularly adolescents, to establish, primarily because of urbanization and industrialization, one consequence of which is the changed nature of the family, as it no longer provides the moorings for self-identity that it once did. Social identity evolving from self-initiated, shared group values and behavior becomes meaningful and realistic from the perceptions of children and adolescents as they participate in peer associations. In these groups young people find statuses and roles that have been denied them in society at large.

Much of social and emotional growth in adolescence takes place with contemporaries of both sexes. The sense of identity includes a firm concept of where one fits with other people, especially people of his own generation. The young person's image of himself is built partly upon his interpretations of the ways in which others regard him. As such, this social reputation will influence behavior as well as self-concept. Friendship and love relationships and social acceptance promote actualizing behavior and personal growth; isolation and social rejection accentuate man's basic loneliness and hinder his fulfillment. Thus, social behavior is learned, and one of the principal "teachers" is the peer group. Although peer groups are a significant influence in socialization at any developmental level, more emphasis will be given to peer associations during adolescence because of their distinctive potency as a subcultural force during these years.

The Nature of the Peer Group

From the time a child begins to venture away from the protection of home and mother, one of the most insistent problems facing him is that of getting along with his peers. This problem demands at least a partial solution every time he encounters another child; it cannot be evaded or long postponed. If the problems of peer adjustment are great, so are the

rewards. Parental or other adult love and protection, though essential to adequate development, does not offer the same kinds of satisfactions as do effective relations with peers; both are of paramount importance and neither is a substitute for the other. Acceptance, friendship, status, and social identity—these come to mean more and more to the developing child until by adolescence the desire for them will have become a major personal need.

Much more than self-satisfaction is involved; even from preschool age a child's concept of himself, his personal worth, and his place in society are strongly influenced by the attitudes his peers express toward him. His values, morals, and beliefs reflect the standards of his peer group. An individual cannot, in essence, enter happily and effectively into the society of adults without first having been an adequate member in the society of children and then of adolescents. Thus, learning to associate with and relate to peers is one of life's important developmental tasks at all ages.

What then is this significant social entity called the peer group? The peer group has been described as an "aggregation of people of approximately the same age who feel and act together."¹ Although the peer group is a social and recreational "play" group, it is also a *reference* group to which an individual looks for rules or norms of behavior. The child grows up in two social worlds—one the world of adults and the other the world of his peers. From a broad point of view, the peer group of the child and adolescent constitutes a world of its own with recognized and accepted customs, traditions, manner, and even, at times, its own language. Although these aspects of this distinctive subculture may differ considerably from the values and expectations of the adult world, the social impact of the peer group is a potent realistic influence in the perceptions of children and adolescents. When conflicts of values arise in the home between parents and children, many times there is the need to reconcile two sets of expectations: one set from the world of one's peers, the other from the world of adults.

For any given child, of course, the peer group means a succession of specific groups of children with whom he interacts, and the average child will associate with a variety of particular peer groups as he grows up, varying from the informal play group to more organized groups. Although the basic reality of the peer group as a social world of its own is well known and accepted by many parents and teachers, yet its significance as a socializing agency in the total life of the child is less often recognized compared with other social institutions, such as the family or the school; the peer group is not a formalized, institutionalized agent of society, having no legal definitions and no formally ascribed functions or duties. Yet the peer group pervades the life of a normal child to a greater and greater extent as he grows older, and it performs increasingly important functions in teaching him the ways of his society.

Chronologically in the child's process of becoming, the peer group is the second major socializing agency. Usually between the ages of four and seven the child's social world changes radically, from a small world centered in the family to an expanding world with a second center in the peer group. From this time on, the individual relates to and continually learns from his age mates. This is true of the child, the adolescent, and the adult. We learn from our friends and peers as long as we live; we become adequate and fulfilled selves through rich experiences with people, including our contemporaries who offer us the human relationships of the moment to expand our perceptual fields.

The Peer Group as a Facilitator of Learning

The basic difference between the peer world and the adult world is that in the world of adults the child is always in a position of subordinate status; in the peer world, however, he has equal status with others. In the peer group, the child learns from other persons who are his social equals and who are not removed from him by wide differences in age, maturity, or prestige. Thus, he is in a situation of comparative freedom psychologically, an environment in which he feels less compulsion to accept the ideas and attitudes of his teachers: in essence, the child is in a more opportune situation to find the courage to be and to become. For his "teachers," his age mates in this case, hold no marked advantage over him in wisdom nor in experience except as he perceives his disadvantages. Deference and respect for authority, as compared to learning situations in which the teacher is an adult, are irrelevant considerations. The child with his peer is in a position where he is relatively free to exercise his own attitudes, judgments, and critical evaluations, to make his own choices of acceptable or unacceptable behavior. He is free to explore personal relationships and to test himself out against others in his search for social and self-identity.

A second differentiating factor is that in the peer group, as compared with the family, learning usually occurs in a less emotionally charged setting. A child's playmates are relatively unconcerned about what he gains or fails to gain from the social situation. At least in the early years, there is a lack of awareness that the social situation is a learning experience; and even as such awareness develops in later childhood and adolescence, there is lack of emotional investment in the outcomes. Although there are exceptions, social interaction in peer groups and the learning that results take place in relatively neutral settings. The child is free to try out one after another age mate, one after another group. Thus, he is not "committed," with the possible pressures and expectations of personal involvement, in the way he finds himself committed to his family or teachers.

A third differentiating characteristic of the peer group as a socializing

agency is that its influence tends to become more rather than less significant with the advancing age of the child. Unlike the family, whose impact becomes less monopolistic with time, the peer group becomes more influential. Although the eight- or ten-year-old wants to do things "like the other kids do," the sixteen-year-old may become obsessed with the desire. By the time of adolescence, the peer group, usually, takes precedence over any other group in influencing the individual. As the youngster grows older and gains experience and maturity, he feels more self-confident and less bound to conform to adult standards. He is much more free to create, in collaboration with others like himself, his own standards of conduct and his own level of aspiration, to exercise the freedom and the courage to become in giving birth to a meaningful and unique self.

Functions of the Peer Group

As a socializing agency, the peer group serves the child in a number of ways. Although we generally expect the peer group to teach a child how to get along with others of his age, perhaps the foremost function of the peer group is to teach the culture of the wider society of which it is a part. Even though a peer group is thought to have a subculture that is particularly its own, it nevertheless reflects the adult society and reinforces most of the values held by the adult society.² Any child living in America learns from his peers what it is to be an American—to work, to play, to talk, and to think in ways that are typically American, in short, to be socialized into his culture.

Teaching the Culture. A child learns through his age mates the prevailing standards of adult moral values—fair play, cooperation, honesty, responsibility—that, although they at first may be childlike versions, become adultlike with increasing age. The peer group teaches children their sex roles, building just as in the other areas upon the earlier teaching of the family, but changing and elaborating that earlier learning in complex and influential ways. A child learns from peers what behavior is accepted and admired in a boy, and what is accepted and admired in a girl. Thus, the peer group is a potent influence in molding the behavior of males and females in accordance with current American versions of manhood and womanhood.

The peer group is also an important source of information in areas other than social relations; the information he receives may sometimes be incorrect or distorted, but the child nevertheless turns to his age mates for information and clarification. For example, although our modern sophisticated of age ten years has obtained much of his current knowledge of outer space, rocket ships, modern fads, and social problems from television, it is only after discussion with his peers that this information takes on personal and

intellectual meaning for him. The peer group often decides what knowledge is important and what is not—what fits into its perceptual world and what is irrelevant.

Certain areas of teaching and information giving have become actually the special province of the peer group, whether or not by adult intention. The peer group, in most cases, assumes the responsibility to teach a child by actual experience how rules are made, how they can be changed, and, concomitant with this, an understanding of the individual's responsibility in a group situation—the group dynamics of social interaction and living on a moment-by-moment basis. For the most part, although the family, the school, and other institutions are assuming more responsibility now, the peer group has been the principal source to impart sex education to the child.

The peer group also teaches the adult subculture of which it is a part; ethnic, religious, social class, and regional subcultures are transmitted through the peer group. A child who grows up in the slums of the inner city associates with other lower-class boys and girls, and he learns from them, as well as from his family, the real inside story of the lower-class way of life. The same process of learning through realistic perceptual experiences is true of the child in the middle or upper class. In most cases the peer group acts to reinforce the reality as well as to elaborate the teaching of the family in inducting the child into his society and into a given social-class position in the society.

Teaching Social Mobility. Although the peer group usually reinforces the way of life of different social classes, it also operates, in many cases, to teach social mobility. A lower-class boy or girl who, through an organized youth group or through the school, associates with middle-class children learns from them new ways of behaving. Through an expansion of his perceptual field, he may be encouraged to acquire the values, goals, and aspirations of his new friends and this may eventuate in his rising above the social position of his family. Although lower- and middle-status families seldom live in similar areas, the opportunity for lower-class children to identify with middle-class children is most often found within the school. Many educators, recognizing the power of age mates in changing self-perceptions of lower-class youth relevant to social mobility, use this phenomenon as a strong argument in favor of heterogeneous schools. They feel that one of the ways the school can help foster mobility and understanding is to bring children of varying social backgrounds together into a common setting, thus providing the opportunity for lower-class children and adolescents to learn from peers, as well as from adult school personnel, a middle-class way of life.

Providing New Social Roles. In addition to its function of transmitting

the wider culture, the peer group provides a new social organization or social system in which the child learns new behavior. For instance, the child raised in an "autocratic" family may find himself for the first time in a group in which democratic relationships are practiced; or the child raised in a "democratic" family may find himself in a group with a strong and dominating leader. A peer group usually tends to be less tightly structured and more democratic than the family group by the very fact that adults are usually absent; yet peer groups vary tremendously in size and in structure, in how they are organized, and in how the members relate to one another. Through the sheer process of identifying with and participating effectively in a variety of peer groups, the child and adolescent expands his social perceptions and experiences, which contribute influentially to his accumulating acuity in social becoming.

In the same way, peer groups provide numerous opportunities for members to explore and to fill new social roles, for example, the boy who has learned how to be a friend and, sometimes, an enemy, how to be a leader, a follower, a participant. A peer group usually provides, too, for differentiation of roles in other dimensions. One child may become the "idea man" for the group; another becomes the disruptor or the "pest"; another the scapegoat; another the slave; and so on—these roles when internalized by human perceptions take on much meaning within the self-image of the developing child. Peer groups offer a wide experiential arena to the child for social experimentation; and in the generally free and open atmosphere of the peer world, the child can investigate with relative security somewhat different types of behavior and somewhat different social roles.

Other Functions. The peer group serves still other functions such as helping the child achieve independence from adults. In giving him group support, peer experience bolsters him in his dealings with adults, gives him a feeling of strength and solidarity with others like himself. Within the peer group, the child finds new models of behavior, other persons not too far removed from himself in age or experience, whom he can imitate and with whom he can identify. The peer group, by allowing the child and adolescent freedom to experiment with social experiences and relationships, helps him to gain self-knowledge and sense of self; gives him the opportunity of becoming a person like other people in common aspects and yet a person different from all others in his own uniqueness.

THE QUEST FOR SOCIAL IDENTITY

Although the peer group operates informally, as we have indicated, its influence is a major one that has grown much more important in recent years, particularly in reference to meeting some of the developmental needs

of adolescents, such as a sense of personal and social identity. Currently, our society is primarily an urbanized one of very rapid social change. In such a society, where interests and tastes and ways of thought are modified rapidly, adults are often less able and less willing than youngsters to keep abreast of the latest innovations, at least in certain areas of life that may be of great importance to the child. The child and adolescent turn as a consequence to their peers for information, guidance, and identification. A person's sense of identity grows through interactions with peers of both sexes. The gang during childhood and the crowd in adolescence provide a group identity which helps a youngster feel a part of his peers and separate from his family, drawing a distinct line between generations. He feels comfortable when identified with the crowd and is therefore able to work toward social identity more freely by trying out a variety of social roles.

Ours is also a society in which adolescents play a relatively insignificant part in the economic, political, civic, or other productive aspects of community life. As adolescence tends to be prolonged, and as youth are excluded from participation in the adult society, young people turn more and more to the peer group for support, recognition, and identity. In return, the peer group becomes an increasingly important source of influence in the life of the adolescent and takes on an expanding role in the socialization process. In many respects, adolescents have a society of their own, overlapping with, and yet distinct from, the larger society in which they live, serving to give them opportunities for social identity with their peers. Much of the learning adolescents provide for one another comes through the opportunities to seek personal and social identity as they test their views and theories within the peer group. In adolescence, as in earlier childhood, a person's thinking is sharpened and clarified by the need to formulate his private thoughts in language, logic, and behavior that *others* can understand. The peer group provides the experiential opportunities for this significant quest for personal identity through a variety of social interactions.

Identity as an Escape from Loneliness

As Erich Fromm³ has noted, human existence is characterized by the fact that man is alone and separated from the world; not being able to stand the separation, he is impelled to seek for relatedness and oneness. Man, then, has a basic loneliness which impells him to give of his energy generously in the quest for social identity. According to Moustakas,⁴ existential loneliness, which inevitably is a part of human experience, has a developmental history beginning in infancy, when the need for contact is temporarily unresolved, and continuing through the need for ultimate relatedness and companionship. Loneliness enters into crucial periods of development and critical experiences in childhood and reaches full signifi-

cance in preadolescence, when an increasing urgency for social identification is manifested as an escape from this human phenomenon.

Moustakas⁵ believes that the experience of separation or isolation is not unhealthy any more than any condition of human existence is unhealthy. Ultimately, each man is alone but when the individual maintains a truthful self-identity, such isolation is strengthening and induces deeper sensitivities and awareness to self and others. He maintains that the fear, evasion, denial, and the accompanying attempts to escape the experience of being lonely will forever isolate the person from his own existence, will afflict and separate him from his own resources so that there is no development, no creative emergence, no growth in awareness, perceptiveness, sensitivity. If the individual does not exercise his loneliness, one significant capacity and dimension of being human remains undeveloped and denied—that of the growth-inducing, deepening values of a genuine, vital, lonely experience.⁶ Thus, loneliness, as well as social identity, is a condition of human life, an experience of being human, which enables the individual to sustain, extend, and deepen his humanity and to experience new compassion, and deeper companionships with more radiant, sensitive awareness and meaning. "When man is removed from a fundamental truth of life, when he successfully evades and denies the terrible loneliness of individual existence, he shuts himself off from one significant avenue of his own self-growth."⁷

Adolescence is not only a time of intense sociability but, for many, a time of loneliness. Adolescents live in solitary isolation when they cannot share their concerns with others and when the only close companions they can find are those who dwell within their own imagination. Loneliness occurs not only in those who are physically alone, but it can occur in its most acute form when a person is in the midst of a crowd joining in the banter of social identification and enforced sociability. For example, a boy and girl can dance together for hours, participating in the most acceptable and, seemingly, compatible patterns of rhythmic expression, yet the physical identification, in itself, does not bring psychological closeness. Unless there is a bond, a feeling of intimacy and tenderness, each may feel as lonely as ever or perhaps even lonelier, for the contrast between the superficially friendly motions and the deeper unrequited needs is magnified. In adolescence, as in later periods of life, individuals try to build barricades against loneliness through the quest for social identity. Through the companionship and human relatedness of the peer group "crowd," the "cliques," the close friendships, the heterosexual associations in dating, the young person attempts to understand himself in relation to others and to search out his own identity in the midst of basic existential loneliness. These human associations help us understand, by contrast, the fundamental, dynamic truths of our involvement both in aloneness and relatedness in the human predicament of living.

Identity and Social Relatedness in Informal Groups

Group relationships perform several essential functions both for the individual and for society. In the *first* place, group relationships satisfy "group hunger" or the striving to escape loneliness, considered by some psychologists to be the most basic of human problems. In the *second* place, group relationships help the individual to differentiate the concept he has of himself as a result of giving him the opportunity to know other persons. These interactions of relatedness with members of a group also clarify the self each person sees in the looking glass—his "social self"—or his self as others see him. The individual's attitude toward himself and his "real" or psychological self are modified as he looks at himself through others' eyes. When a person evokes praise or criticism, he unconsciously develops self-attitudes that range from blissful self-love to extreme self-abnegation. Research by Carl Rogers and associates indicates a positive relationship between an individual's self-acceptance and his approval by others.⁸

In a sense an individual's socialization within informal groups takes on the characteristics of radar. He learns to send out signals, to bounce them against targets—his peers—and by the way the signals are reflected, he judges how acceptable they are to those to whom they were sent. Thus, the reactions of other people tell the person whether or not he is "on the beam." The development of an identity with and sensitivity to others is an essential ingredient in the process of each person's socialization. In this process of socializing, *third*, group relationships involve definitions of social roles, which means learning how to organize social standards and skills in the manner most rewarding to self and acceptable to others. In fact, social benefits normally accrue to the individual who learns ways of behaving approved by the group such as popularity, acceptance, friendships, and understanding of the values of the group.

Fourth, a person's social contacts broaden his values beyond what has been possible at home. Through associating with many informal groups, the child or adolescent assimilates many ideas and attitudes on a variety of subjects as he perceives his social experiences and evaluates them in reference to his peers. As the individual learns what are his most useful and respected social roles and values and acquires an understanding of others' views and a sensitivity for their feelings, he works toward his quest of winning approval and establishing a secure place for himself in a group. His identification with the group follows; the group's good becomes his own good and the group's values become meaningful to him. To do something for the group is to do something for himself. Thus the development of "we feeling" and relatedness within peer groups lead to social responsibility.

In essence, as young people identify with and relate to their peers, these informal groups hold up a frank and realistic social mirror in which the

adolescent sees himself as he appears to his age mates. Although his parents and siblings may refrain from being so candid, the peer group makes both his successes and his failures crystal clear. The adolescent is thus provided with a running "feedback" report of how he is doing as he strives for identity and relatedness through social interaction within the informal groupings of his contemporaries. Social relationships then attain heightened significance in adolescence, a crucial stage in personality formation, or development of the unique pattern of self characteristics of every thinking, feeling, behaving being in the process of becoming.

Friendships. Close friends or chums are usually of similar age and social class;⁹ propinquity is a major factor. For example, college students tend to choose friends from the same floor in large dormitories.¹⁰ Developmental stage is a significant factor in friendships as younger children choose friends who will fit certain roles as playmates; older children care more about personal characteristics.¹¹ For this reason those who share an adolescent friendship are more likely to be similar than are childhood friends. Friends during adolescence tend to score alike in tests of dominance, self-sufficiency, self-confidence, security, and social adjustment generally.¹² Sometimes personal characteristics are complementary rather than identical; each friend fulfills some special need in the other. The boy hungry for power seeks someone he can dominate. The pretty girl associates with a plain one who does not distract attention from herself. A girl may want friends who are attractive to boys to help establish her own popularity with the crowd.

Sullivan,¹³ the eminent psychiatrist, believes that intimate friendships are very important for social identity and self-growth. A close friend serves a person as a mirror, helping him to see his faults better than anyone else can, even a parent. Friends can many times make constructive criticisms without eliciting resentment and exchange thoughts about their personal conflicts that might otherwise be repressed. Friendship, as such, offers numerous opportunities for emotional catharsis and release of anxieties. A close friendship is a fine solace for the loneliness that many experience owing to the difficulties of social orientation during adolescence; being valued as a friend enhances feelings of security and self-respect. Although the effects of a friendship may not always be positive in the eyes of the observing adults, friendships nevertheless serve a basic need for the adolescent who is experimenting somewhat desperately in his urgency to establish personal and social identity. Adults can be facilitating in this process by providing realistic opportunities for young people to meet each other, serving as models in characteristics of desirable friends, and stressing the development of social traits and skills that will make them sought as friends.

The Clique. The clique is a small exclusive group made up of three or more individuals who possess similar interests and sometimes a strong affection for each other.¹⁴ Some cliques may be due not so much to affection as

to the bond of feeling produced by being excluded elsewhere. Cliques are usually alike in social background, interests, and experience; members' feeling for one another is the basic factor holding them together. Just as the adolescent generation differentiates itself from adults by many symbols and one crowd from another, so a clique is likely to have ways of proclaiming its differences from others and solidarity within itself.

Research substantiates the common observation that girls are more cliquish than boys.¹⁵ Because cliques are instruments of status achievement, girls, having fewer opportunities to earn status than do boys, are attracted to clique activity more readily for status reasons as well as for emotional satisfaction. Struggling for a sense of identity, the adolescent looks for opportunities of achievement status. As high status is relative (other people's positions must be lower if yours is to be higher), young people derive feelings of status by belonging to a high-status clique. Thus, high-status cliques look down upon others and guard admission to their own jealously.

Erikson¹⁶ describes how clique members can be petty, cruel, and intolerant in order to defend themselves against a sense of *identity diffusion*. Young people gain some sense of identity by excluding others who are different in skin color, religion, class, abilities or even such trivialities as dress and appearance. Erikson stresses the importance of adults understanding this mechanism without condoning the behavior. He believes that adolescents have to be helped to grow in self-security and identity beyond the point where they feel the necessity for defending themselves by these methods of social discrimination. Erikson implies that this can be facilitated by adults living so as to demonstrate "a democratic identity which can be strong and yet tolerant, judicious, and still determined."

The Crowd. The crowd is larger, not as close knit, and more impersonal than the clique; one or more cliques may exist within a crowd, although this is not necessarily the case. Generally, both boys and girls belong to the crowd, but there are occasions when one sex gets together. Typically, a crowd begins with a clique as a core, and new members are gradually added, the additions coming singly, by two's, or by whole other cliques. The crowd differs from the groups of childhood in that childhood groups form spontaneously, whereas crowd members are chosen carefully, presenting a closed door to outsiders. In a crowd a nonmember cannot simply decide to join; children are undisturbed by the coming and going of group members so long as there are enough to keep activities going.

Both cliques and crowds are effective instruments of social education, providing, as they do, opportunities for unconsciously absorbing the manner and morals of the culture.¹⁷ The crowd's leaders are its arbiters, and ordinarily members fall into line in observing rules. Endless conversations provide opportunities for judging people of many kinds and for understanding

their ideas, emotions, and general behavior. Some of the talk is serious "self-searching out loud," which allows members opportunities to clarify their views of character, motives, and life in general; other talk is light, inconsequential patter serving the purpose of building social poise through conversational give-and-take. The values of the crowd often are so intangible that members themselves are rarely aware that they exist. Group members may be unkind to outsiders because, for one thing, they are so involved in their own developmental problems that they are disposed to be insensitive to the feelings of others. Besides, they are afraid that they will jeopardize their own status if they defy the group's judgment and befriend someone their group rejects; or, lacking convictions of their own, they simply accept the group's social evaluations.

One of the basic functions of the crowd is to provide a group identity that separates adolescent from parent—a "we" feeling of relatedness apart from the family. The adolescent strengthens his own sense of identity by being a member of a group that defines his differences from his parents and gives him a sense of his own being-in-becoming. For instance, Junior gets his hair cut (or not cut) like the other boys do but different from Dad's. Girls wear similar shades of lipstick and nail polish, as well as standardized coiffures and the latest fads in clothes, but if adults adopt those fashions, they may be soon dead and replaced. Signs and symbols known to the crowd indicate whether you are going steady, looking for a new steady, interested in playing the field, or not interested. As adults catch on to the signs and private "talk" of the crowd, the mode of communication may change; language, music, and dancing are also more or less exclusive relevant to the older generation. While participating in the latest dance fad, adolescents are likely to register disgust when their parents negotiate the same steps even if they are skillful in the activity. In these and many other ways adolescents reject their parents and their parents' generation. The crowd gives them strength for self-assertion and a new, supportive frame of reference to reject the old in their quest for identity as they struggle for meaning in searching out their own unique selves within their contemporary society.

Love, Relatedness, and Identity

As discussed in Chapter 5, love was viewed as a universal, basic need of man, the only way to grasp another human being in the innermost core of his personalized self. As such, no one can become fully aware of the very essence of another human being unless he loves him. Love, then, is the creative human encounter whereby one unique and special self attempts to understand, to appreciate, and to validate the very uttermost inner being of another equally distinctive and unique self. We are not saying that the two selves become one, which, in reality, cannot and should not happen if

each is to maintain a valid and authentic self-identity. The dynamic act of love enables an individual to recognize the essential aspects of the self in the beloved person; and, even more significantly, he realizes that which is potential in the loved one, that which has not yet been actualized but ought to be. The loving person, by his love, enables these potentialities and facilitates the identity of self within the loved one. By making him aware of who he is and of what he can be and of what he should become, he encourages these potentialities to come true. As adolescents struggle for relatedness and personal and social identity, they view love in a new heterosexual dimension. Through dating, going steady, and seeking a marital mate, they explore the dynamic aspects of romantic love as a potent force in personal relatedness, self-examination, and identity validation.

Love as a Relatedness Need. Erich Fromm¹⁸ believes that love develops from man's awareness of his separateness and his need to overcome the anxiety this separateness brings by achieving union with someone or something. He stresses the point, however, that the only healthy union is one in which the integrity of the individual is not threatened. Although man can achieve a feeling of union through dependence upon another individual or through conformity to the group, in so doing he surrenders his own individuality. Only through love, Fromm feels, can the needed sense of relatedness be achieved without the loss of individuality and integrity of either person. Fromm describes the mature love we seek to escape our basic separateness as

. . . union under the condition of preserving one's integrity, one's individuality. Love is an active power in man; a power which breaks through the walls which separate man from his fellow men, which unite him with others; love makes him overcome the sense of isolation and separateness, yet permits him to be himself, to retain his integrity. In love, the paradox occurs that two beings become one and yet remain two. . . . The active character of love . . . always implies certain basic elements, common to all forms of love. Genuine love is an expression of productiveness and involves care, respect, responsibility and knowledge.¹⁹

Love as Identity and Self-Validation. Bonner²⁰ views love and freedom as having a paradoxical relation to each other. Love is the giving of oneself to another, an act that implies limitations of one's self-affirmation; however, at the same time self-actualization, the realization of one's inner life, can be achieved only through communication and relatedness to another. Alienation, although never completely transcended, because of every person's uniqueness, is made bearable by man's relatedness to others. Through love, through sensibility, or the power of comprehending another person empathically, the unique and solitary individual can at last surmount the psychic wall that separates him from the being of another. The creative

power of love lies essentially in this vitalization of the lonely individual by creating for him another individual.

According to Bonner, love is neither a function nor a reaction between human beings but it is a searching, a reaching out for the person of another, a creative encounter with the other "as he is." This loving encounter is free of manipulation and exploitation. Man's sensibility, his sensitive regard for the dignity of the other person, impels him to participate in the latter's being without trying to change it. Nevertheless, Bonner thinks that there will be change because the mutuality of such a creative encounter absorbs something of the life of each, so that each is to a degree modified by the other. He sees this tempering of one by the other, as well as the attenuation of the loneliness induced in man by his uniqueness, as an eloquent testimony to love's creativity. Basically, love as a creative encounter is the expression of care, responsibility, faith, and sacrifice. Faith, as he views it, is the unconditional belief in the sanctity of the human being. Faith strengthens the unifying power of care, responsibility, and sacrifice, the vital and dynamic qualities of love, and represents their fullest expression. Love, then, perpetuated by the faith of unconditional positive regard as the psychic "glue" of these other actualizing feelings, activates every individual as a recognized unique self.

Thus, adolescents exploring the dynamic, personal aspects of romantic love, are enabled, through love and social sensitivity, to participate creatively in the subjectivity of another person. They create for themselves a common bond of feeling and personal comprehension, a "we" or *coexistence* of potent meaning. In this love, the two individuals see the world separately because each is unique, yet they share it in common. Each dignifies the other by sharing with him or her a precious self, a human being in the process of becoming. Each rescues the other from the indignity of anonymity by personalizing him through accentuating self-identity and personal validation. Love, the sensitive regard for the dignity and worth of the other person, allows an individual to participate in another person's being-in-becoming without trying to change it, but to facilitate the actualization of the potential self. As we have seen, the impact of the peer groups, society in general, and heterosexual associations serve as extremely influential forces in socializing the individual in his strivings toward his needs to formulate a personalized self and to search out the meaning of who, what, and why he is. These aspects of the emerging, developing person will be explored in the next section and in the last chapter.

TOWARD SELF-ACTUALIZATION AND SELF-REALIZATION

Our understanding of human nature and the forces which influence its development may be facilitated by using the concepts of self-realization and

self-actualization. This purposive striving for self-realization, the ultimate goal of development, involves the physical-psychological processes of conception, birth, and continuous being-in-becoming of the human organism. People other than the self are at all times involved—parents, teachers, playmates, and society as a whole—in that they facilitate the responses of the individual to the many forces that impinge upon him. Thus, strong within every person is the creative urge to give expression to what he believes are his strengths—to make actual that which he senses within himself as potentially significant assets. As Fromm declares in his *Man for Himself*: “Man’s main task in life is to give birth to himself, to become what he potentially is.”²¹ The home, then school, community life, as well as national and international events and conditions, influence the quality of one’s striving and persistence toward self-realization.

Although numerous research studies concerning a variety of aspects relevant to self-development have been reported in recent years, we have not discussed them throughout the chapter, nor will we do so in this section. We shall, however, attempt to share some of the major ideas derived from the multiple investigations of the self in growth. If you as a reader desire to concern yourself with the research, McCandless²² offers an excellent summary and Wylie²³ presents a detailed survey of investigations and psychological literature concerning the self-concept. We shall restrict our discussion to the more significant aspects of self-realization and self-actualization as revealed from empirical and experimental data.

Before we proceed to explore some of the major aspects of the self in growth, let us first provide a frame of reference concerning the self as a significant factor in the development of personality. Because some psychologists see no scientific need to posit so elusive a psychological structure as the self, our discussion of the self to this point may appear vague, subjective, and unconvincing. The following statements, however, seem to be plausible reasons to indicate why the self-concept is necessary in a discussion concerning the psychology of personality: (1) the concept of the self is necessary to account for the consistency, unity, and perdurance of the personality; and (2) it is required in order to give to the mechanisms of self-defense and the process of personal enhancement a point of reference.²⁴ These processes and dimensions of individual behavior, which facilitate consistent and unified conduct, make possible that organized totality which we call personality.

Without a self, a person has no map to consult when he tries to understand himself, especially in the moment of crises or difficult choice. Thus, it is different to comprehend how man could either understand or solve his own problems in the absence of an organizing principle: the *self-principle*. For as Gardner Murphy has discerningly observed in his classic book on personality, most of our problems and difficulties are self problems.²⁵ Hence conceived as an integrating construct, the self-concept, or self-process, has a

scientifically justifiable place in the study of personality. Without a self, man would be an impulsive and uncoordinated behaving animal. While lower animals are characterized by coordinated behavior, their behavior is mostly an expression of instinct and deeply conditioned habits. Man, not being a creature of habit to the same extent, needs a map in order to steer him to his provisioned goals. *For this directionality, he depends upon his organized selfhood.* With this frame of reference as a background, we shall explore briefly some of the most significant aspects of the self as they relate to personality dynamics and growth—*self-acceptance, self-enhancement, self-actualization, and self-realization.* As we examine these processes of self-growth, we may want to keep in mind that: "The pattern of life of every individual is a living out of his self-image; it is his road map for living." ²⁷

Growth in Self-acceptance

Of paramount importance to the psychological growth of the self is the role of self-acceptance. Basically, no child, adolescent, or adult can make adequate personal or social adjustments to life if he dislikes himself. On the other hand, when a person likes himself reasonably well, he will behave in a manner that normally will lead to social acceptance. The more others like and accept him, the better he will like himself and the more self-acceptant he will become. Hence this is why personality patterns tend to be persistent, with changes mainly of the quantitative kind. The longer self-acceptance persists, the stronger and more deeply rooted it will be; this is true likewise for self-rejection. In time, the characteristic pattern of adjustment the individual makes to life will be motivated by the degree of acceptance or rejection he has for himself. Thus, *both self-acceptance and self-rejection become self-perpetuating in the process of becoming.* Because self-acceptance is so greatly influenced by the perceptual field and by the attitudes of significant people in an individual's world, the degree of self-acceptance the child experiences from time to time will vary. The important point, however, is that *there must be a degree of consistency in his self-acceptance, if he is to make good adjustments.*

Role of Self-Acceptance. The role of self-acceptance in growth and learning was considered so significant that it was one of the major emphases in a detailed discussion of the self structure by currently eminent psychologists in the 1962 *ASCD Yearbook—Perceiving, Behaving, Becoming: A New Focus for Education.* If the child's self-concept is to his liking, he will accept himself; if it is not, he will dislike and reject himself. Few children, however, are 100 per cent self-acceptant or self-rejectant. They usually want to become more like their ideal selves, each year becoming more personality conscious. If a child is to have a healthy personality that he can accept, he must have an image of himself that he "can accept and live with, without feeling too

guilty, anxious, or hostile, without being self-defeated or destructive of others." 28

As a child compares himself with other children, he is often dissatisfied with the comparison and finds it difficult to accept himself as he is. He wants to improve his personality so that he can conform more closely to his ideal or to the patterns set by the children who are admired and liked. Thus, the urge to become and to improve one's self-image facilitates growth in self-acceptance. A self-accepting attitude consists of being able to live fairly comfortably with one's emotions, of having confidence in one's abilities to cope with life, of being willing to assume responsibilities and the challenge of one's abilities without reaching for the impossible, and of having a healthy regard for oneself as a worthy person, even if not perfect. Self-acceptance does not mean smug self-satisfaction, but rather the willingness to face facts and conditions of life, whether favorable or unfavorable, as candidly and as fully as possible.²⁹

Aids to Self-acceptance. According to Hurlock,³⁰ self-acceptance is facilitated by a number of factors, each of which helps the child to develop a satisfactory concept of self. *First*, the child's hopes for, and demands upon, himself must be kept within the limits of his achievement; he must be realistic about himself and not aim for the impossible. This, of course, does not mean that he should lack ambition or set his goals below his capacities. To be realistic, he must set goals within his potentials, even though these potentials are lower than he would like them to be. Only when the gap between the real and the ideal self-concepts can be narrowed down to the point where the ideal may possibly be attained can the child accept himself and make good personal and social adjustments.³¹ *Second*, self-understanding helps to close the gap between the real and the ideal. The child who understands himself does not merely recognize facts about himself; he also perceives the significance of these facts. Thus, self-understanding and self-acceptance go hand in hand. The better the child understands himself, the more realistic he is and the smaller the gap between his real and his ideal self-concepts will be.

A *third* factor that influences the degree of self-acceptance the child achieves is the discrepancy between his concept of himself and the concepts others have of him. The child who lacks social insight and self-insight makes more inadequate adjustments and is less acceptable to the peer group than the child whose perception of self is close to the percept others have of him. By being able to see himself as others see him, he can guide his behavior to adjust to social expectations and thus increase his social acceptance. By contrast, a marked discrepancy between the opinions others have of him and the belief the child has of himself will lead to behavior that antagonizes others and thus lowers their opinion of him. The less accepted he is by others, the more difficult it is for him to accept himself.

Finally, self-acceptance is greatly influenced by the stability of the self-concept. The child who sees himself one way at one time and another way at another time, sometimes unfavorably, is ambivalent about himself. In order for the child to be self-acceptant, his self-concept must be *both stable and favorable*. A stable self-concept, however, composed primarily of negative concepts will lead to self-rejection.

Growth in Self-enhancement

Up to this point, our discussion of the self as the inner core of the personality may imply that the self is largely concerned with preserving its equilibrium in terms of defense and acceptance. To be sure, the search for stability is an important activity of the self; and the defense dynamics described previously attest to the significance of this fact of human behavior. A truism of the biological sciences is the principle that every organism upon being disturbed by its drives attempts to return to its former position of repose. This return to stability is known as homeostasis, and it operates in men no less than in lower animals.

Many forms of human striving, however, cannot be described and explained in the language of homeostasis; there are human aspirations that have no discernible terminus. Thus, man wants not only safety but the satisfaction that comes from adventure, novelty, growth, and self-expansion. To approximate his ideal image, man will abandon his present security in order to achieve a higher level of self-integration. Hence when the healthy individual reaches a desired goal his standard of performance is correspondingly heightened, that is, he is constantly reaching for a higher level of achievement. This human striving for increasingly higher levels of self-realization is not altogether a function of social pressures and cultural values, although unquestionably they play an important role; this phenomenon is also a psychological property of the healthy person. A self that has ceased to move forward is not a healthy self; complacency is not a quality of the normal self. Although death will eventually overtake the self, while it lives it cannot accept stagnation. "A resigned self is a sick self."³²

In psychological literature, we have confirmation by many forms of evidence³³ that self-enhancement is a vital factor in the dynamics of the self, taking its place perhaps on an equal basis with self-defense. As such, self-defense is not *the* central concept in personality study, but shares the spotlight with self-enhancement. Self-enhancement, then, refers to that aspect of the total self which is, as Murphy so well phrased it, "clearly or dimly glimpsed as *something to be realized*."³⁴ A fruitful approach to a discussion of self-enhancement has been through the concepts of aspiration level to be explored here, and self-actualization and self-realization to be examined in subsequent sections of this chapter.

Level of Aspiration. A person's aspiration level represents him not only as he is at any particular moment but also as he would like to be at some point in the future. It is an indication of his intentional disposition, an important element of his long-range behavior. Hence, by knowing an individual's level of aspiration we can learn a great deal about *him*. A person's level of aspiration gives us insight into his ideal self—the self that he would like to be. Because the concept of the ideal self has been discussed previously, we shall explore the dynamics of the ideal self only as it relates to its level of aspiration. If you wish a detailed discussion of some of the important experimental work that has established and has measured the ideal self, see Chapter 4 of Hubert Bonner, *Psychology of Personality*.

According to Bonner,³⁵ an individual aspires for things out of immediate reach for two reasons: (1) as a social self, he is impelled by the standards of society to compare himself with others in the realm of achievement; and (2) it is the nature of every healthy human organism to reach out beyond the limits of its current attainment. In this context, then, because the individual unavoidably compares his performances with those of others, he experiences either elation or dissatisfaction with his own accomplishments. As an intentional, purposive person, he set up goals and values whose attainment is essential to his well-being. Success or failure in human aspiration, however, has meaning only in the perceptual reality of the ends that impel the individual to action. In striving for provisioned goals, the individual self constantly undergoes restructuring in the light of the level of success that he has set up for himself to achieve. This restructuring is either pleasant because it brings reward in the form of admiration by others, or enhances his status, or augments his self-esteem or unpleasant because it always involves a change from the security of homeostasis. Nevertheless, the greater the success in achieving a given end, the more pronounced the rise in the level of aspiration and the greater the accompanying satisfactions. To the extent that aspiration toward a goal is successful, it adds to the defense of the self; but to the extent that it impels the individual to raise his horizon to greater heights, it is self-enhancing.

As previously indicated, there are two classes of determinants of the level of aspiration, those stemming from the cultural norms of the group and those associated with the individual's self-image.³⁶ The cultural determinants of aspiration level are all the cultural pressures upon the individual to raise his sights toward higher achievement. Group standards are the most obvious cultural factors. The much cited experimental study by Chapman and Volkman demonstrates appreciably the strong effect of group standards upon the aspirations of an individual. They found that when, in the act of pursuing a goal, a person compares himself to a group of inferior performers, he will raise his standard. Thus cultural norms not only bring pressure upon the individual to achieve a certain level, but to keep the level

rising. Hence, cultural pressures not only determine the level of achievement to which we aspire but also the level of performance with which we are satisfied.³⁷

A person's level of aspiration is also markedly determined by his self-image, especially his ideal self-image. He strives and achieves, not only because of external pressures in the form of group standards and other people's opinions, but also because of his involvement in and loyalty to his conception of himself as a person. Thus, some individuals may maintain a high aspiration level with little or no thought of the opinions of others, and despite repeated failures. Such persons' goals are strongly self-oriented and are not too easily swayed by the pressures of cultural expectations. Rather than attribute these situations to inadequate self-integration and perceptual rigidity, we should consider the driving need to hold on to one's image, a persistence that is often more satisfying than the expectation of success. We should also remember that the negative view persists only when the aspiring individual is still failing, and ignores the accolades which are heaped upon him when he becomes a great success.

The history of many great men indicate that, while they were struggling and failing, they were considered abnormally stubborn and rigid, when they finally succeeded, they were acclaimed as geniuses. For instance, the self-involvements of Mozart, Beethoven, and Einstein appeared superficially as expressions of inflexibility, but we admire their persistence in the light of their extraordinary achievements. In essence, it seems to be a fact supported by empirical data that an achievement motive exists in practically all normal individuals. Hence, striving for leadership, fame, prestige, indeed any forward movement of the self, characterizes every healthy individual.³⁸ As Bonner has said many times in his discussions of personality, "*every healthy human organism has the attribute of self-extension.*"³⁹

Growth Through Self-actualization

Among the most important ways of maintaining and enhancing the self-concept, perhaps the most basic method of all is self-actualization or the process of becoming one's best and truest self. Throughout this book we have emphasized an old idea in human thought, that a psychologically healthy person in the process of becoming has the attribute of self-extension. Aristotle made the concept of self-realization a basic attribute of the good life. He believed that the goodness of a man consisted in the realization of his essence, that is, in his self-realization.

The Concept of Self-actualization and Self-realization. Although some aspects of self-realization will be discussed in a subsequent section, we shall use the term "self-actualization" to describe roughly the same process as Aristotle's concept of self-realization. In this context, self-actualization then

is the process in which an individual is continuously externalizing himself in whatever activities are characteristic of his being. In contrast to the act of self-defense, which is the process of preserving a certain state of existence, self-actualization is the effort of an individual to multiply and extend his self-activities. Although we do not agree with Goldstein that self-actualization is the sole motivating force in human behavior, we can accept his definition of its nature as he writes: "*Normal behavior corresponds to a continual change of tension, of such a kind that over and over again the state of tension is reached which enables and impels the organism to actualize itself in further activities, according to its nature.*"⁴⁰

Relevant to the self structure then, self-actualization as a form of self-extension stresses the dynamic, striving, producing, and enjoying aspects of the total personality. Conceived in this manner, self-actualizing persons "seem to be fulfilling themselves and to be doing the best that they are capable."⁴¹ Thus, self-actualization is not the selfish pursuit of one's own interests; it is neither egocentrism nor self-glorification. These are neurotic characteristics, and the self-actualizing individual is not neurotic. The self-actualizing person enhances his self, not by considering other people as inferior, as is done by the insecure and defensive individual, but by the actualization of his potentialities. His self-assurance and unaffectedness are the expression of his independent spirit.⁴²

Maslow⁴³ uses the term *self-actualizing* to denote people who are in a state of psychological health. His concept of this type of self-extension, however, exceeds the normal concept of mental health and includes the attributes of creativity as related to man's unique becoming. Whereas self-actualization implies a growing, forward thrust which has a heterostatic quality, mental health, on the other hand, typically refers to conserving, deficiency-supplying, and homeostatic tendencies. Mental health represents an admirable level of human existence, but self-actualization may, in the long run, be more rewarding for the individual and society. Thus, we could infer that mental health implies the individual's seeking of safety in his existence, whereas in self-actualization the individual will risk safety to explore, to grow, and to become.

Self-actualization, then, is to mental health what creativity is to giftedness. Self-actualization and creativity are extensions of self differences, whereas mental health and giftedness suggest conformity and comfortableness, the goals toward which most persons aspire. The latter attributes are admirable and highly desirable; but self-actualization and creativity facilitate people to become the unique and distinctive persons of single birthrights, set apart from all others in their own self-realizations. In this respect, Maslow asserts that the musician must perform, the artist must paint, the poet must write, if he is to be at peace with himself and the world. In so doing, he refers to self-actualization as:

. . . man's desire for self-fulfillment, namely, to the tendency for him to become actualized in what he is potentially. This tendency might be phrased as the desire to become more and more what one is, to become everything that one is capable of becoming.

The specific form that these needs will take will of course vary greatly from person to person. In one individual it may take the form of the desire to be an ideal mother, in another it may be expressed athletically, and in still another it may be expressed in painting pictures or in inventions.⁴⁴

Nature of Self-actualization

According to Maslow relevant to his theories of personality and motivation, self-actualization implies progression through a sequential series of stages toward increasingly higher levels of motives and organization. This form of self-growth emphasizes the constructive development of potential rather than concentration upon obstacles to adjustment, such as fear, anxiety, and frustration. Self-actualization involves a way of life compatible with one's unique pattern of personal attributes and needs instead of slavish imitation of others. Self-actualization is not to be confused with achievement in the worldly sense. Certain characteristics of a person in the process of self-actualization lead to achievement, whatever his specific goals may be. For one thing, the self-actualizer is ready to endure all sorts of privation because he sets great emphasis upon things he values. Although naturally, self-actualizers possess biological needs, they attach less importance to them, having graduated to a level far beyond mere concern for lower-order strivings.

Maslow has found that self-actualization is actually realized by relatively few persons, and those are in the older age ranges. He offers the following personal qualities as those most commonly found in self-actualizing people: (1) realistic perception of the world; (2) acceptance of self, others, and the world for what they are; (3) spontaneity in behavior and inner experience; (4) focus of interests on problems rather than self; (5) capacity for detachment; (6) independence in the sense of self-containment; (7) freshness of appreciation of people and things; (8) capacity for profound mystical experiences; (9) identification with the human race; (10) deep emotional relations with small circle of friends; (11) democratic attitudes and values; (12) ability to discriminate between means and ends; (13) philosophical rather than hostile sense of humor; (14) creativeness; and (15) resistance to cultural conformity.⁴⁵

In essence self-actualization is probably the quality of becoming in our developmental behavior, marked by independence, self-sufficiency, self-confidence, and self-understanding, which allows us the creative personal

strength to enjoy privacy and aloneness and to facilitate our capacities to work through our problems and aspirations in our own unique and meaningful way to gain a personal zest for living. Youth often need guidance if they are to make satisfactory progress toward self-actualization in today's complex world. Rogers, who writes about adolescents, suggests that the individual may be assisted to make progress toward self-actualization in these ways:

1. He must be helped to understand himself if his efforts in this area are to have greatest results or succeed at all.
2. If the need to actualize—to close the gap between the real self and the ideal self—is fundamental to the individual, part of the problem is to free him of personal weaknesses which stand in his way.
3. The adolescent should be encouraged to think of self-actualizing in terms of becoming his own best self.
4. The adolescent should have a clear understanding of what constitutes true self-actualization.
5. Adolescents need constructive outlets for interests and energies.
6. Teen-agers require not merely challenge but encouragement.⁴⁶

Striving Toward Self-realization

Let us now expand and generalize our concept of self-actualization to mean *self-realization*, a term used by some writers as synonymous with actualization of the self, the ultimate goal of becoming, the continuous and dynamic striving toward self-fulfillment. Developmentally, the goals of self-realization are ways of thinking, behaving, and becoming. Thus one is engaged constantly in the process of self-realization rather than having achieved, or even being able to achieve, the goals of being self-realized. A person approaches the goals of self-realization as he achieves more and more of the following behavioral objectives as meaningful in his own life.

Goals of Self-Realization. The self-actualizing person is motivated toward growth. This is perhaps his most unique characteristic because most others are deficiency motivated, seeking to overcome or to compensate for negative influences. Because of his dedication to his own becoming, he feels secure in his own significance, pursues his goals relatively oblivious to the pressures which would have him act otherwise, and does not depend upon or make undue demands of others. The actualizing person accepts himself and is content to be what he is and what he is becoming. He understands himself and views his weaknesses with somewhat the same acceptance he has for the weaknesses of others. Throughout life this person has become in-

creasingly autonomous and can stand on his own feet with fundamental trust in the worth and integrity of his own being. Although independent, he respects societal mores as a fundamental reality, and his thoughts and action are bounded by social standards and expectations. Even though he may perceive deficiencies in many aspects of society, this individual finds no personal need to basically defy authority nor to prove himself by affiliating with protest subcultural groups.

In striving toward self-realization, such a person recognizes his own competencies but is willing to accept counsel and direction in the areas in which he is less competent; he combines pride and humility. An actualizing individual is an active participant in life, being inquisitive and aggressive without being pugnacious and offensive. As such he accepts responsibility for his own growth and readily accepts a commitment for the welfare of others. Although he relates positively to others and has some friends, his clear perception of reality may not make him a highly social person.

Recognizing all human beings as having frailties, the actualizing person's acceptance of himself and others leads to increasing control over such negative feelings as anger, hate, fear, and jealousy. He sees human nature as it is, not as one would prefer to see it. Such an individual behaves spontaneously and openly. Thus, ceremony and ritual are viewed for what they are; simplicity and naturalness become distinctive aspects of his pattern of life. Living without pretense, he reacts with resilience to temporary stress, contradiction, and disappointment. Life as a challenge has an aspect of continued freshness for him. The self-actualizing person is creative; his creation may be a simple thing, but his life is inventive and original. Because the individual in the ongoing process of self-realization accepts and trusts the uniqueness of his own being-in-becoming, he refuses to permit himself the denial of his own special birthright to be the man in the grey flannel suit, one of the lonely crowd, or an organization man.

Self-realization and the Individual. Throughout this book, we have continuously emphasized the distinctive and special qualities of the personalized self as opposed to the common attributes relevant to the normative behavior of man. Thus, it seems most appropriate both to end this chapter and to set the scene for concluding remarks in the next section by stressing the individual in self-realization. The preceding characteristic goals of man's becoming must be regarded as being only representative because a self-actualized life *must be unique*. Many of these behavioral goals cannot be achieved by a child or an adolescent, but they can certainly be on their way toward implementing them. If life is to be the process of becoming that the concept of continuous development implies, then emergent goals are far more significant than goals that have been achieved; yesterday is history, life is today, tomorrow is the horizon of man's becoming.

In summarizing the essence of moving toward self-actualization and self-

realization, we shall share ten statements from Bernard's *Human Development in Western Culture*,⁴⁷ which are based upon empirical and experimental data from the psychological literature:

1. *Self-actualizing processes are conditioned by, but not wholly dependent on, physical health.*
2. *Fulfilling one's potentials is largely dependent upon an acceptance of self—a healthy ego concept.*
3. *Specific practices in child rearing and teaching are less important to self-realization than is the total situation in which those practices occur.*
4. *Some steps toward self-realization are too difficult to be taken without help.*
5. *The view that is taken of problems is often more important than is the nature and intensity of the problem itself.*
6. *Self-actualization involves knowing and accepting one's strengths and weaknesses.*
7. *Personality traits are strengthened by their habitual exercise.*
8. *The causes rather than the symptoms of misbehavior must be understood and attacked if personality growth is to be maintained.*
9. *Self-realization involves the ability to relate constructively to others and to achieve a balance between yielding to authority and maintaining independence.*
10. *Steps toward the goal of self-realization require the coordination of effort on the part of many persons and agencies.*⁴⁸

In concluding this section on the dynamic aspects of the personalized self in action, we feel that the following thoughts by Henry van Dyke should capture the real significance for the actualization and the realization of the individual in his daily living and also should set the stage for a discussion on the quest for authentic becoming to be presented in the last chapter.

Are you willing to forget what you have done for other people, and remember what other people have done for you? To ignore what the world owes you, and to think what you owe to the world? To put your rights in the background, and your duties in the middle distance, and your chances to do a little more than your duty in the foreground? To see that your fellow men are just as real as you are and try to look behind their faces to their hearts, hungry for joy? To own that probably the only good reason for your existence is not what you are going to get out of life, but what you are going to give to life? To close your book of

complaints against the management of the universe, and look around for a place where you can sow a few seeds of happiness? Are you willing to do these things even for a day?

Are you willing to stoop down and consider the needs and desires of little children? To remember the weakness and loneliness of people who are growing old? To stop asking how much your friends love you, and ask yourself whether you love them enough? To bear in mind the things that other people have to bear on their hearts? To try to understand what those who live in the same house with you really want, without waiting for them to tell you? To trim your lamp so that it will give more light and less smoke, and to carry it in front so that your shadow will fall behind you? To make a grave for your ugly thoughts, and a garden for your kindly feelings, with the gate open? Are you willing to do these things even for a day?

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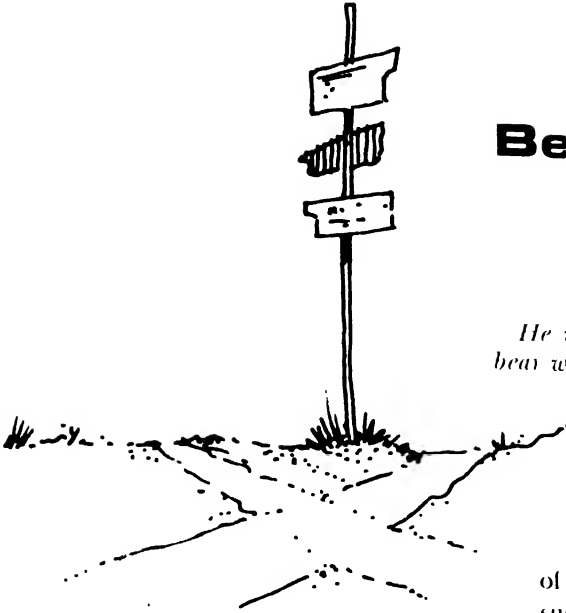
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14

Toward Becoming an Authentic Person

*He who has a why to live can
bear with almost any how.*

—Nietzsche



Man must explore the *why* of living if he is to endure successfully the *how* in life's complexities. He must trust the developing self as a capable facilitator in exploring the meaning of his life, the essence of his being-in-becoming. Viktor Frankl said: "Man's concern about the meaning of life is the truest expression of the state of being human."¹ As man views himself and his world in the dynamic process of the continuous realization of his human potentialities, he is never free from the quest of answering these inquiries: *Who am I? Where am I going? Why am I? What is my place in society?* These questions deal with our identity, our assets and liabilities, our goals, our means, our values, our relations to others, our

way of life, and our becoming as a unique individual. Gordon Allport, a distinguished personality theorist, has indicated that fundamental insights into the growth and development of man "can best be discovered by looking within ourselves; for it is knowledge of our own uniqueness that supplies the first, and probably the best, hints for acquiring orderly knowledge of others."²

The central theme of this book on developmental behavior has been that the self is the essential being of the individual, substantial as itself, yet constantly emerging through the actualization of potentials. We have emphasized the thesis that each man has a personal destiny, a personal self. Within this self lies the essential equality of all human nature. The personal self is focused in unique expressions and individual variations and comes to form the personality of man, substantial in its being, yet forever in transformation and in becoming. We have maintained that it is man's duty and responsibility to himself and others to nurture, to cultivate, and to find expression for this inner nature and potentiality—to give birth to himself as a special, distinctive human being of dignity, worth, and integrity. As man seeks his personal identity, he must gain in awareness of himself and his world; from this awareness commitment follows. With commitment he becomes dynamically involved in searching out the meaning of his life as an authentic self in the distinctive realization of his special place in society. We shall explore this quest as we briefly view the fundamental attributes of man's actualization: (1) awareness, (2) identity, (3) commitment, (4) involvement, (5) meaning, and (6) becoming.

AWARENESS

So far as we know man is the only animal with a brain that is aware of itself. If it is true that other forms of life are self-conscious, man is not cognizant of this fact. Even if we were to admit to the possibility of self-awareness among lower animals, we have not yet been able to decipher the mode of expression this concern might take. In man, however, this self-awareness has led inevitably, from generation to generation, to the asking of the complicated and profound questions: What is the meaning of man and the universe? Do we have an ultimate purpose in life? As we grow in self-awareness, increasingly we must search out our own reality within the phenomenal field in which we live. Although in numerous places throughout this book we have used awareness to mean the growing recognition of the child as an entity separate from the world, we shall be using the term here in a much more mature sense to describe the person in later stages of self-realization who is becoming more and more aware of his totality as a creative, distinctive individual with an urgency to actualize his potentialities.

Before we become involved in exploring the awareness of the creative,

whole person, let us review the perceptual viewpoint that has permeated this book and that must now be a significant consideration of our discussion of actualizing awareness. First of all, the phenomenal or perceptual self is the individual's basic frame of reference for awareness because it is the only self he knows. Whether other persons would concur with his self-definitions or not, the phenomenal self has the feeling of complete reality to the individual, being himself from his own viewpoint or his awareness of self. Wherever he is and whatever he does, the maintenance and the enhancement of this self is the major objective of his existence and his becoming. As the central focus of the perceptual field, the phenomenal self is the point of orientation for the individual's every behavior. In addition to being the frame of reference for self-awareness, all other perceptions derive their meaning from the phenomenal self. Thus, it provides meaning and reality to what would otherwise be meaningless and unrealistic in relevance to one's awareness of himself as a functioning human being. The self with its awareness provides the frame of reference from which all else is observed and interpreted.³

Wholeness of the Self

Man in his wholeness or totality is generally seen as one of the humanistic psychologist's major concerns. This man is a unique unit within self, a system that operates as a whole. Thus, to view the person in parts or pieces is not only invalid but also a denial of the integrity and respect entitled to every human being, a violation of his right to be regarded as himself, as a whole functioning person. As it were, the individual responds entirely, wholly. He becomes aware of, organizes, and unifies his perceptions of his immediate personal world so as to have value and meaning appropriate to his personality. The life of the individual with increasing awareness is an organized patterned process, a distinctive configuration that constitutes both the unity and the uniqueness of a self. The urgent necessity to maintain and to enhance the unity of the self system serves as the dynamic principle for personal growth.

The individual growing in awareness of himself as a total functioning being approaches life with an openness of self, a touching, groping, feeling, sensing orientation of his world and his place within it. He extends himself to perceive all significant experience fully and more completely, with sensitivity to multiple internal and external cues. Accordingly, this person moves toward greater awareness of autonomy and increasingly feels that the locus of direction for his life lies within himself. He discovers that his development and continued growth are dependent upon his own potentialities and latent resources as he utilizes the strength of the people in his world to actualize his own self structure. He learns to express his own special

creativity to behave spontaneously, naturally, and freely in terms of essential being and in interaction with nature and people, thus generating an autonomous knowledge and awareness of self.

This person, growing in his own awareness, expresses his creativeness in a fresh and direct way in looking at life. He tends to create his own thought and permits truth to emerge as it will; this giving of oneself to the truth of experience is accompanied by a vital realization of the immediate experience of living. The individual who develops an actualizing awareness accepts all life as worthwhile and values the absolute integrity of the human being. Therefore, he has a deep empathy for and identification with human beings and finds it possible to learn and to increase his awareness from anyone who has anything important to offer.

A person with increasing awareness is loyal to his own individual values, his own being, and regards this loyalty as an important source of honesty and integrity. These attitudes of acceptance and respect for human integrity are indivisible in relevance to self and others. Awareness of, love for, acceptance of, and understanding of one's own self in experience cannot be separated from awareness, respect, acceptance, love, and understanding as related to other people in the phenomenal field. Thus, the awareness of the oneness of each individual realizes itself by uniting with others; there is no concept of man or human nature in which every person is not a part. Two basic attributes of selfhood, uniqueness and universality, grow together to contribute to man's increasing awareness of his why and how within his society.

Awareness and the Fully Functioning Person

We have said that the wholeness of man is a significant aspect of his development from a phenomenological viewpoint. In describing the essential characteristics of man when seen as a whole, various authors emphasize different points. Maslow⁴ stresses the aspects of "purposefulness and of self-transcendence." May⁵ sees the main characteristic as man's having "intentionality," both in the sense of "meaning" as well as in the sense of "movement toward something." Rogers⁶ conceptualizes the wholeness as a "pattern of relationships" representing a "hidden reality." Bugental⁷ believes that the self is integrated through man's search for authenticity, the realistic meaning of his life. According to Moustakas,⁸ the three central orienting concepts of self are *intrinsic nature*, *being*, and *becoming*, which facilitate the unity and the actualization of the self. Loecky⁹ proposes that all psychological phenomena related to man are based upon the principle of self-consistency; that is, all of an individual's values are organized into a self system the preservation of which is essential for growth and enhancement.

As a person increases his awareness of self and others, he facilitates the capacities for actualization of his potentialities. Carkhuff and Berenson point out: "*The life of the whole person is made up of actions fully integrating his emotional, intellectual, and physical resources in such a way that these actions lead to greater and greater self-definitions. . . . The whole person needs no image to live up to, and is not conflicted by the lack of perfect consistency.*"¹⁰ From their clinical experiences in counseling, Carkhuff and Berenson derived the following characteristics of the whole, more fully functioning person who is increasing his awareness and capacity for self-direction:

1. The only consistency for the whole person is internal.
2. Creativity and honesty are a way of life for the whole person.
3. Although the way the whole person lives his life is seen by others to be too dangerous, too intense, and too profound, he is in tune with the fact that his real risk involves living life without risk.
4. The whole person realizes that life is empty without acting.
5. The whole person realizes that whatever he does is worth doing fully and well.
6. The whole and creative person functions at a high energy level.
7. The whole person comes to the realization that few men are large enough or whole enough to nourish and love the creative person.
8. The whole person is fully aware that any significant human relationship is in the process of deepening or deteriorating.
9. The whole person realizes that most men say "yes" out of fear of the implications of saying "no" and that most men say "no" out of the fear of the implications of saying "yes."
10. The whole person is fully aware that in order to live life in such a way that it is a continuous learning and relearning process, he must periodically burn bridges behind him.
11. The whole person realizes that he is, and must be, his own pathfinder, and travel a road never traveled before.
12. The whole person does not fear living intensely.
13. The whole person is prepared to face the implications of functioning a step ahead or above most of those with whom he comes into contact.
14. The whole person is aware that for most people life is a cheap game.

15. The whole person is fully aware that many of society's rewards are designed to render the creative impotent.

16. The whole person realizes that to emerge within the acceptable levels tolerated by society means institutionalization.

17. The whole person realizes that he must escape traps to render him impotent.

18. The whole person is aware of the awesome responsibility which comes with freedom.¹¹

IDENTITY

In the last section, we said that man is aware both of his world and of himself, and being aware, proceeds to evaluate what he sees and to act with forethought and purpose. Thus, he has the ability to recognize a sense of his own identity, to shape his own destiny. DeLeVita, in discussing the concept of identity, differentiates *sense of self* and *sense of identity* by saying: "Sense of self is a collective term for all feelings, sensations, etc., which relate to the self. Sense of identity concerns my feelings about my place among others; it is a sector from the sense of self."¹² Hence by delineating the characteristics common to all men, we can understand much about ourselves, for we are all members of the human species. We can gain some additional details by studying the patterns and values of the specific culture or subculture in which we have been reared. But each individual is unique and therefore has the personal problem of coming to know and to understand himself. Years ago Socrates posed the necessity for human identity by saying, "The unexamined life is not worth living." Benrill states the problem of finding one's identity as a double question: "What am I as a human being and what kind of individual am I?"¹³

Nature of Identity

In discussing psychological maturity as it applies to the emotionally healthy personality, Lehner and Kube¹⁴ point out that a person's individuality or *ego-identity* will be continually confirmed as he develops in self-direction. Thus, most of the time this person will have a basic understanding of what he is capable of doing, what he is willing to do, and what he will not do. As such, he is an *autonomous* person, aware of others, responsive to them, but capable of making choices in accordance with his own identity or individuality. This ability to make such choices requires a sense of independence, a certain self-sufficiency that permits us to carry out our wishes and to work toward our goals without being constantly concerned about

what others may think or say. A sense of independence permits us to show more initiative, to be more creative, to depend more upon our own judgment, and to facilitate our qualities as a person by living more freely and spontaneously without undue dominance by others. Erikson, in his book on *Identity and the Life Cycle*, captures the essence of self-identity and the person's world in saying, "The sense of ego identity, then, is the accrued confidence that one's ability to maintain inner sameness and continuity . . . is matched by the sameness and continuity of one's meaning for others." ¹⁵

Acquiring a sense of identity while overcoming a sense of identity diffusion is one of the growth stages in the child development theory of Erik Erikson. A sense of identity carries with it a mastery of the problems of childhood and a genuine readiness to face, as a potential equal, the challenges of the adult world. According to Erikson, a sense of identity requires the subordination of childhood identifications to newly selected identifications and insurance against the resurgence of previous conflicts and confusions. A sense of identity and a sense of identity diffusion make a polarity of both conscious and unconscious strivings. At the one end there is striving toward an integration of inner and outer directions; at the opposite end there is diffusion leading to a sense of instability in the midst of many confusing inner and outer demands. This polarity must be solved within the span of adolescence if transitory or lasting disturbances in adulthood are to be prevented. A certainty of his place in the present and future assures the individual of his immediate confidence and his advance beyond the past levels of development.¹⁶ Castell¹⁷ concurs with the continuing nature of individuality in viewing identity as persisting through change as a unique mark of self. This mode of identity is involved when he indicates that the self as an agent is a continuant, giving us an ongoing referent for our personal strivings.

"In viewing identity as the sense of personal continuity, Strauss¹⁸ emphasizes the persistence, the unity, and the coherence of self-identity as a significant force in organizing one's life. Through the years much that a person recognizes as belonging characteristically to himself obscures, according to Strauss, the recognition of other, seemingly less important, shifts in interests and behavior. He believes that a change must be deemed important to the self structure before it and kindred changes can be perceived as vitally important for personal identity. Thus each person's account of his life as he sees it is a symbolic ordering of events relevant to a sense of personal continuity. The sense that we make of our lives rests upon what concepts, what interpretations, we bring to bear upon the multitudinous and disorderly array of past acts. If our interpretations are convincing to us, if we trust our own terminology, then some kind of continuous meaning is assigned to our life as a whole. Hence, different strivings may seem to have driven us at different periods; but, says Strauss, the overriding purpose of our lives

seems to retain a certain unity and coherence because of a sense of personal continuity, self-identity.

An Existential View of Identity

A unique achievement of the human experience, becoming, is the creation of a personal identity. Thus to know that *I am* and that *I am uniquely I* is a psychological phenomenon of crucial importance in each person's experiences of individual development. Fromm believes that "This need for a sense of identity is so vital and imperative that man could not remain sane if he did not find some way of satisfying it."¹⁹ Rollo May considers identity the first of his six ontological principles for self in saying, "Every living being is centered in itself, and an attack on this center is an attack on the life itself."²⁰ Bugental²¹ views identity as the courage to confront responsibility, autonomy, and apartness. The sense of identity, then, is the capacity of "being there" in one's own presence and commitment in his being-in-becoming. According to Bugental identity is

. . . the form of such ontologic centeredness in which the person is directly aware of his own being and expresses that awareness through what I have called the *I-process*. Such identity is not the thinking or feeling or the talking or doing substantively but the *I* who is thinking, feeling, talking, and doing. . . . Identity is not demonstrable objectively but is experienced in the very process of being. Identity is not definable substantively but is expressed through our awareness and choices.²²

The Need for Personal Identity

What does it mean to experience oneself as a self? May²³ believes that the experience of one's own identity, or becoming a person in one's own right, is the simplest experience in life even though at the same time the most profound. He views the experience of our own identity as the basic conviction that we all start as psychological beings; thus, to meditate on one's own identity as a self means that one is already engaging in self-consciousness, a basic process of being-in-becoming. May sees freedom and consciousness of self as significant aspects of man's personal identity:

Freedom is man's capacity to take a hand in his own development. It is our capacity to mold ourselves. Freedom is the other side of consciousness of self; if we were not able to be aware of ourselves, we would be pushed along by instinct or the automatic march of history. . . . But by our power to be conscious of ourselves, we can call to mind how we acted yesterday or last month, and by learning from these actions we can influence, even if ever so little, how we act today. . . . Consciousness of self gives us the powers to stand outside the rigid chain of stimulus and

response, to pause, and by this pause to throw some weight on either side, to cast some decision about what the response will be.²⁴

In discussing identity as a basic need of a healthy person, Laing,²⁵ in his book *The Divided Self*, views personal identity as ontological security. For instance, if an individual has a sense of his presence in the world as a real, alive, whole, and, in a temporal sense, continuous person, he can live out into the world and meet others, a world and others experienced as equally real, alive, whole, and continuous. "Such a basically *ontologically* secure person will encounter all the hazards of life, social, ethical, spiritual, biological, from a centrally firm sense of his own and other people's reality and identity."²⁶ If, however, the individual cannot take the realness, aliveness, autonomy, and identity of himself and others for granted, he becomes ontologically insecure; then he has to become absorbed in contriving ways of trying to be real, of keeping himself or others alive, of preserving his identity; in short, to prevent himself from losing his self.

Laing believes that a firm sense of one's own autonomous identity is required in order that one may be related as one human being to another. Otherwise, he thinks that any and every relationship threatens the individual with loss of identity. One form this loss of self may take is *engulfment*. In engulfment, the individual dreads relatedness as such, with anyone or anything or even with himself, because his uncertainty about the stability of his autonomy lays him open to the dread that in any relationship he may lose his autonomy and identity. Laing feels that the major maneuver used to preserve identity under pressure from the dread of engulfment is isolation. Thus, instead of the polarities of separateness and relatedness based on individual autonomy, there is the antithesis between complete loss of being by absorption into the other person (engulfment), and complete aloneness (isolation). Hence, from Laing's viewpoint, the only way man can preserve self in the being-in-becoming process within the human society is to become ontologically secure by developing a strong and autonomous self-identity.

In exploring a fresh look at the human design, Hadley Cantril²⁷ points out that human beings need to experience their own identity and integrity. Every human being craves a sense of his own self-constancy, an assurance of the repeatability of experience in which he is a determining participant. According to Cantril, man obtains this self-constancy from the transactions he has with other individuals. People, then, develop significances which they share with others in their membership and reference groups. If the satisfaction derived from and the significance of participation with others cease to confirm assumptions or to enrich values, then a person's sense of self-constancy becomes insecure and his loyalties become formalized and empty or are given up altogether. Thus the individual becomes alienated or seeks new meanings, new loyalties that are more operationally significant.

Identity and Personal Worth

Cantril²⁸ believes that people experience a sense of their own worthwhileness as they differentiate their search for person identity and integrity in relation to the attitudes of others toward them. A human being wants to know he is valued by others and that others will somehow show through their behavior that his own behavior and its consequences make some sort of difference to them in ways that give him a sense of satisfaction. When this occurs, not only is a person's sense of identity confirmed, but he also experiences a sense of personal worth and self-respect. Hence, the process of extending the sense of self in space and in time appears also to involve the desire that one's "presence" not be limited merely to the here and now of existence, but extended into larger dimensions. According to Cantril, these human cravings seem to be at the root of man's social relationships, the power of self-growth.

Then people acquire, maintain, and enrich their sense of worthwhileness only if they at least vaguely recognize the sources of what personal identity they have: their family, their friends and neighbors, their associates or fellow workers, their group ties, or their nation. The social, religious, intellectual, regional, or national loyalties formed play the important role of making it possible for individuals to extend themselves backward into the past and forward into the future and to identify themselves with others who live at more or less remote distances from them. This means then the compounding of shared experiences into a bundle that can be conceptualized, felt, or somehow referred to in the here and now of daily living, thus making a person feel a functional part of a more enduring human alliance. Cantril views man as accomplishing such facts of self-extension and identity largely through his capacity to create common symbols, images, and myths that provide focal points for identification and self-expansion.²⁹

Identity and Inner Sources

Although outside influences play a part in man's identification of himself, a mature sense of identity must stem ultimately from *inner* sources. As we have often emphasized the foundation of an adequate frame of personal reference is the individual's picture of how things really are, who he is and what he is worth, what the rest of the world is like (including the people in it), and how he fits into the over-all picture. This self-referent is the basis of what he assumes to be *fact*, and in this inner setting the individual develops his assumptions of *value* (what is good or worthwhile) and *possibility* (what can be changed or improved). At the heart of his reality assumptions, of course, is his identifiable picture of himself. The out-

directed man, so to speak, is hardly free to develop his own potentialities; nor can he even guarantee his own security by simply "not being different," for he is always dependent upon outside forces. Anyone whose sense of identity derives mainly from outside sources leads a precarious existence.³⁰ Thus, to the extent that security is possible and desirable, it stems from an individual's knowledge and identity of himself and from his confidence that he can meet most situations successfully.

The self-directing individual, who has discovered a meaningful personal identity, is independent of outside influences in the sense that he has thought out his own values and has decided on his own goals. Hence, he experiences himself as the originator of his own acts. His self-concept is consistent within itself and also with his ideals and actual behavior. He may identify himself closely with other people and work hard to achieve group goals, but he remains aware of himself as an individual whose personal identity is something quite apart from that of any group. He is not afraid to be different if "being different" means acting in the light of his own values, knowledge, and experience. Only as an individual approaches this kind of independence does continuing growth and self-actualization become possible. In short, he has the courage to be, to experience vitally his own existence and becoming.

COMMITMENT

As an individual grows in awareness and establishes a meaningful, valid personal identity, he discovers commitments to the self, to his values, and to the significant, vital people and things in his world. With commitment comes an inner strength to facilitate the inward freedom by "choosing one's self." This strange-sounding phrase of Kierkegaard's means to affirm one's responsibility for oneself and one's existence. Choosing one's self is the attitude antithetical to blind momentum or routine existence; it is an attitude of aliveness and decisiveness, meaning one recognizes that he exists in his particular spot in the universe, and he accepts the responsibility for this existence. This is what Nietzsche meant by the "will to live"—not simply the striving for self-preservation, but the will to accept the phenomenon that one is oneself and to accept the responsibility for fulfilling one's own destiny, which in turn implies having the inner freedom to accept the fact that one must make his basic choices himself.

Nature of Commitment

In emphasizing the necessity of commitment, Kierkegaard made an important contribution to the dynamic psychology of the self. According to

Kierkegaard, truth becomes reality only as the individual produces it in action, which includes producing it in his own consciousness. Kierkegaard's point then has the implication that we cannot even see a particular truth unless we already have some commitment to it. Similarly, Nietzsche insisted that the values of human life never come about automatically. We must be committed to our own being by our own choices. Affirming one's own being thus creates the values of life. Quoting Nietzsche: "Individuality, worth, and dignity are not given us as data by nature, but are given or assigned us as a task which we ourselves must solve."³¹ This is an emphasis which likewise comes out in Tillich's³² belief that courage opens the way to being: if you do not have the "courage to be," you lose your own being, commitment to self. Similarly, it appears in extreme form in Sartre's contention, you *are* your choices.

Commitment implies the readiness to listen to the appeal of the life situation. Existential commitment means that an individual has given up his self-centered, autarchic existence and has put himself at the disposal of the demands of life. We are not saying that he surrenders himself blindly to another person or social institution, but that he is willing to live a project of life that, according to his own insight, is in tune with the realistic demands of his existence. Actually what he surrenders is not his own judgment, insight, freedom, and responsibility, but his own egocentrism; he refuses to make his egoistic concern the last and only criterion of his life project. Rather he responds freely to the life situation in which he finds himself, and he does so in harmony with his own being. Thus, recognizing something higher than himself, he is liberated from slavish selfishness and integrated within the reality of self and others in life.

Commitment and Responsibility

Commitment to self and others involves the acceptance of responsibility. In discussing the self in transformation, Fingarette³³ views responsibility as the readiness to face the absence of meaning, the nonbeing of self. Because responsibility requires that a self *be* formed, a meaning be instigated, a policy adopted; the human crisis exists precisely because there is no a priori decisive resolution of the situation. According to Fingarette, responsibility is the willingness to "leap into nothingness; but, more than this, it is the willingness to accept—and accept in a very special sense—the consequences of one's act." Responsibility, then, is, in its primary sense, commitment, not obligation. In fact, genuine obligations arise out of such commitments. Because we would prefer the security of knowing, the heart of responsibility is revealed when we see that, faced with anxiety and the need for choice, precisely what we wish to know is what we *cannot* know,

the best course of action. Hence, we establish meaning for commitment to self if we have the courage to accept and to identify ourselves with our behavior and its consequences in exercising our freedom for responsible choices.

In exploring the courage to be an authentic self, Bugental³⁴ points out that responsibility as related to commitment will depend upon attributes in the stream of our awareness such as anxiety, guilt, and condemnation. He sees responsibility as the existential ability to take action for living a life rather than being lived by it. In the acceptance of any anxiety, guilt, or condemnation the identity and commitment to self is affirmed. Bugental views commitment as follows: "This I am, this I believe, this I do. I am the being, the believing, the doing."³⁵ He believes that commitment is not the place in which one stands, the tenet one believes, or the act one does. Commitment does not represent a subscription to something external to the person's own life, no matter how worthwhile, such as world peace, mental health, or even one's own future. According to Bugental:

Commitment is an awareness, an attitude, a clear and feeling recognition of being fully present in the moment, making the choices of the moment, and standing by the consequences of those choices whether anticipated or not. Commitment is "playing for keeps" rather than vainly pleading for "slips (to) go over," as do small children in their games of marbles.³⁶

Consequences of Commitment

The major consequence of existential commitment is the acceptance of existence in all of its aspects, whether they give rise to joy or to pain. Much to the contrary of some beliefs, authentic self-confidence and freedom is not based upon one's identification of an inner strength, but more upon a joyful surrender to life with all the risks it implies. Thus we accept and are able to bear the suffering that is unavoidable in life without trying to avoid painful experiences. With commitment a person dares to expose himself to the reality of life. In so doing, he actualizes his possibility for a fuller and deeper understanding of human existence. Since many aspects of life are revealed only in suffering that is faced and worked through, the committed person will be increasingly able to accept without fatalism or apathy, resistance or resentment, escape or avoidance the suffering that life brings to him. In essence, suffering is still present, is still painful; yet it does not disturb the inner freedom of the committed self.³⁷

Commitment, facilitating the ability to face suffering, paradoxically enables the person to enjoy freely the gifts of his life. When one is afraid of

suffering, he cannot enjoy the blessings of life in and for themselves; he uses them frantically in order to escape the burden of existence. While attempting to forget the painful aspects of existence in a wild enjoyment of life's pleasures, the uncommitted person is continually haunted by anxiety about the burdensome aspect of life that may reveal itself again when enjoyment ceases. Thus, he who cannot suffer fully is also unable to enjoy fully. As it were, people who are haunted by anxiety about pain are hesitant when the possibility of deep and intense joy reveals itself at certain moments of their existence. They prefer ephemeral pleasures to existential joy that touches the very core of their being because such a joy may create a possibility for overwhelming hurt. Thus, happiness entails a threat that may evoke anxiety.³⁸ As we have been implying, one of the major consequences of existential commitment is authentic and full involvement in life as it really is. Involvement or participation as a significant aspect of genuine committedness in living will be explored in the next section.

INVOLVEMENT

As a person becomes increasingly more aware of himself and his world, discovers his personal identity, and establishes meaningful commitments, he assumes a responsibility for his life that he expresses through participation. According to Bugental,³⁹ such participation is a total involvement of the person. Bugental views participation or involvement as an expression of the authentic person's commitment to his own being in the world, a manifestation of the authentic person's identity. Van Kaam,⁴⁰ from his clinical experiences in psychotherapy, tells us that the experiencing of existential commitment and the facilitation of personal involvement diminishes anxiety through the discovery of the free and authentic self that surrenders itself to participating in life. Thus, existential commitment and involvement in one's own authentic being implies the acceptance of existence and becoming in all its aspects, including the happiness, the sorrows, and the risks of life.

Authentic Freedom and Involvement

Van Kaam suggests that people who have not experienced the authentic freedom of commitment and involvement are not able to enjoy with a full and relaxed presence the great gifts of life which have come their way. One manifestation of their anxiety is a lack of inner freedom in regard to what has been given to them. Their attitude is characterized by an anxious, possessive holding on to these gifts; thus, this fearful preoccupation makes it impossible for them to enjoy life really and fully. Authentic enjoyment,

Van Kaam believes, is possible only if one accepts without afterthought the good gifts of life and is ready to release them when they fade away. As it were, then, existential commitment and involvement are just as necessary for true enjoyment as for true suffering; both are possible only when one surrenders in freedom to the mystery of existence.

According to Van Kaam, good therapy (or other authentic living of an involved person) establishes a quiet openness for all the aspects of life, which does not mean that the person lets himself be passively overwhelmed by happiness or suffering. Since life is both a gift and a task, everyone has to decide in his own concrete life situation how far a joy or a pain is a gift or a demand for action. Thus the realistic openness of commitment and involvement will enable a person to determine what degree the joys and sorrows are to be experienced without activity or resistance and to what degree they invite him to action. Before existential involvement, a person is inclined to avoid the appeal of the present by living in the past or the future, but with the authentic freedom of total participation, he discovers that surrendering to a committed existence always means a full presence to the situation here and now.

Consequences of Involvement

Van Kaam⁴¹ points out that the client who leaves therapy with commitment and involvement is less clear and certain about the concrete details of his future, but is filled with trust that life will suggest to him the right solutions at the right time if he lives in a relaxed openness for all the messages life may give him. Before therapy, anxiety about the unknown and the untried severely hindered his self-realization; now, however, he feels ready for whatever happens to him. His faith in himself and his existence and his complete surrender to being convince him that he will make realistic, authentic choices in the road of life. Thus, he no longer feels that it is necessary for him to see the whole road clearly before he feels free to move. As such, he learns to accept every existential moment with all risks and possibilities, for he realizes that real life can be lived only today, not yesterday or tomorrow.

As Van Kaam indicates, sometimes a person may be inclined to use commitment and involvement as means to manipulate his life. He explains this behavior by saying that the person has not yet achieved authentic commitment because this degree of involvement, although in tune with the uniqueness of self, is not directed toward the self or its actualization as an ultimate aim. The person who attempts inauthentic commitment is still self-directed; thus, all that happens to him is the expansion of his self-prison and the learning of a new weapon for manipulating himself and his world. Van

Kaam believes that only a commitment that is not self-centered but conscious and free has a liberating effect upon human existence. Only such commitment makes man a full participant in the mystery of being and offers him a center from which he can live an integral life, undivided by egocentric tendencies.⁴²

Goals of Involvement

A major aim of involvement both in psychotherapy and otherwise is to prepare the person for a gradual transcendence of his self-centeredness in commitment to reality; he should experience a stable and full commitment to life, to his duty, to the demands of the present, and to others, which is the condition for an enhanced, unique, and personal existence. The real self grows only in self-commitment and self-involvement, realizing itself only in the transcendence of the inauthentic, defensive, anxious self. This involvement is an expression of man's total readiness to make himself available to life as honestly understood in the light of his own unique possibilities. This free and total commitment leads to unity and integration in the personality of the individual; *he becomes at one with himself*. This unity then leads to new force and strength in his personality and in the execution of his responsibilities and assignments in daily living.⁴³

Commitment to and involvement in reality implies that a person accepts himself with dignity, worth, and respect; he assumes a responsibility for the gift that *he himself is*. Thus, he must recognize his own unique potentialities and defend himself when necessary. Commitment to existence—involvement in one's own authentic being—sometimes means that a person must learn to place himself in the foreground when he would prefer to retire because of anxiety, defensive modesty, or egocentric, false humility. He must accept himself with both his potentialities and his limitations as a life assignment. The committed and involved person has gained an openness to his true and personal guilt that helps him to become aware of the moments in which he is unfaithful to his real self. Instead of a static life, he lives a dynamic existence opening up to continually new horizons, which implies his readiness to adapt himself repeatedly to his emerging possibilities of being, *to search out the authentic meaning of his life*.

MEANING

The person involved deeply in his own being and existence is open and faithful to his own fundamental potential self structure and his possibilities for being-in-becoming; this basic trust allows him to search out the ever-emerging meaning of his life. The committed and involved individual

eagerly accepts the responsibility for this continuing quest of personal meaning, even with its conflicts and frustrations. In so doing, he constantly purifies his self-awareness, validates his identity, and rigorously tests his commitments and involvements. In the search for meaning, he courageously accepts and faces the challenges of authentic inner conflict, developing the attitude of existential honesty. This honesty implies both an awareness of his defensive, inauthentic structures and a readiness to weaken their impact on his daily life. With this attitude of basic self-honesty, he is willing to admit his limitations and mistakes and to accept, without panic, their consequences. He stands ready *to have the courage to be* in searching out his being and his existence in full commitment to meaning for himself and his world.

Meaning and Values

Viktor Frankl tells us that "Man's concern about a meaning of life is the truest expression of being human."⁴⁴ The Greek oracle said "Know thyself," and the Danish philosopher Kierkegaard implored "Choose oneself." These, then, are the challenges for the self-actualizing person searching out his personal meaning in life. In effect, he must know who he is and what he can hope to become; he must have confidence in his ability to direct his own life; and he must choose to be himself and to take responsibility for what he does. Searching out the meaning of one's life is a continuous challenge. As Alfred Adler has said, "The meaning of life is arrived at . . . by dark gropings, by feeling not wholly understood, by catching at hints and fumbings for explanations."⁴⁵

To understand himself, to behave effectively and authentically, and to find personal satisfaction and meaning in his world, a person needs a sound value system that can stand the test of reality and is relevant to the recognition, the acceptance, and the solution of the problems he faces in life. The individual's values must provide meaning and practical guidance in a world that is far from being the utopia he might like to create. Madariaga's cogent statement that "our eyes must be idealistic and our feet realistic"⁴⁶ focuses the challenge of the paradox. He believes that our tasks for living are to define what is desirable; to determine what is possible at any time within the scheme of what is desirable; and to carry out what is possible in the spirit of what is desirable. Thus, an individual needs some conception of the ideal, but if his values have no touchstone in reality, they are apt to create frustration, conflict, and guilt. A realistic value system implies the need for a certain amount of flexibility. Although fundamental values may remain relatively stable, they must be refined and extended as one explores the meaning of life.

Values and Personal Satisfaction

As we go about the real business, then, of surrendering ourselves to the task and the gift of living, we need flexible, realistic values that give us direction and purpose. A significant consideration in judging the adequacy of any value system is the amount of satisfaction that we derive from living by it, whether it gives meaning to our lives and a sense that we are fulfilling the purposes of our existence. In this context, Canttil suggests that "the ultimate criterion against which to judge the rightness or the goodness of any action is whether or not an individual himself senses that it will contribute in the long run to the possibility of his experiencing greater satisfaction in living."⁴⁷ Dorothy Lee, an anthropologist who has made intensive studies of value in other cultures, also emphasizes personal satisfaction as a universal criterion of value:

. . . we experience value when our activity is permeated with satisfaction, when we find meaning in our life, when we feel good, when we act not out of calculating choice and not for extraneous purpose but rather because this is the only way that we, as ourselves, deeply want to act.⁴⁸

Thus we can recognize that an adequate value system is basic to an authentic identity, a sense of personal responsibility and commitment, involvement in living, and self-direction for becoming. In this vein Canttil notes that when value-choices consistently bring the satisfactions an individual anticipates, he develops a faith in the reliability of his choices, a self-assurance, that enables him to find great satisfaction in everything he does:

He does not have to rely on the extraordinary, the unusual, or the exotic. He searches for adequate resolutions of more immediate problems, not for final answers; he wants the respect of others, not their praise; he wants their understanding, not their adoration. He engages in activities to satisfy himself through his own participation in them, not to impress others.⁴⁹

In essence, then, our search for values is not a perusal of vague, ethereal concepts that bear no relation to our daily living; it is a basic striving and quest for the value realities that must be experienced if life is to be lived to its fullest in validating our self-identity and in establishing commitments. The broader our knowledge and experience—whether personal perceptions or experiences accumulated by the culture—the greater is the possibility of our developing a system of values that will give realistic and authentic meaning, purpose, and satisfaction to our existence.

Dimensions of Meaning

Paralleling the advent of humanistic psychology, new concepts concerning the meaning of life as related to the self have emerged from the thinking of those leaders who have developed the modern existential philosophy into psychologically and psychiatrically applicable systems. One of the most complete of these systems relevant to psychotherapy is that formulated by Viktor Frankl, known as logotherapy, which will be discussed in the next section. The emphasis of these existentialistic thinkers and clinicians is not upon goals and development, but upon *being*, on man's consciousness of, and responsibility for, his existence.⁵⁰ According to this viewpoint, then, the "never-lost kernel" of man's existence is "his power to take some stand."⁵¹ In taking this stand, man uses and expresses his freedom; it is the moment of decision in which man becomes as truly human as he has the courage to be.⁵²

In this decision, according to May,⁵³ a will is expressed. If the choice is made toward meaningful goals, it represents a person's intentionality. Intentionality, in May's definition, is "the capacity by which we constitute meanings in life."⁵⁴ May views meaning as a pattern; meaningful is what opens up "world designs."⁵⁵ In Bugental's existential-analytic theory, a basic postulate is that man is intentional. He sees man's intentionality as "the basis on which he builds his identity";⁵⁶ a person does so "through having purpose, through valuing, and through *creating* and *recognizing meaning*."⁵⁷ According to Bugental, the primary value in human life is living in accordance with, and as part of, how things really are. This value he calls authenticity, preferring to view man's search for meaning as a search for authenticity. Bugental defines authenticity as "the ultimate state of atonement with the cosmos and the immense continuum leading toward that ultimate ideal . . . we are authentic to that degree to which we are at one with the whole of being (world); we are authentic to the extent that we are in conflict with the givenness of being."⁵⁸

Hence intentionality in these theories is viewed as the basic human potentiality to develop personal meaning by relating the individual to the whole of his being and of the world. Buhler's⁵⁹ theory concurs in relating the individual also to the whole of life, but seemingly emphasizes more concretely his involvement with development and with the total buildup of his experiences. In this context Moustakas⁶⁰ believes that forms of things have no absolute reality but that their "truth lies in our personality."⁶¹ He sees the meaning of experience coming from individual, personal perception; these meanings then constitute a pattern that is reality for the person. As such, personal reality is what the individual is in experience lying within each unique self. This means then that what one perceives to

be true has solid and substantial meaning for him. According to Moustakas: "Attempts to determine reality for another person, to *give* meaning to another's experience, *deny* the self. These other-directed meanings cannot be assimilated."⁶² Therefore, extrinsic truths meet with resistance—a natural phenomenon, which is essential for the maintenance of self. Hence only those experiences, Moustakas says, that have significance for the individual person enter his real (authentic) personality. As noted in all of these approaches in existential theory, the meaningfulness of the individual's experience seems to be considered the very essence of being.

Logotherapy

Logotherapy—the third Viennese school of psychotherapy conceived and developed by Viktor Frankl,⁶³ views the concept of man as a whole and focuses its attention upon mankind's groping for a higher meaning in life. The basic emphases in logotherapy focus on the meaning of human existence as well as man's search for such a meaning. From this viewpoint, the striving to find a meaning in one's life is the primary motivational force in man. Frankl terms this human striving a *will to meaning*, as compared to the *will to pleasure* in Freudian psychoanalysis and as contrasted to the *will to power* stressed by Adlerian psychology.

The Will to Meaning. Man's search for meaning, the essence of logotherapy, according to Frankl, is a primary force in his life and not a "secondary rationalization" of motivating drives. This meaning is unique and specific in that it must and can be fulfilled by each individual alone; only then does it achieve a significance that will satisfy his own personal will to meaning. Frankl, in contrast to some authors, does not view meanings and values as "nothing but defense mechanisms, reaction formations, and sublimations"; he believes that man is able *to live and even to die for the sake of his ideals and values*.⁶⁴

Frankl cautions that we have to beware of the tendency to deal with values in terms of the mere self-expression of man himself. *Logos* or "meaning" is not only an emergence from existence itself, but rather something confronting existence. If the meaning that is waiting to be fulfilled by man were really nothing but a mere expression of self, or no more than a projection of his wishful thinking, it would immediately lose its demanding and challenging character; as such, this meaning could no longer call man forth or summon him to search. Frankl would disagree with some existentialist thinkers who see in man's ideals nothing but his own inventions. For example, according to Jean-Paul Sartre, man invents himself, designing his own "essence"; he determines what he essentially is, including what he should be or ought to become. Frankl, however, thinks that the meaning of our existence is not *invented* by us, but rather *detected*. In his theory, values

do not drive a man; they do not *push* him, but rather *pull* him. In saying that a man is *pulled* by values, Frankl refers to the phenomenon that there is always freedom involved: "the freedom of man to make his choice between accepting or rejecting an offer, i.e., to fulfill a meaning potentiality or else to forfeit it."⁶⁵

Existential Frustration. Frankl points out that man's will to meaning can also be frustrated, in which case logotherapy speaks of "existential frustration." In this context, the term *existential* may be used in three ways: to refer to (1) *existence* itself, that is, the specially human mode of being; (2) the *meaning* of existence; and (3) the striving to find a concrete meaning in personal existence, the *will* to meaning. Existential frustration can also result in a neurosis, pertaining to the "spiritual" (not a primarily religious connotation) core of a man's personality, which Frankl calls "noogenic neurosis." These noogenic neuroses do not emerge from conflicts between various values, in other words, from moral conflicts or from spiritual problems.

The Meaning of Life. According to Frankl, the meaning of life differs from man to man, from day to day and from hour to hour, thus, the significant concern is not the meaning of life in general, but rather the specific meaning of a person's life at a given moment. Because each situation in life represents a challenge to man and presents for him a problem to be solved, the question of the meaning of life rests with each individual at the moment of experiencing. Frankl believes that, ultimately, man should not ask what the meaning of his life is, but rather must recognize that it is *he* who is asked. In short, each man is *questioned by life*, and he can only answer to life by *answering for* his own life, to live, then, he can only respond by being responsible. Thus, logotherapy sees in responsibility the very essence of human existence.

Essence of Existence. Frankl's emphasis on responsibility is reflected in the categorical imperative of logotherapy: "to live as if you were living already for the second time and as if you had acted the first time as wrongly as you are about to act now."⁶⁶ Such a precept confronts man with life's finiteness as well as the finality of what he makes out of both his life and himself. In declaring that man is a responsible creature and must actualize the potential meaning of his life, Frankl stresses that the true meaning of life is to be found in the world of human experience, rather than within man, as though it were a closed system.

The real aim of human existence, says Frankl, cannot be found in what is called self-actualization. Human existence is essentially self-transcendence, rather than self-actualization. In fact, self-actualization is not a possible aim at all since the more a man would strive for it, the more he would miss it. For only to the extent to which man commits himself to the fulfillment of his life's meaning does he also actualize himself. Self-actualization, then,

cannot be attained if it is made an end in itself, but only as a side effect of self-transcendence. Hence, the world must not be regarded as a mere expression of oneself, nor must it be considered as a mere instrument or as a means to the end of one's self-actualization. Frankl believes that the "meaning of life always changes, but that it never ceases to be."⁶⁷ According to logotherapy, we can discover the meaning of life in three different ways: (1) by doing a deed; (2) by experiencing a value; and (3) by suffering.

The Challenge of Meaning

As has been indicated, to behave effectively and authentically in realizing his potentials for self-transcendence, the individual must look at himself, his existence, and his world realistically and continually as he searches for the meaning of life in his moments of experiencing and reappraising his being and his values. Currently, existentialism asks basic questions—questions that are not asked by other systems of psychology or psychotherapy—concerning the nature of man, and develops in response a core of basic human values. Existentialistic thinking posits a unique combination of both the subjective and objective world in man's phenomenological existence.

The basic challenge of searching out the meaning of life in an existential fashion involves these considerations: (1) The sense of man's self is developed through his relatedness to others; he does not *know himself* except in relation to others. (2) Man's principal source of anxiety is his fear of losing others and being alone. (3) Man's real guilt is that he cannot act. (4) Man must face the fact that he is alone, for only he has the responsibilities for acting upon his choices. (5) The goal of existential living is to enable man to act and to accept the freedom and responsibility for acting. (6) In the context of human existential encounters (including therapy), man's experience of freedom will emerge with his recognition of the meaninglessness of his existence. Only in a full confrontation with the ultimate meaning of "aloneness" or death can man choose life.⁶⁸ Carkhull and Berenson pose the challenge of human meaning succinctly in saying: "*Although man's life in its very nature has intrinsic meaning, man's tragic burden is his compulsive search for meaning in a meaningless world.*"⁶⁹

BECOMING

As we have implied, man emerges into his authentic becoming through the free-flowing attributes of his awareness, identity, commitment, involvement, and meaning as he surrenders his very being to life; *he lives life and is not lived by it*. Throughout this book, the self has been viewed not as just a being, but as a process; an enduring, but constantly changing indi-

vidual. Man's self then is not a composite set of learned responses, but more significantly, a mode of action absorbing fully the experiences of the moment and directed toward future fulfillment. Bonner sees the self as "directional as well as reactive; future oriented as well as adjustive."⁷⁰ Murphy phrased the dynamics of becoming well when he described the self as *something to be realized*.⁷¹ The basic need of man for self-enhancement delineates the significant process of becoming. Whereas self-defense and self-maintenance are static conditions, the preservation of equilibrium, self-enhancement refers to man's aspirations, which have no fixed terminus. Becoming, then, is the surrender of the aspiring self to life with the optimism of ongoing change. As Kaulman has said, "make the most of (life): put into it all you have got, and live and, if possible, die with some measure of nobility."⁷²

Nature of Becoming

When we visualize man as a self-transforming individual, becoming frees the person to realize his inner potentialities; this, then, is the crux of growth and becoming. Thus, becoming is the process of actualizing potentialities and of fulfilling one's own being. The affirmation of one's potentialities is not a self-centered denial of the potentials of another person, but basically the courage to be oneself as a person in his own right. Self-affirmation, then, is the wholesome assertion of one's own individuality and uniqueness, one's capacity for becoming different from what he has been in the past. Becoming as the process of externalizing one's potentialities is both tension-inducing and difficult because it is never completed. As it were, becoming is a continuous process of facing novelty, uncertainty, and ambiguity: the risks of life, to meet a constantly changing situation requires both creativity and courage. The process of becoming requires an active, dynamic state of mind that is always eager to explore the outermost limits of the human adventure; it is not a life, but a living, not a finding, but a seeking.

Bonner⁷³ views the striving self as being-in-becoming, which is not a mere abstraction, but a living, ongoing process of human growth. Such a human process is not a force or drive, or a similar mechanistic concept, but a holistic involvement, which does not describe merely the adjusting person, but the self-affirming individual. Bonner believes that there is danger in the orthodox view of buying homeostasis, and adjustment at the price of the growing, emerging human being. As he states it:

In conventional psychology, both psychoanalytic and behavioristic, the individual is almost entirely described in the framework of pleasure-seeking, tension-reduction, and survival. In proactive psychology, on the

other hand, man is seen as the seeker after values which he sets up himself. From this point of view, more important than tranquility, security, and survival is the individual's desire to fulfill himself as a unique person. If man should ever destroy himself as a unique self, he will do it by blocking himself off from encounter with growth and novelty.⁷⁴

Moustakas,⁷⁵ an existentialistic thinker, sees the human being as engaged in leading his life in the present, with a forward thrust in the future. This, then, is the concept of becoming, with its implications of change and transformation. Creation is conceived by Moustakas as a continued transition from one form to another. Hence, the world, while it is being perceived, is being incessantly created by an individual who is a process, not a product. The individual is not a fixed entity but a center of experience involving the creative synthesis of relations. Because every real individual is a creative person, this intrinsic creativity emerges or is expressed when the person is free to use his potentialities. According to Moustakas, the central force for the becoming nature of man is "a basic striving within the human being to assert and expand his self-determination, to create his own fate."⁷⁶

Moustakas tells us that the organism has different potentialities and that because it has them man has the need to actualize or realize them. The fulfillment of these needs represents the self-actualization of the organism, a constant emerging of self, of one's "nature" in the world. Failure to actualize essential capacities, Moustakas believes, is equivalent to not being. Thus, the goal a person most wishes to achieve, the end he knowingly and unknowingly pursues, is to become himself. In the words of Moustakas:

All reality is this process of becoming, and all life is one, a constant urge to become. . . . Intrinsic nature, being, and becoming are involved in every true experience. . . . All true experience of a real self is healthy and necessary to personal growth. . . . The individual becomes himself in true experience in an organic, matrix pattern, or whole, which permits him to be.⁷⁷

Concerning Human Possibility

Concerning the realm of human possibility Cantril has noted: "It is characteristic of man that he has the capacity to recognize that what is, does not have to stay as it is, and that there may be something he can do about it."⁷⁸ He then is implying that life derives meaning and direction not only from the values a man believes in but also from his assumptions about what he can hope to accomplish and what kind of a person he can become. Even while solving problems of immediate and practical concern, the individual is aware of the goals, aspirations, and purposes he hopes ultimately to

achieve. How a person's life will be shaped, then, depends upon his assumptions about what is possible as well as upon his opportunities, resources, values, and ideals.

Many times the person who feels that he has been thwarted in doing what he wanted in life is the one who has not taken the initiative for his own self-direction nor recognized the tremendous range of human possibilities that are open to him. In this context, *freedom of opportunity* in many ways is synonymous with *knowledge of opportunity*. As Allport has stated, "A person widely experienced and knowing many courses of conduct has many more degrees of freedom. It is in this sense that the broadly educated man is freer than the narrowly trained."⁷⁹ Hence, to be self-directing and to participate actively in becoming, a person needs to know the range of choices in terms of the present and the future. To be the initiator and director of our becoming, we need to know what kind of a future we want for ourselves if our present choices are to make sense in relevance to assimilating true experiences within ongoing, striving, authentic selves.

Adequacy—The Goal of Becoming

Combs and Snygg⁸⁰ believe that fulfillment or *adequacy*, as they call it, is the basic need of human beings and the ultimate goal of our striving toward becoming. According to them, "from birth to death the maintenance and the enhancement of the phenomenal self is the most pressing, the most crucial, if not the only task of existence." To maintain the personal organization of the self in the universe in which he lives, however, requires much more of a human being than mere survival. To delineate, man lives in a changing world, a world in which the systems of which he is composed and of which he is a part are continuously changing. Hence, a changing world requires changes in the organization of the self if it is to be maintained. Thus, each of us needs to do more than merely change with the flow of events in life. Because we are aware of the future and must invest ourselves in the future as well as the present, it is necessary to enhance the self against the exigencies of tomorrow.

From this phenomenological viewpoint, then, man seeks not merely the maintenance of a self but the development of an *adequate* self—a self capable of dealing effectively and efficiently with the risks and the problems of life, both now and in the future. To achieve this self-adequacy, man's basic need and the goal of his being-in-becoming, requires not only that he seek to maintain his existing organization, but also that he build up and make more adequate the self of which he is aware. Man seeks then as a basic need both to maintain and to enhance his perceived self through the process of his own becoming. Although we may express the maintenance and the enhancement of the self as two different words, both relate to exactly the same

function—the production of a more adequate self. As expressed by Combs and Snygg, the self therefore

. . . has to be maintained in the future, built up and enhanced so that the individual feels secure for tomorrow. And since the future is uncertain and unknown, no enhancement of the individual's experience of personal value, no degree of self-actualization, is ever enough. Human beings are by nature, insatiable.⁸¹

To Be and to Become

In summation, man has an intrinsic nature that must be recognized and dignified. Man's inner nature, his self, is the key to human joy, happiness, and fulfillment. In interpersonal experience the actualizing self is expressed in warmth, empathy, cognition, acceptance, tenderness, and love. Respect for man's essential creativity is the declaration of each man's true worth, of his uniqueness as a human being, unmatched, unequaled, and unmeasured—the proclamation of the dignity of the individual and the incommensurable nature of his existence.

True Existence. Man's inherent being is firmly embedded in every fiber of his experience. To evade one's true existence as a human being is to violate one's own nature and to threaten and to impair human dignity everywhere. Man's innate potentials are meaningful when they are free to function naturally, as utterances, expressions, and self-assertions, not solely as driving forces maintaining tension, but expressions of ourselves basically and fully, in what *being human means*. Man's being may be experienced in contemplation, absorption, and immersion in life; it may be expressed in serenity, calmness, and complete inner peace and is known in the deep love and empathy of significant human relationships.

The true existence of self-exploration may also involve a maintenance of tension, struggling with values, ideas, and the exciting discovery of authentic meanings in perception and experience; rarely is congruent self-exploration simply a tension-reducing and goal-seeking process. To express and to affirm one's inner nature and to be courageous and honest to all that one truly experiences is essential for authentic existence and personal growth. The realization of one's being is man's real destiny and the *only* actualization that permits the emergence of individuality and uniqueness. The concept of *personal* growth is a positive affirmation, not the absence of symptoms nor the presence of the striving to fulfill conventional standards and norms. Being-in-becoming is the manifestation of psychological health in its truest form: the expression of one's creative nature in true experience; the exploration of one's authentic being in nature, in individual proj-

ects and assignments; and fulfillment through interpersonal human encounters.

Toward Authentic Fulfillment. Man, then, has a dynamic force of his inner nature that propels him toward fulfillment, the urge to grow, to seek self-actualization, and to search for his own identity as an adequate person. Each person, insofar as he is a real, becoming person, is his own major determinant; everyone is, in this sense, "his own project"⁸² and continuously gives birth to himself. The concept of the adequate personality, posed by humanistic psychologists, as one consciously involved in the free-flowing process of becoming brings an optimistic faith to the behavior of man. The person who understands he is changing realizes he is creating self through experience and therefore looks forward to new experiences. He has trust in himself as a free functioning individual—an instrumental facilitator, rather than a victim of his experience. Such an individual finds deep satisfaction in the process of becoming as he lives each experience fully. One who is cognizant of this process of searching for fulfillment accepts change as a universal phenomenon. Thus, he welcomes change in himself, in others, and in his situation. Rogers has described the person who is in the process of becoming as

. . . a human being in flow, in process, rather than having achieved some state . . . sensitively open to all of his experience—sensitive to what is going on in his environment, sensitive to other individuals with whom he is in relationship, and sensitive perhaps most of all to the feelings, reactions and emergent meanings which he discovers in himself.⁸³

The adequate person, involved in his potential fulfillment, seeks and accepts all aspects of experience as significant elements in the process of becoming. He integrates thinking, feeling, knowing, and sensing into his totality of living, as such, nonverbal aspects of experience are important to him as well as the verbal. The person who is aware of the process of becoming and permits changes in himself accepts the emotional qualities of life, allowing impulses rather than rigidly controlling them. Because the process of becoming involves feeling and sensing as well as knowing, one characteristic of the adequate personality is that of entering into life freely to experience deeply both its joys and sorrows. Finding joy and satisfaction in his own self-development, the person who is moving toward adequacy is willing to permit other people "to be" and "to become"; that is, he can understand and accept others in the developmental stage he finds them, not as he might want them to be.

To be and to become is total and unique developmental behavior—birth, awareness, identity, commitment, involvement, meaning, and adequacy. In

final thought then, maybe Goethe was reflecting the spirit of man's being, his transcendence, and his becoming and fulfillment in the authentic surrender to life when he wrote:

A talent is produced in solitude:
A character in the stream of life.

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